

57

26 Jan – 28 Feb 1960

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



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Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

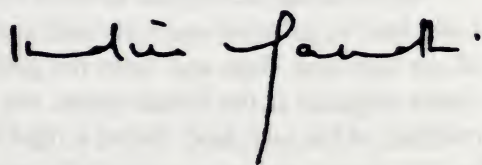
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

As with the previous volume and some of the forthcoming ones, the period for this volume also is brief, just the five weeks from 26 January to 28 February 1960. A period of even two months would have made a single volume uncomfortably large to handle. While the politics of both Congress and of the States follow a familiar pattern, administrative problems are unusually prominent, from appointments to corruption and to the tragic case of the suicide of M. T. Joseph, a scientist at the Indian Agricultural Research Institute. In foreign policy, China obviously occupies an important position. Tensions mount, but the themes are the usual ones of maps, propaganda, infiltration, Tibetan refugees, and the Dalai Lama's treasure. However, Khrushchev's visit is of considerable significance, and there are two verbatim records of his conversations with Nehru, besides much other correspondence. Among the miscellaneous items is a little vignette, the Prime Minister being preoccupied with returning Edwina Mountbatten's pressure cooker to London after her death.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. The letters to the chief ministers have been reproduced from an earlier series, *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, ed. G. Parthasarathi (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1985-1989), 5 vols. Emendations have been made where necessary, but the annotations differ in some respects. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal*

Nehru, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Syed Ali Kazim, helped by Geeta Kudaisya. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Anil Pushkar and Mohammad Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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1. In Delhi: Public Meeting¹

बहनो और भाइयो,

एक हफ्ते भर से दिल्ली शहर और सारा हिन्दुस्तान अपने रिपब्लिक डे, गणतंत्र दिवस को मना रहा है। खाली उस दिन को नहीं, बल्कि उसके इधर-उधर और भी दिन और आज के दिन वो सिलसिले खतम हुए। खाली यह हमारा मामूली गणतंत्र दिवस नहीं था। बल्कि हमारे रिपब्लिक की दसवीं सालगिरह थी। दस बरस हुए कि जब यह रिपब्लिक कायम हुई और एक हमारी पुरानी प्रतिज्ञा पूरी हुई। यों तो इसके ढाई बरस पहले, आज़ादी आई थी और उसको हम मनाते हैं पन्द्रह अगस्त को। आप जानते हैं और वो पूरी आज़ादी थी। यह नहीं कि कुछ कम थी, लेकिन हमने हमेशा रिपब्लिक का नाम लिया था पहले। और जब तक वो बात पूरी नहीं हो गयी, हमारा इक़रार पूरा नहीं हुआ था।

तो आज के दिन, रिपब्लिक का दिन तो नहीं है, लेकिन अजीब एक इत्फ़ाक़ है कि इस, इन दिनों की धूमधाम के बाद जबकि हम आज का ज़माना मनाते हैं यकायक गुज़रे ज़माने की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाये। आज का दिन, आप जानते हैं शहीदों का दिन कहा जाता है— मनाते हैं सभी। शहीद, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान की आज़ादी में अपनी जान दी और उनमें सबसे बड़े गांधीजी। मुनासिब था कि वह दिन जो हमने चुना गांधीजी के हत्या की तारीख़ का? मुनासिब था कि हम उस दिन खाली इतने बड़े आदमी को न मनायें। लेकिन बहुत सारे गुमनाम लोग भी जिन्होंने आज़ादी के लिए अपनी जान दी। इसलिए यह कोई गांधी दिवस खाली नहीं है। बल्कि शहीदों का दिवस है, याद रखें आप। लेकिन ज़ाहिर है, सबसे ज़्यादा हमारी याद गांधीजी की तरफ जाती है। एक तो वो इतने ज़बर्दस्त आदमी थे, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को ढाला, बनाया, आज़ादी लाये। और दूसरे आखिरी भी बात जो उन्होंने की या हुई, वो भी एक हिन्दुस्तान का अज़ीमोशान और ख़िदमत थी, जिसमें उन्होंने अपनी जान दी।

ये जोड़ एक अजीब सा हो जाता है, खुशियाँ मनाने का, कई दिन तक धूमधाम से। और फिर उसके बाद एकदम से हमारे दिमाग़ खिंचे दूसरी तरफ, ताकि हम वह न जायें बग़ैर सोचे-समझे, कि हमारे सामने सवाल क्या है? हमारा कर्तव्य और धर्म क्या है जो हमें खेंचता है, हिन्दुस्तान की माँग क्या है? क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान के लिए और हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों के लिए, गांधीजी ने एक साठ बरस तक काम किया। और आख़िर में अपनी जान दी। इन दिनों में जो गुज़रे, पिछले हफ्ते, आपने कुछ दिल्ली वालों ने खाली नहीं, लेकिन सारे हिन्दुस्तान में, बड़े शहरों में, छोटे शहरों में, गाँवों में भी यह दिन मनाये गये। लेकिन खासकर दिल्ली में और उनमें आपने देखा, कुछ शान और शौक़त हिन्दुस्तान में कुछ झलक हुई— हिन्दुस्तान की ताक़त की, फौजी ताक़त की भी थोड़ी सी झलक, हवाई ताक़त और कितनी और बातें हमारी आँखों के सामने आईं।

लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात जो देखने में आई। वो तो आम ख़िलअत, आम जनता का उस रोज़

1. Speech, Ramlila Grounds, 30 January 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

खुशी मनाना। क्योंकि असल हिन्दुस्तान तो आपके और हम सभी के और लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों के दिलों में रहता है। खाली इमारतों में और हवाई जहाजों में नहीं। वो तो एक बाहर की निशानी है। अगर हमारे दिल मजबूत हैं। हमारे दिल भूल नहीं गये, दिल और दिमाग से भूल नहीं गये, जो सबक गांधीजी ने सिखाया था। अगर हम अपना कर्तव्य हिन्दुस्तान के लिए, मातृभूमि के लिए नहीं भूले। तब हिन्दुस्तान के लिए भला है। लेकिन अगर हम भूल गये या भटक गये इन बातों से, तब और बातें क्या कर लेंगी हमारे मुल्क की। जो बड़े-बड़े काम भी हम कर रहे हैं वो भी एक ऊपरी चीज़ होगी। इसलिए आज का दिन खासतौर से है, हमें अपने दिलों को टटोलना, देखना कि कहाँ हमसे गफलत हुई, कहाँ हमने कमजोरी दिखाई। और आइन्दा के लिए, भविष्य के लिए मजबूत करना, तैयार करना। क्योंकि शायद आप सब लोगों पर और हरेक पर यह ज़ाहिर हो कि हमारे सामने कितने बड़े, कितने पेचीदा, कितने खतरनाक सवाल हैं। और वो सवाल हल होंगे बहुत बातें करने से। लेकिन आखिर में फिर वही बात आ जाती है हिन्दुस्तान की जनता का दिल और दिमाग कहाँ है?

तो फिर कुछ दिन गुज़रे ज़माने पर हमने निगाह डाली, कुछ देर आज के ज़माने में हमने खुशियाँ मनाईं। लेकिन फिर आज के बाद कल आता है और कल के बाद परसों। और कुछ उसका भी हमें सोचना है। और सबसे ज़्यादा हमें सोचना है कि हम सब लोग शख्सीतौर से, व्यक्तिगत रूप से, कौमी तरीके से किधर देखते हैं? क्या है, क्या इरादे करते हैं, क्या प्रतिज्ञाएँ लेते हैं हम सब लोग व्यक्तिगत रूप से? मैंने कहा, हम लोग जिनके ऊपर ज़िम्मेदारी है यहाँ के शासन की। हिन्दुस्तान, ये ज़बर्दस्त बोझ जो उनके ऊपर है उनको तो और भी इस बात को सोचना है, विचार करना है, हमेशा ही। लेकिन आज का दिन खासतौर से है कि इस ज़िम्मेदारी को कैसे अदा करते हैं। जो उन्होंने प्रतिज्ञाएँ लीं, इक़रार किये, कहाँ तक वो पूरे हुए। और इस बात पर भी ग़ौर करना है जो एक बुनियादी रास्ता गांधीजी ने दिखाया था, हम उसके कितने करीब हैं, कितने दूर हैं। यह ग़लत बात हो मेरे लिए कहना, किसी के लिए भी, लेकिन खासतौर से मेरे लिए, कि हम गांधीजी के नाम के साये के नीचे छिपें। और उससे फ़ायदा उठायें। यह नामुनासिब बात है। हम लोग सब छोटे आदमी, एक बहुत बड़े आदमी के साये में हम बढ़ें, कुछ सीखा, कुछ समझा। लेकिन वो सीखना, समझना भी एक बहुत छोटा हिस्सा था उनके बड़े दिल और दिमाग का, और यह मुनासिब नहीं है कि हम अपनी ग़लतियों को या जो भी कुछ हो, उससे कुछ एक उसकी जवाबदेही में हम गांधीजी का नाम पेश कर दें। करते हैं, मैं जानता हूँ हम सब। लेकिन ठीक नहीं है, आखिर ज़िम्मेदारी हमारी है। हम जो कुछ ग़लतियाँ करें वो हमारी हैं। वो गांधीजी की तो नहीं हैं। हाँ, जो कुछ ख़ूबियाँ हम में हैं वो उनकी हैं, अगर थोड़ी-बहुत ख़ूबियाँ हों, आपकी नज़र आएँ।

लेकिन वक़्त बदलता है और नये-नये सवाल आते हैं, नये-नये ढँग से पेश होते हैं पुराने सवाल भी। दुनिया बदलती है और एक नये सवाल को, उसका जबाब ढूँढना एक पुराने जवाब से यह भी, इससे भी काम नहीं चलता है। हाँ, पुराने उसूल को रखना सामने यह मुनासिब है। और फिर नये सवाल का जवाब ढूँढना अपनी ज़िम्मेदारी से। मैंने आपसे कहा दुनिया बदलती है। कितनी बदली दुनिया इस दस-बारह बरस में भी? और जब मैं देखता हूँ ज़रा ज़्यादा अरसा देखता हूँ अपनी ज़िन्दगी का, जोकि काफी लम्बी हो गयी है। आप जानते हैं। जब मैं देखता हूँ इस पचास बरस में क्या-क्या दुनिया में हुआ? तो मैं खुद हैरान हो जाता हूँ। ज़िन्दगी बदल गयी दुनिया की। हिन्दुस्तान में

आज़ादी तो आयी ही, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की ज़िन्दगी भी बहुत बदली। एशिया में कितने मुल्क आज़ाद हो गए, जो नहीं थे। अभी हमारे देखते-देखते पिछले दो तीन बरस के अंदर अफ्रीका में, एक नयी हवा, तूफान चला। जोकि अफ्रीका को उलट-पलट कर रहा है। और अब भी यह तयशुदा बात है कि एक और दो बरस में कितने और मुल्क, अफ्रीका के आज़ाद हो जायेंगे। शायद यह कहना सही हो— जैसे पिछले दस बरस में, दुनिया के मैदान में एशिया फिर से आई। और एशिया के मुल्क, फिर उनकी शक्ल-सूरत दिखने लगी लोगों को, जोकि गुलामी के पर्दे के पीछे थे पहले। अब वो सिलसिला तो जारी रहेगा। लेकिन एक दूसरा सिलसिला भी जारी हो गया। अफ्रीका का नया चेहरा निकलने लगा। मुबारक हो यह अफ्रीका को, वहाँ के रहने वालों को, वहाँ के मुल्कों को। क्योंकि दुनिया के इतिहास में जितने अफ्रीका के लोगों को [...], लोग सताये गये हैं सैकड़ों बरस तक, जितनी मुसीबतें उन्होंने झेली हैं शायद दुनिया के किसी और मुल्क ने न ऐसा किया हो।

याद है आपको वो ज़माना जब हज़ारों लोग ज़बर्दस्ती पकड़े जाते थे, पकड़-पकड़ कर ले जाये जाते थे और मुल्कों में अमेरिका और कहाँ-कहाँ और गुलाम बनाते थे। अब तक उनकी औलाद वहाँ है। शायद बहुत कम लोगों को उसका इतिहास मालूम हो कि कैसे वो पकड़े जाते थे, कैसे एक जहाजों पे, पुराने ज़माने के, एक असबाब की तरह लादे जाते थे— इस तरह से कि अक्सर उनमें से आधे रास्ते ही में मर जाते थे। उनके लिए जो कि अंग्रेज़ों ने किसी क़दर ग़लत मशहूर किया है— हिन्दुस्तान के बारे में, शायद सुना हो आपने 'ब्लैक होल' कलकत्ते का कहा जाता है। वो बात सही नहीं है पूरे तौर से। ज़रूर ग़फ़लत हुई थी और ग़लती हुई थी। लेकिन वो बेचारे अफ्रीका के लोगों के लिए तो ज़िन्दगी एक 'ब्लैक होल' थी। एक दिन और एक हफ़्ता नहीं, सारी ज़िन्दगी थी। तो अब गरज़ कि अगर अफ्रीका में नयी जान आए, नयी उमंग उठे। और हम देखें कि वो बदल रहा है, तो खुशी होती है। तो इस तरह से दुनिया में ऐसी उलट-पलट हो रही है।

एक दूसरी तरह आप देखें, अफ्रीका का मैंने आपसे कहा, उसके निस्वत एक बात और आपको याद दिला दूँ कि अफ्रीका ही के एक हिस्से में गांधीजी ने अपना असली काम शुरू किया था। आप जानते हैं दक्षिण अफ्रीका में और कुछ कामयाबी भी उन्होंने हासिल की थी। लेकिन अभी तक वो सवाल हल नहीं हुआ है। उन्होंने इस सवाल को उठाया था हिन्दुस्तानियों के लिए वहाँ, हालांकि उन्होंने कभी फ़र्क नहीं किया था हिन्दुस्तानियों में और अफ्रीका के लोगों में। उनके लिए दुनिया में जहाँ जुल्म हो, उसके वो खिलाफ़ थे और चाहते थे कि कुछ कर सकें तो वो करें। लेकिन बहरसूरत अफ्रीका में गांधीजी ने इसको शुरू किया था की थी। और मुझे यकीन है कि जो इस वक़्त अफ्रीका के पूर्वी और पश्चिमी देशों में एक परिवर्तन हो रहा है तेज़ी से, उसका एक ज़बर्दस्त असर दक्षिण अफ्रीका पर भी पड़ेगा। कैसे पड़े, कब पड़े? मैं नहीं कह सकता। लेकिन आप इस वक़्त देखते हैं अगर अफ्रीका को देखें, एक-एक जानदार चीज़ जोकि जकड़ी हुई थी, बँधी हुई थी, जंजीरों में थी। वो अपनी जंजीरों को तोड़कर निकल रही है। कभी-कभी उसके तोड़ने में नयी उमंग में, नयी ताक़त में ग़लत बातें भी हुई हैं। मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन असली बात यह है कि एक नया ज़माना, नया अफ्रीका खुल रहा है और हमें उसकी खुशी है। यों भी हर सूरत से खुशी होती। और इस बात से भी कि जो काम गांधीजी ने वहाँ शुरू किया, वो एक-दूसरे ढँग से पूरा हो। तो यह तो मैंने कुछ मुल्कों का हाल आपको बताया।

दूसरी तरफ आप निगाह डालिए कि दुनिया में क्या हुआ? बड़ी जंग हुई। हमारी यह गांधीजी की तहरीक़ यहाँ, यह आंदोलन बड़ा भारी सत्याग्रह और सिविल नाफ़रमानी वगैरह, कब शुरू हुए हैं? चालीस बरस से ऊपर हुए। एक माने में, वो भी एक औलाद थी एक बड़ी लड़ाई की। पहली बड़ी लड़ाई की, जो सन् 14 से 18 तक हुई; उस लड़ाई के बाद हुए। और असल में तो होना ही था उसको। क्योंकि वाक़्यात हिन्दुस्तान के ऐसे थे। लेकिन बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ उलट-पलट सब कर देती हैं दुनिया को। और उसका नतीजा, नतीजे अजीब-अजीब होते हैं। उस बड़ी लड़ाई के नतीजे बहुत हुए थे। कितनी बड़ी-बड़ी शहनशाहियतें गिर गयी थीं, एम्पायर ख़त्म हुए थे। और एक बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई थी रूस में, उस बड़ी लड़ाई के ज़माने में। उसी ज़माने में जब लेनिन ने वहाँ क्रान्ति का झण्डा उठाया था रूस में। गांधीजी ने अपना अपने ढँग का सत्याग्रह का झण्डा यहाँ उठाया था।

तो फिर दूसरी लड़ाई हुई। और दूसरी लड़ाई के नतीजे भी अब आप देख रहे हैं। क्या-क्या उलट-पलट हुआ दुनिया में? और एक उसका नतीजा या उसी के दौरान में कहिए हुआ कि एक एटम बम चलाया गया। उस एटम बम ने, दो ने, जापान के दो शहरों को तबाह किया। बिल्कुल नेस्तोनावूत कर दिया, हिरोशिमा और नागासाकी। लेकिन उस तबाह करने के अलावा एक उस एटम बम से एक नयी बात आयी। दुनिया में एक नयी ताक़त आई, नई शक्ति आई, एटॉमिक एनर्जी, अणुशक्ति। और यकीनन उसकी वजह से दुनिया बहुत तेज़ी से और बदलेगी।

आजकल की दुनिया क्या है? हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में और अमेरिका और यूरोप के मुल्कों में काफी फ़र्क़ है बहुत बातों में। लेकिन मोटे तौर से फ़र्क़ यह है कि वो खुशहाल मुल्क हैं, हमारा मुल्क ग़रीब मुल्क है। बावजूद, सब हमारी कोशिशों के, बावजूद दिल्ली के धूमधाम के [...]। क्योंकि इसका अंदाज़ हिन्दुस्तान के गाँव में हो सकता है और जब गाँव जवाब दें कि हम खुशहाल हैं तब आप कोई मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। तो ये यूरोप और अमेरिका में खुशहाली आई, कैसे खुशहाली आई? अगर आप एक दो सौ बरस पिछले ज़माने में जायें, और दुनिया की तरफ़ ध्यान दें। तो आमतौर से लोग आपसे कहते कि हिन्दुस्तान एक दौलतमंद मुल्क है, यूरोप के मुल्क, बमुकाबले हिन्दुस्तान के, ग़रीब थे- दो सौ बरस की बात है, दो सौ, ढाई सौ बरस की। इसके माने यह नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान उस दो सौ बरस हुए भी तो बड़ा खुशहाल मुल्क था। आम लोगों के लिए, क्योंकि नहीं था आम लोग ग़रीब थे उस वक़्त। लेकिन जैसाकि उस ज़माने में होता था ऊपरी दौलत होती थी। ऊपर काफी दौलत थी और कुछ उसका आम लोगों पर भी पहुँचता था। यूरोप में कम था। फिर क्या बात हुई इस दो सौ बरस में कि यूरोप इतना आगे बढ़ गया और हम और एशिया के मुल्क पिछड़ गये। आख़िर में तो कहा जा सकता है कि जिस क़ौम के लोग कमज़ोर हो जाते हैं परिश्रमी नहीं रहते, जिसमें एकता नहीं रहती वो गिर जाती है क़ौम। तो कोई क़ौम दूसरे के, दूसरे के जुल्म से नहीं गिरती है आख़िर में, या कम से कम कोई बड़ी क़ौम नहीं गिरती है। लेकिन जब अंदर ही से खोखली हो जाए, अंदर ही से कमज़ोर हो, अंदर से आपस में लड़े और दिमाग़ तेज़ काफी न हो दूर तक देखने का, तो क़ौम गिरती है।

तो कुछ इतफ़ाक़ ऐसा हुआ कि उसी ज़माने में जबकि एक यूरोप के मुल्कों में नयी ताक़तें, नयी उमंग, नये जोश आये, उसी ज़माने में एशिया के मुल्कों में और हिन्दुस्तान में कमज़ोरी आ गयी, फूट आ गयी। हमारे यहाँ ज़माना था मुग़ल साम्राज्य के टूटने का। वो गिर रहा था, अलग-अलग लोग बादशाह बन के बैठ गये उसके अलग-अलग हिस्सों में। कहीं जागृति भी हुई

जोरों से, भारत के हिस्सों में, जैसे छत्रपति शिवाजी उठे महाराष्ट्र में, और एक नयी जान उनके पीछे आई और भी हुआ। लेकिन सारी तस्वीर को आप हिन्दुस्तान की उस वक़्त की देखें। तो अलग-अलग टुकड़े अलग-अलग फूट, एक-दूसरे से लड़ना, एक तो यह बात थी।

और दूसरी यह बात कि जो नयी जान यूरोप में आ रही थी वो हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं आ रही थी, यूरोप में कैसे आई वो उस ज़माने में दो सौ बरस हुए? यूरोप में आई, अगर आप गौर करें तो एक बड़ी क्रान्ति जो वहाँ शुरू हुई थी एक दिमागी मैदान में, जब विज्ञान से नयी शक्तियाँ यूरोप वालों के हाथ में आई, जिससे उन्होंने फिर ये रेलें चलाई, रेलें बनीं, नयी चीज़ थी रेल, और क्या-क्या और बातें निकलीं और नये हथियार बनाये, उनकी ताक़त बढ़ गई। क्योंकि एक प्रकृति की नयी ताक़त उनके हाथ में आई। ताक़त क्या थी वो तो सीधी सादी हर घर में है, एक पानी से जो भाप निकलती है उससे फ़ायदा उठाना, उसमें शक्ति है, जानते हैं, हर घर की बात है हज़ारों बरस से, लाखों बरस से। लेकिन एक आदमी ने देखा कि इसको पकड़ के इससे हम पहिया चला सकते हैं और पहिया चला के पहिए से रेल चला सकते हैं, मशीन चला सकते हैं, कारख़ाने चला सकते हैं, हज़ार चीज़ें चला सकते हैं। एक नयी ताक़त आ गयी और उससे उसी वक़्त फिर उस ताक़त से वो नये-नये काम कर सकते थे। जो उनके यहाँ कोयला था, और लोहा था। उससे उस ताक़त को चला के उस लोहे का प्रयोग किया। और यह नयी दुनिया जोकि लोहे पे जमी हुई है आजकल की दुनिया, वो बनने लगी। और नये कारख़ाने, नयी दौलत पैदा होने लगी, नये हथियार बने, नयी फ़ौजें बनीं।

तो यूरोप में तो यह बात हुई, होती गयी। एकदम से नहीं हुई, हल्के-हल्के होती गयी। उस समय हिन्दुस्तान एक कमज़ोर, कमज़ोरी की हालत में, फूट की हालत में, पड़ा था। क्यों नहीं हिन्दुस्तान ने उस वक़्त फ़ायदा उठाया इस नये इल्म से, नये ज्ञान और विज्ञान से, जो यूरोप में आया। इसका जवाब कौन दे?

छोटी सी बात एक आपको बताऊँ। यूरोप में किताबें छपने लगीं, प्रिंटिंग शुरू हुआ, जो कि इंकलाबी बात थी, प्रिंटिंग, छपना, क्योंकि उससे इल्म फैलता था। पहले किताबें जब तक हाथ से लिखी जाती थीं, बहुत ख़ूबसूरत होती थीं किताबें, लेकिन मुट्ठीभर लोगों के पास जाती थीं। लेकिन जब हज़ारों लाखों की तादाद में छपने लगीं, तो इल्म फैलने लगा, वो भी एक ताक़त की बात थी। क्या बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान में किताबें नहीं छपीं? उसमें बड़ा पेंच नहीं था और नहीं छपीं। सौ दो सौ बरस बाद तक नहीं छपीं, जब यूरोप में छप रही थीं। यह भी नहीं कि हम उनकी नकल करते, वो भी नहीं। मुझे याद नहीं इस वक़्त, मेरा ख़याल है कि इस वक़्त, मेरा ख़याल है कि अकबर बादशाह के ज़माने में, या जहाँगीर के, किताबें भी आई छपी हुई वहाँ से, लोगों ने देखा, अच्छा है। लेकिन किसी को नहीं सूझी कि हम भी करें इसको। इससे ज़ाहिर होता है कि हमारा समाज ठिठुर गया था। ताज़गी नहीं रही थी दिमागों में, नई बातें पकड़ने की, नयी बातें पैदा करने की और जिस क़ौम में ताज़गी नहीं रहती दिमाग की, वो क़ौम ठिठुर जाती है, सूख जाती है, देखने में ख़ूबसूरत मालूम हो, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के कमज़ोर और बेजान होती जाती है। तो ऐसा कुछ जोड़ हुआ कि जो ज़माना यूरोप की ताक़त बढ़ने का था, वो ज़माना हमारी कमज़ोरी का था, दिमागी कमज़ोरी का और, और भी। और नतीजा यह हुआ कि यूरोप छा गया— खाली हिन्दुस्तान पर नहीं, बल्कि एशिया पर, अफ़्रीका पर। हालांकि उसके पहले का ज़माना आप देखें इस दो तीन सौ बरस पहले का। तो एशिया की हैसियत दुनिया में अक्सर यूरोप से आगे रही, दौलत में भी और बहुत

बातों में भी। खैर, फिर यह ज़माना गुज़रा तो अब मैं आपको दिखा रहा था कि जो बड़ी क्रान्ति जिससे यूरोप बढ़ा, जो विज्ञान से आई, इल्म से आई, नयी बातें उनको मिलीं। जिससे नयी ताक़त, भाप की ताक़त मिली। उसके बाद उन्होंने बिजली की ताक़त निकाली। सब मामूली चीज़ें हैं- आपके लिए, हमारे लिए। और दुनिया में हज़ार बरस से भाप भी है और बिजली तो आसमान पर लाखों-करोड़ों बरस से है। कुछ छिपी चीज़ नहीं थी, जादू। लेकिन अक्ल से, उसको पकड़ के उसको काम में लाना यह नई बात हुई। उसने दुनिया को बदल दिया। इसलिए यूरोप बढ़ा, ताक़त आयी। और हल्के-हल्के खुशहाल मुल्क हो गये, दौलतमंद मुल्क हो गये। क्योंकि इस ताक़त से उन्होंने लोहा और कोयला और हज़ार चीज़ें ज़मीन से निकालीं और कारख़ाने बनाये। हमारे मुल्क में भी कोई कमी लोहे और कोयले की नहीं है। सामान सब मौजूद है और मुल्कों से कुछ ज़्यादा ही है। लेकिन वो जैसे पहले गड़ा हुआ था ज़मीन के नीचे, फिर भी गड़ा रहा। और कुछ हम भी गड़े रहे उसी के साथ-साथ। तो मैं आपको दिखाता हूँ कि कौम, कौमों और मुल्क बढ़ते कैसे हैं? कोई जुलूस से और नारे से नहीं बढ़ता, कोई पार्लियामेंट के कानून से नहीं बढ़ता है। वो बढ़ता है जब लोगों के दिमाग ताज़ा हों। ताज़ा हों, जानदार लोग हों और मिलकर काम कर सकें, तब बढ़ती है कौम।

मुझे याद है कि जब हम स्वराज की लड़ाई लड़ा करते थे, तो अक्सर मुझे ये खयाल आता था कि स्वराज तो हमें मिल ही जाएगा। मुझे इत्मीनान था। लेकिन जो खयाल बार-बार आता था, वो यह कि स्वराज मिलने के बाद हमारी क्या हैसियत होगी? हममें वो दिमाग की ताज़गी होगी कि नहीं, जान होगी कि नहीं। या कहीं हम फिर गड़्ढे में न फँस जायें। बढ़ती हुई दुनिया में हम वहीं खड़े रह जायें। कोई चीज़ कोई चीज़ एक जगह रह नहीं सकती है बग़ैर ठिठुरे और बेजान हो जाये। एक दरिया, दरिया बहता है। आप जानते हैं। हर वक़्त बदलता रहता है। दरिया का पानी एक नहीं है, गंगा का पानी। गंगा, गंगा हमेशा है, लेकिन गंगा का पानी हर वक़्त बहता है नया पानी आता है। तो गंगा ताज़ी है, जमुना ताज़ी है। पानी कहीं रख लीजिए आप एक, एक तालाब में, बहे नहीं वो, ख़राब होता जाता है, ताज़गी निकल जाती है। सूखता जाता है। ऐसे ही कौमों होती हैं। तो हिन्दुस्तान के हज़ारों बरस के इतिहास में हमने वक़्त देखे, बहते हुए दरिया की तरह आगे बढ़ना और रुक जाना एक तालाब बन के सूखना, दोनों देखे हैं। तो मैं उस ज़माने में सोचा करता था कि बाद में क्या होगा हिन्दुस्तान में? वो ताज़गी दिमाग की आएगी, वो हिम्मत आएगी, जो हमें नज़र आती थी उस वक़्त गांधीजी की तहरीक़ में। हिम्मत, ग़ुरूर, कुर्बानी, बलिदान बड़ी बातें हैं। ताज़गी दिमाग में कुछ थी, लेकिन मौक़ा उसको नहीं मिल पाता था। खैर, आज़ादी के बग़ैर बाद मौक़ा भी मिल सकता था। यह सवाल मेरे सामने आते थे। और कम से कम जो जवाब मेरे दिमाग में आता था वो यही था कि जब कोई मुल्क इतनी कशमकश के बाद, इतनी कुर्बानी और बलिदान के बाद, हिम्मत दिखाने के बाद आज़ाद होगा। तो यकीनन एक जानदार मुल्क होगा और वो उसकी जान उसको आगे ले जाएगी, बढ़ाएगी।

एक बात ये आपने कभी गौर किया कि नहीं कि जो गाँधी जी की तहरीक़ थी। एक माने में ज़ाहिर है अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य के खिलाफ़ थी। सारी हमारी आज़ादी की तहरीक़ खिलाफ़ थी, एक माने में। लेकिन गांधीजी का ध्यान हर वक़्त इस तरफ़ रहता था कि कैसे अपने लोगों की ताक़त बढ़ायें, हम एकता बढ़ायें। क्योंकि आज़ादी का हासिल करना वो एक नतीजा था उनकी आँखों में। अगर ताक़त है हममें तो हम आज़ादी ले लेंगे। यानी एक माने में उनको यह मंज़ूर नहीं था कि आज़ादी

इत्फ़ाक से आ जाये बगैर हमारी कोशिश, परिश्रम, ताक़त और बलिदान किए। क्योंकि अगर बगैर इसके आ जाती तो हम वैसे ही कमज़ोर रहते। तो फिर कोई हमसे छीन ले जाता आज़ादी। हम निकम्मे रहें तो इत्फ़ाक से तो नहीं हम कारामद हो जाते। सारी उनकी तीस-चालीस बरसों की कोशिश थी कि हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों को इंसान बनायें, शानदार इंसान। जिनका सिर ऊँचा है, जिनके दिल तगड़े हैं, दिमाग ताज़ा हैं। और जो मिलकर रह सकते हैं और काम कर सकते हैं। और उसकी अलग-अलग शक्तें थीं। अगर यह करना है तो ज़ाहिर है कि हममें आपस में फूट नहीं होनी चाहिए चाहे हिन्दू-मुसलमान, सिक्ख, ईसाई जो भी कुछ एक हिन्दुस्तान में रहते हैं। उनको बराबर के हक़ होने चाहिए, एक बड़ा ख़ानदान, एक बड़ा परिवार होना चाहिए हिन्दुस्तान का। और जो हममें से लोग, हमारी जो कुछ कहिए जहालत से, निकम्मेपन से जो ख़ास समाज ने जिनको दबाया है, जिनको हम आजकल हरिजः कहते हैं या और जो कौमों ऐसी हैं उनको उठाना चाहिए। उनको भी बराबर के हक़ होने चाहिए। क्योंकि उनके दिमाग में जो तस्वीर थी वो सारे कौम को उठाने की थी और अंदर से उठने की थी। और उनका दिल और दिमाग ऊपर जो अंदर से उठ गया, वो तो ऊपर से उठ ही जाता है। लेकिन अगर ऊपर से आप ज़रा उठा दीजिए तब उठाके ऊँची कुर्सी पर बैठा दीजिए, उसमें खुद ताक़त नहीं हैं उस पर बैठने की, वो दुलक जाएगा, वहाँ कायम भी नहीं रहेगा। जिस, जिस बात को आप गांधीजी को देखें उस ज़माने की। आप देखेंगे कि उनकी आँखों के सामने था- कैसे हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों की ताक़त बढ़े, इज्ज़त अपने दिल में अपनी इज्ज़त कर सकें।

और उसका एक दूसरा पहलू, हालाँकि उसी का एक हिस्सा है, यह था कि कैसे वो अपने ऊपर भरोसा कर सकें? दूसरे के ऊपर भरोसा न करें। उन्होंने कहा कि चरखा चलाओ और हमारे बड़े-बड़े पंडित लोगों ने कहा, अरे आजकल के ज़माने में मशीन का ज़माना है, चरखा क्या कर लेगा? कहीं चरखा मुकाबला करता है बड़ी सी मशीन का? और हँसे वो। मालूम नहीं अब वो हँसते हैं कि क्या करते हैं उसका सोच के वो लोग? लेकिन एक पहलू की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाता हूँ, माने क्या थे उस चरखे के? बहुत माने हैं और मैं कोई इस मामले में पंडित नहीं हूँ कि मैं आपको बताऊँ उसके सब माने। लेकिन जिसकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ वो यह, वो लोगों को खुदमुख्तार तो बनाना ही चाहते थे। ऐसा कि वो खुद अपने ऊपर भरोसा करें। किसी दूसरे पर नहीं, उससे ताक़त आ जाती है, उससे आप मुकाबले कर सकते हैं। चरखे में चाहे चार आने रोज़ की आमदनी हो, वो आमदनी थी। वो घर पर रहे, घर पर बैठे रहें, बैठ के कुछ न करने से बेहतर है? और अगर वो चार आने रोज़ के आप तीस करोड़ आदमियों से ज़रब दे दें या बीस करोड़ - जो कुछ है, तो बहुत भारी रक़म हो जाती थी। दस करोड़ भी कर दीजिए, हो जाती थी बड़ी भारी रक़म।

यह सवाल हमारे सामने एक दूसरे ढँग से आजकल आया। आप जानते हैं कि हम कोई बड़ी मशीन के खिलाफ़ नहीं हैं, कभी भी नहीं थे, मैं तो कभी भी नहीं था। उस ज़माने में भी जब चरखे का ज़माना था उस वक़्त भी बड़ी मशीन को मैं समझता था कि यह आवश्यक चीज़ है हिन्दुस्तान में। क्योंकि उस बड़ी मशीन ने खुशहाल किया है और देशों को। उसी बड़ी मशीन ने, आजकल की विद्या ने, विज्ञान ने एक इंक़लाब पैदा कर दिया है यूरोप के देशों में, अमेरिका में, उनको दौलतमंद कर दिया है। और, और रोज़गार सभी को दिलाया। तो बड़ी मशीन का विरोध करना फिज़ूल है। हाँ, किस ढँग से बड़ी मशीन चले, कहाँ चले, कब चले? यह विचारतलब बात है। तो हम तो आजकल ख़ासकर कोई बड़ी मशीन का विरोध नहीं करते। आप जाइए इस समय

देखिए कितनी हमारी सिंदरी जाइए, जहाँ वो खाद बनती है, फर्टिलाइज़र। ये कोई मशीनें थोड़ी हैं खाली, एक-एक मशीन एक शहर है। उधर जाइए भिलाई और राउरकेला और, और दुर्गापुर जोकि लोहे के, लोहा बनाती हैं। स्टील, एक एक कारखाना, एक लाख आदमियों का शहर हो गया है और बढ़ता जाता है, दो लाख का होगा। और अब उसको हम दुगुना करेंगे। गर्ज कि हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े शहरों में उनकी गिनती होगी। तो यह तो हम कर रहे हैं, और करते जाएंगे, बड़े ज़ोरों से। लेकिन वाक़ूद हम इन सब बातों के करने के यह वाक़या है कि हिन्दुस्तान में करोड़ों आदमी या तो काम नहीं करते। यानी अपनी मेहनत से कुछ पैदा नहीं करते या काम जो करते हैं वो अधूरा काम है, साल में कुछ महीने कर लें बाकी नहीं।

अब एक लम्बे, कुछ दिन के- यानी दूरदर्शी। आप करें, दस बरस बाद, पन्द्रह बरस बाद, बीस बरस बाद, जैसे कि हमें करनी चाहिए, हम करने की कोशिश करते हैं। तब हम देख सकते हैं कि ज्यों-ज्यों यह बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं, लोग उसमें जाते हैं, उनके लिए लोगों को सिखाना पड़ता है, हर आदमी जा नहीं सकता। लेकिन बड़े कारखाने की औलाद छोटा कारखाना होता है। बड़े कारखाने की औलाद अच्छी खेती होती है। लोहे के औज़ार मिलते हैं उन्हें, जो नहीं हैं उनके पास। अभी तक हमारी खेती में हल है, बहुत कुछ नये हल आ गये हैं। लेकिन बहुत कुछ निहायत पुराने हल हैं जोकि शायद हजार बरस पहले वैसे ही चलते थे। कोई फ़र्क ही नहीं हुआ उसमें। तो शिकायत करें लोग कि साहब ज़मीन से काफी पैदा नहीं होता यहाँ। तो क्या किया जाये? ज़ाहिर है ये मट्टी, ये लकड़ी के हल हैं जिनकी नोक पर भी जो लोहा थोड़ा दो एक इंची लगा है, वो ज़मीन को खुरचते हैं कोई ज़मीन को उखाड़ते तो नहीं। लेकिन बदलता जाता है दुनिया में। तो बड़े कारखाने से और लोहे के इस प्रयोग से खेती को फ़ायदा होता है, छोटे कारखाने बनते हैं बेशुमार, जगह निकलती है लोगों के काम करने को, बेरोज़गारी हटती है यानी एम्पलायमेंट वगैरह सब होता है और होगा यकीनन। दस बरस में, पंद्रह बरस में, पूरा कब हो? ज़रा मुश्किल है कहना। लेकिन वो सिलसिला ज़्यादा तेज़ी से बढ़ता जाएगा।

क्योंकि उसमें दिक्कत जो होती है वो भी आप याद रखें। वो यह कि हर साल पचास-साठ लाख, मालूम नहीं नये लोग मौजूद हो जाते हैं इस मुल्क में, खाने को, पीने को, कपड़े पहनने को, घर रहने को। और उनके लिए स्कूल बनें, अस्पताल बनें और उनके लिए काम हो। तो यह हमारी रफ़्तार को ज़रा हल्का कर देती है। (हँसी) तो, तो यह सब बातें तो ठीक हैं। ये तो हो जाएँगी, यकीनन होगा। लेकिन इस वक़्त अगर आप देखें, तो जैसे मैंने कहा, करोड़ों आदमी पूरे तौर से काम नहीं करते। यानी उनको मौक़ा नहीं मिलता, उनका क़सूर नहीं, उनको मौक़ा नहीं मिलता। कुछ लोग, काफी लोग तो बेकार ही हैं हमारे। फ़र्ज़ करो, खेती में लीजिए आप। ज़मीन पर बहुत सारे हमारे किसान, वगैरह अच्छा काम करते हैं, हालांकि अधिकतर उनमें अभी तक पुराने तरीक़े से काम करते हैं और उनको नये तरीक़े से करना चाहिए। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि कोई बड़ा ट्रैक्टर आए, मशीन आए। वो जहाँ आए, आए। वो आमतौर से हिन्दुस्तान में इस वक़्त नहीं आ सकता। लेकिन नये तरीक़ों में है कि नया अच्छा हल तो हो। जो आसानी से आ सकता है, बहुत महँगा भी नहीं है। अच्छे से अच्छा हल आपको चालीस-पचास रुपये में मिल जाएगा। और ज़रा अच्छा चाहते हैं साठ-सत्तर में मिल जाए। और अच्छे ख़ाली हल नहीं और भी छोटे-छोटे औज़ार हैं कोई पन्द्रह रुपये का और कोई बीस रुपये का। जिससे काम अच्छा हो, जल्दी हो, और ज़्यादा पैदा हो। हरेक जानता है और कहीं दूर जाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। यहीं आप देख लें, बाज़ किसान

जो ऐसा करते हैं, मामूली किसान, मैं कोई बड़े लोगों का नहीं कहता, उनका कितना फ़ायदा होता है।

अभी पार साल या कुछ ज़माना हुआ, महीने हुए, अपने ज़िले इलाहाबाद में या और इलाहाबाद का ज़िला, आमतौर से पिछड़ा हुआ गिना जाता है खेती के मामले में। यानी पैदावार के मामले में। एक हिन्दुस्तान की औसत शायद बारह मन है- एक एकड़ में गेहूँ के पैदा करने की, बहुत कम है। दुगुनी-तिगुनी होनी चाहिए। औसत है, और इलाहाबाद ज़िले के उस हिस्से की औसत शायद नौ-दस मन थी। यानी और भी कम है। तो मैं उन किसानों से कह रहा था कि बड़े शर्म की बात है कि हमारे ज़िले में हम इस तरह से पिछड़े हुए हैं। और इतना [...] तो एक आदमी उठा, बेचारा बिल्कुल एक देखने में मामूली हैसियत, एक कुर्मी था मामूली हैसियत का। उसने कहा कि हमारे एक एकड़ में उनचास मन पैदा हुआ है गेहूँ। पचास के करीब समझिए। औसत वहाँ की नौ-दस मन की थी, यानी पाँच गुना उसमें पैदा किया। और उसके पास कोई ट्रैक्टर वगैरह नहीं था यह नहीं। महज़ उसने इतनी ख़िदमत की, इतनी सेवा की, चुनकर बीज लगाए। यह बड़ी ज़रूरी बात है, खोदा ज़रा अच्छा, पानी ठीक-ठीक दिया। यही जो बातें हैं जिसको हर किसान को करनी चाहिए। उसने पंचगुनी कर दी। तो ख़ैर, और ऐसे ही इससे मालूम होता है कि आप सारे हिन्दुस्तान की पंचगुनी कर सकते हैं। एकदम से नहीं, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के अगर लोग इस तरह से उधर ध्यान दें। और जो आजकल का दृश्य है उससे फ़ायदा उठायें। कोई छिपी बात नहीं हरेक जानता है। ख़ैर, मेरा ख़याल है कि यह बात अब ज़रा ज़्यादा तेज़ी से हिन्दुस्तान में हो रही है।

बहरसूरत, मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि ये, ये खेती में इन नयी बातों का काफी फ़ायदा है। बड़े कारख़ानों को आप ख़ाली न देखें, बड़े कारख़ानों में से जो औज़ार निकलते हैं, उससे खेती चमक उठती है। छोटे-मोटे औज़ार, बड़ों को छोड़ें आप, और बड़े भी निकलते हैं। तो फिर भी इस वक़्त खेती में हमारे, ज़मीन पर- यानी देहाती ज़मीन पर ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा आदमी रहते हैं। यानी जिनका पेशा सिवाय खेती करने के कुछ और नहीं है, वो ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा लोग हैं। उनसे कम लोग रहें तब भी वो काम अच्छा चले और बड़ा भला रहे। लेकिन वो बेचारे आदमी जाएँ कहीं, नहीं कहीं जा सकते, फिर पड़ जाते हैं उसी ज़मीन पर। ज़मीन ज़रा सी, एक परिवार के पास ज़रा सी ज़मीन होगी और ख़ानदान बढ़ता जाता है, उसी ज़मीन पर खाता-पीता है, ग़रीब होता जाता है, ज़मीन भी ख़राब होती है।

इसलिए हमें देहात, देहात में लोगों के लिए और काम ढूँढना है। एक तो अच्छा काम, खेती अच्छी हो। और दूसरे और काम हों, छोटे-छोटे उद्योग धंधे हों, छोटे-बड़े कारख़ाने बनें देहात में। मैं इसके बिल्कुल हक़ में नहीं रहा हूँ कि कलकत्ता, बम्बई और दिल्ली में बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनें। जितना काम [...] दिल्ली और बड़े उतना ही अच्छा है उसके लिए। लेकिन हमें अपने गाँव को आबाद करना है और आबाद होते हैं काम से, कोई नकली मकान बना दे, मॉडल विलेज वो तो फिज़ूल बात है। काम से होते हैं, और काम से दौलत पैदा होता है ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने से, तो वहाँ हम छोटे-बड़े कारख़ाने बनायें। गरज़ कि काफी बेकारी आजकल है हिन्दुस्तान में, पढ़े-लिखे लोगों में है और अनपढ़ लोगों में और भी है। पढ़े-लिखे लोगों की ज़रा-ज़रा शोहरत ज़्यादा होती है, अनपढ़ बेचारे लोगों की कम। असल में अनपढ़ में है। तो उसको आखिर में हटाने का तरीक़ा तो यही है कि जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि काम बढ़े। यही उद्योग-धंधे, इंडस्ट्री छोटी-बड़ी, ग्रामोद्योग, हर तरह की चीज़ बढ़े— गाँव में, शहर में, हर जगह। और अब भी आप देखें आमतौर से जो शख्स कुछ ऐसे

नये कामों को जानता है, जानकर निकला है सीखकर। यानी कोई इंजीनियर के किसी किस्म का हो या फोरमैन हो या कोई टेक्नीशियन हो। उसको आमतौर से काम फौरन मिल जाता है। हाँ, औरों को ज़रा कठिनाई होती है कभी-कभी।

तो सवाल इस वक़्त हमारा यह हो जाता है कि कैसे हम फ़ायदा उठायें? जो जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में कहते हैं अनयूज्ड मैनपावर, यानी जो आदमियों की शक्ति है, जो इस वक़्त काम में नहीं आ रही है। जो आ रही है, वो तो आ रही है। यानी बेकारी के, बेरोज़गारी के माने हैं आदमियों की शक्ति काम में नहीं आ रही है। छोड़ दीजिए उनको, क्या कठिनाई होती है? अब ऐसी शक्ति को हम काम में लायें, तो एकदम से एक बड़ा समुंदर हमें मिल जाता है काम करने वालों का। चाहे वो एक आदमी उतना न करे काम, जितना कि वो पूरे तौर से उसको मौक़ा मिले करे या कम से कम उसकी आमदनी न हो। मेरा मतलब यह है कि फर्ज़ कीजिए कि मामूली औसत आमदनी की, एक अनपढ़ आदमी की, जो कुछ समझिए रुपया दो रुपया रोज़ है। कहीं दो रुपये, कहीं तीन रुपये, कहीं एक रुपया, कहीं देहात में कम। अगर दो-चार आने रोज़ भी कमा ले- आरज़ी तौर से, चाहे चरखा चला के, चाहे कोई ऐसी चीज़ चला के, तब नई दौलत पैदा करता है अपने लिए, औरों के लिए। वो जो चार आने कमाता है, वो अम्बर चरखा चला के, वो कोई मशीन के मुकाबले का सवाल नहीं है। मशीन चले, अपनी जगह पर करे। लेकिन आप एक नया, एक नया रास्ता निकालते हैं दौलत पैदा करने का। वो लोग, जो बेचारे इस वक़्त कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं या कम कर रहे हैं। यानी आजकल के सवालियों के ख़याल से देखते हुए भी हम फिर, वो जो गांधीजी ने कहा था वो बात याद आती है। उन्होंने चरखे के निस्वत कहा था- आजकल चरखा चलाओ आप या और कुछ करो, लेकिन बात आ जाती है वही, कि हम कैसे हिन्दुस्तान के अनयूज्ड मैनपावर का इस्तेमाल करें? अलावा इसके जो ज़ावो से हो रहा है, वो तो हो ही रहा है काम। गरज़ कि ये सवाल आ जाते हैं।

और मैं आपको बताऊँ कि आपने सुना कि चीन में बाज़ बातों में बड़ी तरक्की हुई, खेती में, कारख़ाने से करने में, कितनी हुई? वो तो मैं नहीं कह सकता। क्योंकि जो पहले कहा जाता था, मालूम हुआ बाद में कि वो सही नहीं था उससे कम हुई है। लेकिन यकीनन हुई है। क्यों हुई? इसलिए कि उन्होंने अपने अनयूज्ड मैनपावर का प्रयोग किया। ज़बर्दस्ती किया माना मैंने, लेकिन किया। वहाँ कोई, बहुत ज़्यादा आज़ादी नहीं है लोगों को। वो तय करें कि काम करेंगे कि नहीं करेंगे, कि कब करेंगे? और कितना करेंगे? और कितना उसमें उस पर मज़दूरी मिले? और कितने घंटे काम करना? और कोई बात नहीं है। ये माना, लेकिन उन्होंने अपने करोड़ों लोगों को काम करवाया और बेहद काम करवाया और बेहद काम करवाया, और कहीं आठ घंटे, कहीं दस घंटे, कहीं बारह घंटे, कहीं चौदह घंटे रोज़ काम हो रहा है। लेकिन उसका नतीजा यह निकला कि चीन ने ज़मीन से और कारख़ाने से अपनी उत्पादन और अपनी पैदावार बहुत बढ़ा दी।

अब हम ज़बर्दस्ती तो नहीं कर सकते उस ढँग की। हमारा नक्शा ही हिन्दुस्तान का नहीं है ऐसा। और न हम चाहते हैं इस तरह की ज़बर्दस्ती हो। लेकिन मोटी बात यह है, आप याद रखें कि मुल्क उतना ही बढ़ता है जितना उसमें काम होता है। जितना परिश्रम होता है, उतना मुल्क बढ़ता है। मुल्क दफ़्तरों में कागज़-दस्तख़त करने से नहीं बढ़ता, न जुलूस निकालने से बढ़ता है। वक़्त पर आप जुलूस निकालें। वक़्त पर, आख़िर दफ़्तर भी ज़रूरी है। लेकिन जितना परिश्रम होता है उतना ही आदमी बढ़ेगा, उतना ही मुल्क बढ़ेगा। कोई चाहे आप क्रान्ति करें अपने मुल्क में, चाहे

आप समाजवाद लायें, साम्यवाद लायें, पूँजीवाद लायें, कोई वाद लायें, जितना परिश्रम होगा, उतनी तरक्की होगी। यह सिद्धान्त हरेक का है।

और आप देखें जैसे मैंने पहले भी कहा है कि जो इस वक्त हमारे सामने वह नुमाया मिसालें हैं मुल्कों की तेज़ी से तरक्की की इस लड़ाई के बाद। बारह-तेरह बरस हुए लड़ाई को, लड़ाई के बाद जो मुल्क बिल्कुल तबाह हो गये थे वो जर्मनी था, रूस का बड़ा भारी हिस्सा था, जापान था, जहाँ वो एटम बम गिरे। और भी तबाह हुए थे, लेकिन ये खासतौर से तबाह हुए। इन तीनों मुल्कों को आप आज देखें जर्मनी को, रूस को और जापान को। इसमें एक मुल्क जैसे रूस वो तो साम्यवादी मुल्क और दो पूँजीवादी, तीनों मुल्कों ने इस दस-बारह बरस में एक हैरतअंगेज़ तरक्की की। हिरोशिमा, नागासाकी खत्म हो गए थे दो शहर बिल्कुल, बिल्कुल नेस्तोनाबूत हो गये थे। अब जाके आप देखिए, दो बरस हुए मैं गया था वहाँ, देखा फिर आबाद है, लाखों आदमी रहते हैं। वहाँ, कारखाने चल रहे हैं, मकान हैं, ये हैं वो हैं। जर्मनी में जाइये, खंडहर था, अब एक बड़े दौलतमंद मुल्कों में हो गया। और फिर ताक़त उसकी बढ़ती जाती है। रूस को देखिए, सारे उनका एक बड़ा भारी हिस्सा, बिल्कुल हिटलर ने खत्म कर दिया था, फिर खड़ा हुआ है। फिर ताक़त उनकी तेज़ी से बढ़ रही है, और चौद तक पहुँचे हैं।

तो मेरा मतलब यह है कि मैंने आपको मिसालें दीं, साम्यवादी देश की और पूँजीवादी देश की, जहाँ मेहनत करने और मिलकर मेहनत करने वाले लोग हों उन्होंने खड़ा कर दिया अपने देश को। चाहे कोई भी नीति उन्होंने ली हो, असल में मेहनत और परिश्रम था, न कि वार्तालाप करें और शास्त्रार्थ करें हम बैठ के, कि हम ये करें और वो करें। या हर वक्त माँग हो कि हमें ज्यादा तनख्वाह मिले, हमें ज्यादा मज़दूरी दो और ये करो। और उसने यह किया। वो एक नक्शा बदल जाता है। तो ज़ाहिर है उसकी बहस होनी चाहिए किस नीति पर करें हम, क्या पॉलिसी हो? बहस होनी चाहिए, उसमें तो मैं नहीं कहता कुछ, लेकिन यह याद रखिये कि सबके पीछे परिश्रम और मेहनत है। और उसका फल तभी मिलता है जब मिलकर लोग करें। अगर अलग-अलग टुकड़ों में करें, खेंचातानी करें, तब नहीं चलता। दिल्ली, मैं आपको कह दूँ कि बड़ी मेहनत की जगह नहीं है, दफ़्तरी जगह है। हाँ दफ़्तर में मेहनत होती है, मैं नहीं इंकार करता। लेकिन अब जर्मनी को आप लें, जर्मनी लड़ाई के बाद हारा, हारा हुआ मुल्क था, तबाह था। और कुछ शर्म थी, कुछ गुस्सा था, कुछ गुरूर था। गरज़ कि जो भी कुछ उसकी वजह हो, उन्होंने काम करना शुरू किया। उनके पास घर रहने के नहीं हैं क्योंकि घर सब बम ने गिरा दिये थे बग़ैर घर के खंडहर में रहे। कारखाने पहले उन्होंने खड़े किए बग़ैर घर अपना बनाने के, और बारह घंटे, चौदह-घंटे और बारह घंटे काम किया उन लोगों ने। ज़ोरों से काम किया है और उस वक्त यह सवाल नहीं था कि कम मेहनत हो और ज्यादा तनख्वाह हो, कम मज़दूरी और ज्यादा काम। बढ़ना था मुल्क को, बढ़ाया। और अब उन्हें मज़दूरी भी ज्यादा मिलती है और घर भी हैं उनके पास शानदार। उसका नतीजा निकला मेहनत का। और मेहनत के पहले उसको रखते तो उठते ही नहीं।

यह बात याद रखने की है क्योंकि एक तरफ से हमारे ऊपर यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में कितने ज़बर्दस्त दबाव हैं वाक़यात के। चाहे वो ख़तरा हो हमारी सरहद पर, सीमा पर। चाहे वो माँग हो हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना की, क्योंकि वो रुपया खाती है। हाँ वो रुपया जो खाती है, वो खाके और पैदा करती है रुपया। ये सही बात है। क्योंकि जो भी रुपया हम पंचवर्षीय योजना में लगायें, हम कारखाना लोहे का खोलें या हम और कोई बात ऐसी करें। उससे आमदनी बाद में होगी, और बहुत

होगी। मुल्क के लिए अच्छा होगा। लेकिन इस वक़्त तो खर्चना है। तो ये लोहे के कारख़ाने तीन बने हैं, इन तीन लोहे के कारख़ानों में जहाँ तक मुझे याद है पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये लगे हैं। ज़रा ख़याल तो करो, बड़ी रक़म है पाँच सौ करोड़। लेकिन अब वो क़रीब-क़रीब ख़त्म हो गये हैं और लोहा बनना शुरू हुआ है। आज से, कल से उनसे आमदनी बढ़ेगी, होगी। जिससे मुल्क को बेइंतहा फ़ायदा होगा। यानी रुपया लगाना होता है। हमारा मुल्क ऐसे ज़माने में है जब उसको रुपया इन्वेस्ट करना है, लगाना है, हर बात में लगाना है रुपया। उसका फल एकदम से नहीं मिलता। चाहे हम कारख़ाने खड़े करें, चाहे हम ज़मीन में रुपया लगायें, उसके फर्टिलाइज़र की फैक्टरी बनायें, खाद उसकी बनायें, चाहे हम पढ़ाई में खर्च करें। क्योंकि पढ़ाई में भी, जो रुपया हम लगाते हैं, वो बहुत ज़रूरी है। क्योंकि लोगों को तैयार करते हैं जोकि उस हिन्दुस्तान को चला सकें। क्योंकि असल चीज़ आख़िर में इंसान होता है, न कारख़ाना होता है, न लोहा होता है। तो लोगों को तैयार करना है पढ़ाई में, चाहे हम स्वास्थ्य में लगायें।

तो सब, चारों तरफ से रुपये की माँग है- हिन्दुस्तान की, आज़ाद हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की के लिए। जितनी उसमें कमी हो, हमारे पैसे न लगाने के लिए उतने हम हल्के चलते हैं। यह मुश्किल बात है। तो अब उसमें कमी हो जाती है अगर हमारे अंदरूनी खर्च इतने बढ़ जायें कि सारा वो ही हज़म कर जाते हैं रुपया जो कुछ है, कुछ आइन्दा लगाने के लिए है ही नहीं।

अभी आप देखें हमारे यहाँ एक सवाल उठा है, अभी एक तनख़्वाहों के बारे में, जो ये सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के मुलाज़िम हैं, उनकी तनख़्वाहों के बारे में एक कमीशन मुक़र्रर किया। उसका एक सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज उसके सदर थे और भी अच्छे लोग थे और ऐसे लोग जिनको बड़ी हमदर्दी थी आम जनता से। और लेबर के मामलों में भी मशहूर थे कि उनकी हमदर्दी है। उन्होंने सब बातों पर विचार करके एक रिपोर्ट पेश की। हमारे सामने जब वो रिपोर्ट आई, तो कुछ परेशानी हुई। मैं आपको बताऊँ, इसलिए नहीं कि हम उस रिपोर्ट को ग़लत समझते थे, लेकिन उस रिपोर्ट का नतीजा यह हुआ कि एक बड़ी रक़म को हमें, सालाना हमारा खर्च बढ़ जाता था। यानी गवर्नमेंट की कार्यवाही में खर्च हो, ऐसी कार्यवाही में जिससे हम आमदनी और नहीं कर सकते। हम अगर हमारा खर्च भी बढ़ गया फर्ज़ करो बीस करोड़ रुपये बढ़ गया, जो कुछ थी रक़म- मुझे याद नहीं सालाना। तो बीस करोड़ में, हम कितने कारख़ाने बना सकते थे, फर्टिलाइज़र फैक्टरी बना सकते थे। और एटॉमिक एनर्जी का काम बढ़ाते, पढ़ाई बढ़ाते। यह सब बातें हैं न, वो कम पड़ जाता है। तो हमें कुछ धक्का लगा कि क्या करें? कि एक तरफ से दबाव है कि खर्च करो, खर्च करो, इन्वेस्ट करो, रुपया लगाओ। ताकि कल आमदनी हो, ताकि हम हिन्दुस्तान में सब बातें कर सकें। दूसरी तरफ से हमारे ऊपर यह दबाव है कि अभी ज़्यादा तनख़्वाह, ज़्यादा मज़दूरी, ज़्यादा न दो। जितना हम देते हैं। और, उतना हमारे पास लगाने को कम हो जाता है। ख़ैर, लेकिन जब एक सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज ने और ऐसे बुजुर्गों ने हमें सलाह दी तो उससे हम इन्कार नहीं कर सकते थे और हमने उसे स्वीकार किया। कहीं न कहीं से लायेंगे वो बीस करोड़ रुपया, क्या किया जाए? अब हमने तो बड़ी कठिनाई से उसको स्वीकार किया। अब बहुत सारे हमारे भाई जो गवर्नमेंट के मुलाज़मीन हैं, वो कहते हैं कि यह तो काफी नहीं है और शिकायत करते हैं, आंदोलन करते हैं कि

काफी नहीं है हमारी तनख्वाहें बढ़ाओ। अब ज़ाहिर सी बात है कि आप एक गज़ से नापें, तो यह सही बात है। आप कहिए कि भई और तनख्वाहें मिलें तो अच्छा हो, है ही। यह तो नापने का गज़ है। कौन, किसको यहाँ तनख्वाह, छोड़ दीजिए बड़े अफ़सरों को, ऐसे उनको छोड़ दीजिए मुट्ठीभर और सभी को हक़ है कि ज़्यादा उनकी ज़िन्दगी आराम की हो। इसीलिए यह सब काम हो रहे हैं। पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह कि ज़्यादा आराम की ज़िन्दगी हो। लेकिन इस वक़्त ज़्यादा आराम की ज़िन्दगी की तलाश में कल और परसों खो जाता है। यह मुश्किल हमारी है। तो एक और दूसरा पहलू भी आप देखें कि मैंने माना कि एक गज़ से आप नापें, तो यह जो सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट के मुलाज़मीन हैं वो अच्छा मुकदमा पेश कर सकते हैं। दूसरा देखिए कि अभी तक जो हमारे राज्यों के, प्रदेशों के, स्टेट्स के यहाँ मुलाज़मीन हैं, उनको सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट की तनख्वाह से कहीं कम मिलती है। काम वही करते हैं। अब उनको और भी ज़्यादा हक़ है माँगने का, आप कहेंगे। और आगे चाहिए कि हिन्दुस्तान के आम किसान की क्या आमदनी है? तब आप देखें वो तो बहुत ही कम है इससे, तो किस गज़ से हम नापें? हम तो चाहते हैं सभी की हालत बढ़े।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें। और, और लोग भी समझें कि बहुत सारी जो बातें हैं, बहुत सारे हक़, मुनासिब हक़ हैं। लेकिन इस वक़्त मौका नहीं है हकों पे और देने का। क्योंकि उससे हम कभी आगे बढ़ते नहीं। और जैसे मैंने आपको मिसाल दी जर्मनी की लड़ाई के बाद उन्होंने कम से कम मज़दूरी ली, और खंडहरों में रहे, मकान तक नहीं उनके पास थे और चौदह घंटे, बारह घंटे काम किया। चीन में मैंने कहा कि इतना काम लोगों से ले रहे थे कि कारख़ाने में काम करने वाले बेचारे सो जाएँ, उनसे जगना मुश्किल हो जाए। जब बारह घंटे हो जाएँ, दिन भर काम करते-करते। इस तरह से। तो हम तो नहीं चाहते कि इस तरह से काम लिया जाये। लेकिन ये मिसाल है कि जो मुल्क इरादा करता है, प्रतिज्ञा करता है बढ़ने की, वो बढ़ता है। कुछ बरस तक मुसीबत झेल के। तब फिर उससे फ़ायदा उठाता है नहीं तो आप फ़ायदा उठायें, न आपके बच्चे उठा सकें। और हमारे सामने यह एक पेचीदा मौका है, हमारे बढ़ने में। हम काफी बढ़े हैं इस दस-बारह बरस में, उसमें कोई शक़ नहीं। दुनिया जानती है। लेकिन बढ़े इस तरह से हैं कि बुनियादें हमने डाली हैं बढ़ने की, चाहे वो लोहे के कारख़ाने हों, चाहे बड़े-बड़े नदियों की योजनाएँ हों, रिवर वैलीज़ स्कीम हों, जिससे पावर पैदा होता है, शक्ति। और कितनी और बातें हैं।

फ़ौज का ही ले लीजिए, फ़ौज की चर्चा आजकल बहुत है। फ़ौज में फ़ौज के सामान में जितनी तरक्की पिछले बरसों में की है। पिछले ख़ासकर दो तीन बरस में। शक्ल बदल गयी हमारी फ़ौज की। लोग पूरे तौर से जानते न हों। आप, जुलूस में देखलें रिपब्लिक डे के, वो तो ऊपरी बातें हैं। लेकिन जो असली ताकतें होती हैं फ़ौज की, कि हमारे कारख़ानों में, फ़ौजी कारख़ानों में वो क्या पैदा करते हैं- इंसान, सिपाही, बहादुर से बहादुर हो। बेकार होता है, अगर उसके पास ठीक हथियार न हो। और अब तक मोहताज थे। हथियार हम मँगा रहे हैं वहाँ से- अमेरिका से, इंग्लैंड से, कहाँ-कहाँ से, और मुल्कों से हथियार लाये। और आजकल के हथियार बड़े पेचीदा होते हैं। तो हम तो, यह तो एक आज़ाद मुल्क की आज़ादी नहीं। दूसरे के सुपुर्द हो जाती है अगर आप हथियार तक न बना सकें। इस पर हमने ज़ोर दिया जोकि नहीं पहले ज़ोर दिया गया था। मैं तस्लीम करता हूँ और हमारे आर्डिनेन्स फैक्ट्रीज़ में हमने देखा कि बहुत काबिल आदमी हैं, बहुत अच्छे इंजीनियर हैं। और बहुत काफी अच्छे टेक्नीशियंस भी हैं, मेकैनिक्स हैं बहुत अच्छे। और अब उन्होंने वो चीज़ें बनानी शुरू कीं। और कुछ हवाई जहाज़ भी हम बना रहे हैं, कल उससे ज़बर्दस्त लड़ाई के जहाज़

बड़े निकलेंगे। और सामान, जो बड़े से बड़ा हमारे यहाँ या तो बन रहा है या तो उसकी शुरुआत हो रही है। आप जाके वहाँ देख लें नुमाइश हो रही है, एग्रीकल्चरल फ़ेयर वहाँ सुपर डिफेंस का पैविलियन है। कितनी हमारे यहाँ कारख़ानों में तरक्की की है। यही चीज़ है असल चीज़। इंसान तो हमारे यहाँ अच्छे हैं, सिपाही हमारे यहाँ बहादुर हैं। लेकिन उनको हथियार दें तब तो कर सकें कुछ। वो हम बना रहे हैं जिससे हमारी ताक़त फ़ौजी ताक़त, ताक़त भी पहले से बढ़ी है। तो यह सब है। लेकिन ये सब चीज़ें उतना ही हो सकती हैं जितनी मुल्क के पास दौलत हो, जितना मुल्क पैदा करे ज़मीन से या कारख़ाने से। धूमधाम कर उस पर आ जाता है। और उतना ही हम पैदा करेंगे, जितना रुपया हम लगायें ज़मीन की तरक्की में, खाद पैदा करने में, नये औज़ार बनाने में और कारख़ाने बनाने में, उतना ही।

अच्छा फिर आ जाता है कितना रुपया हम लगायें उसमें? उतना ही रुपया हम लगा सकते हैं इन कामों में, जितना हमारे पास बचे। यानी रोज़मर्रा के रहने से, काम से मुल्क का जो रुपया बचता है वो लगता है तरक्की में और ग़रीब मुल्कों में। ज़ाहिर है, कम बचता है, नहीं तो ग़रीब ही नहीं होता, ज़्यादा बचता। यह मुश्किल सवाल आ जाता है। तो बचे कैसे? तो अगर हमारा रोज़मर्रा का खर्चा बढ़ता जाये, गवर्नमेंट का, तो बचता कम है। गवर्नमेंट का खर्चा दो तरह का होता है— एक तो वो हो कि जो रुपया हम लगा रहे हैं मुल्क की तरक्की में इन्वेस्ट कर रहे हैं, बड़े कारख़ानों में या जिन-जिन बातों में। या पढ़ाई में, लिखाई में— वो ठीक है। दूसरा है महज़ गवर्नमेंट के चालू रखने में जो दफ़्तरी काम है। अब दफ़्तरी काम भी ज़रूरी है। लेकिन वो रुपया नहीं पैदा करता, इन्वेस्टमेंट पैदा करता है। तो हम तो हम जितना दफ़्तरी काम में खर्चें उतना ही कम हो जाता है मुल्क की तरक्की में लगाने में। मैं चाहता हूँ आप सोचें, इस बात को। और सोच के समझता हूँ कि आप एक ही नतीजे पर पहुँचेंगे कि हम तेज़ी से, तेज़ी से इस वक़्त ज़ोर लगाना है मुल्क के आगे बढ़ने में। इस माने में कि पैसा अधिक हो, जिसको हम फिर जिसके ज़रिये से हम लोगों को ज़्यादा आराम पहुँचा सकें। और या कोई यह कोई राय जो मैं कहता हूँ मेरी राय नहीं है। यह आम दुनिया की राय है लोग जानते हैं। क्योंकि इसी ज़रिये से अंग्रेज़ बड़े हैं। अंग्रेज़ जब बड़े तब अंग्रेज़ों का मुल्क आप बढ़िए इस तरह से। वे लोग काम करवाते थे अपने मज़दूरों से, अब तक उसको पढ़कर रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं। कितना काम उनसे लेते थे, कितना कम उनको देते थे। हाँ, जब मज़बूती से जम गये तब उनके पास दौलत आ गयी देने को। खुशहाल होने लगे।

गरज़ कि हम इस वक़्त हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में एक ख़ासतौर से नाजुक और तारीख़ी मौक़े पर हैं। हम बीच में हैं उद्योगी इंकलाव के, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के बीच में हैं। और उसमें कोई गुंजाइश नहीं कि हम ढील दें। ढील देना गिर जाना है, ढील देना तैरते-तैरते दरिया के बीच में। आप ढील नहीं देते, आप गोता खा जाएंगे। लेकिन आप ज़ोर लगायें ज़रा उस पार पहुँच जायें। तब आपके काम की शक्ल बदल जाती है— हिन्दुस्तान के काम की। क्योंकि वो जो काम किया है हमने, उसका फल मिलने लगता है। लोगों की हैसियत बढ़ती है, लोग रोज़ ब रोज़ खुशहाल होते हैं, मुल्क होता है, तो यह एक ख़ास मौक़ा है।

और ये जो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना का, जिसकी चर्चा अब हो रही है, डेढ़ बरस बाद होगी। वो इस माने में ख़ास उस पाँच बरस, नाजुक पाँच बरस के ज़माने की है। उसमें हमें ज़ोर लगाना ही है, चाहे कितना हमें पेटी कसनी हो, कुछ तकलीफ़ भी उठानी हो तो, नहीं तो हमारे हाथ से फिसल जाता है वक़्त। ज़माना ज़रूरी, ज़माना फिसल जाता है। और ऐसे मौक़े पर, जब हज़ार ख़तरे हमारे

सामने हैं तब हम नहीं खो सकते अपने मौके को। इसलिए असली बोझा तो हम पर ही पड़ेगा, लेकिन इसलिए हम और मुल्कों से भी मदद चाहते हैं, कैसी मदद? हम कोई उनसे दान नहीं चाहते हम उनसे कर्जा चाहते हैं। हाँ, कर्जा ऐसा, जिसको हम अदा हल्के-हल्के कुछ बरसों बाद करें। लम्बे क्रेडिट चाहते हैं। क्योंकि दस-पन्द्रह बरस बाद हमारी ताकत हो जायेगी अच्छी तरह से देने की। और हमें मदद भी मिली है, अमेरिका से मिली है, रूस ने हमें दी है। और मुल्कों ने भी कुछ दी है। और मुमकिन है और भी मिले। यह कोई गैरमामूली बात नहीं है। सभी मुल्क इस तरह से मदद लेते हैं, फिर उसे अदा कर देते हैं। हमारे लिए ज़रूरी हो गया कि इस वक्त हमें ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा ज़ोरों से इन चीज़ों को बनाना है। लोहे के कारख़ाने तीन बने हैं, हम तीन और खड़ा करना चाहते हैं, जितना ज़्यादा। दो चीज़ों से निशानी होती है मुल्क के तरक्की की। कितना लोहा पैदा होता है, और कितना पावर पैदा होता है, शक्ति। ये बिजली की, बिजली की शक्ति के कारख़ाने चलते हैं या और तरह की।

उधर हम, ये अणुशक्ति, एटॉमिक एनर्जी की, हमने काफी तरक्की की है। दुनिया की गिनती के मुल्कों में हम हैं, किसलिए? एटम बम बनाने को नहीं, लेकिन उस शक्ति का प्रयोग करने के लिए आजकल की। तो हमारे पैर इस वक्त एक भविष्य में नयी दुनिया में हैं, नये भारत में हैं। और एक पैर हमारा पुरानी दुनिया में अटका है। कैसे हम दूसरे पैर को खींचकर ले आएँ, ताकि आगे बढ़ सकें? यह काम है हमारे पाँच वर्ष का। तो इस तरह से आप इस पंचवर्षीय योजना को समझें और क्या-क्या हमें इसमें करना है? और यह मौका नहीं है हमारे लिए ऐसी कोई बात करना, जिससे हमारी ताकत आगे बढ़ने की कम हो जाये, कमज़ोर हो जाये।

ज़ाहिर है, मेरी आपसे कहने की क्या ज़रूरत है कि इसमें पहली बात है कि हममें एकता हो, मिल के हम चलें। क्योंकि जितनी बहसें होती हैं। मैं आपसे कहता हूँ नीति या पॉलिसी पर वो हों बहसें। मुझे ऐतराज़ नहीं, लेकिन उसके पीछे परिश्रम है, उसके पीछे मेहनत है और एकता है।

यह सब बातें याद आती हैं मुझे आज, जबकि पुराना ज़माना दिमाग में आता है, ख़ासकर गांधीजी उनसे कितनी बार चर्चा होती थी बातें होती थीं, भविष्य, भारत की। इस समय वे होते, क्या वो सलाह देते क्या नहीं देते, यह मैं कैसे कहूँ? लेकिन एक बात मैं जानता हूँ कि जो बुनियादी सिद्धांत उनके थे, बुनियादी बातें थीं उसपे तो अटल थे। और वो सही हैं और उसे हमें भी याद रखना है, समझना है। ख़ाली महात्मा गांधी की जय से बहुत काम नहीं चलता।

मैंने आपको एक पहलू की तरफ आपका ध्यान दिलाया। एक दूसरा और बहुत नाजुक और ख़तरनाक पहलू आप जानते हैं हमारी सरहद पर उठा है। लम्बी सरहद हमारी तिब्बत-चीन की, जोकि सैकड़ों बरस से करीब-करीब सोई हुई सरहद थी। सोई हुई सरहद के माने उसकी कोई चर्चा नहीं। वहाँ कोई अंदेशा नहीं इधर या उधर एकदम से वो जाग उठी। और एकदम से वो ख़तरे से भर गयी। अब हमारे सामने आप जानते हैं अजीब पेंच उठे हैं इसके निस्बत। ज़ाहिर है हर मुल्क का पहला फर्ज़ होता है अपनी आज़ादी को बचाना, आज़ादी को कायम रखना, अपने मुल्क के हर हिस्सों को बचाना। और किसी ग़ैर को वहाँ ज़बर्दस्ती नहीं आने देना। और आए तो उसको हटाना। हर मुल्क का यह फर्ज़ है, नहीं तो मुल्क, मुल्क कायम नहीं रह सकते। हमारा पुराना इतिहास है कि हम इस फर्ज़ को भूल जाते थे, आपस में लड़ा करते थे। अब यह बड़ा ख़तरा हमारे सामने आया। और इसका असर हिन्दुस्तान भर के लोगों पर पड़ा, बड़े आदमियों पर पड़ा। लेकिन बच्चों पर भी पड़ा। और ठीक है पढ़ना चाहिए। एक जानदार मुल्क के बच्चों पर भी इन बातों का असर होना

चाहिए। वो ठीक है। लेकिन असर तो हुआ, लेकिन हम उसके लिए क्या करें? किस ढंग से इस ख़तरे का सामना करें? क्या हमारी नीति हो, पोलिटिकल नीति हो, क्या फ़ौजी नीति हो? यह सब सवाल उठते हैं। और, और सवाल काफी पेचीदा और मुश्किल हैं।

महज़ दिल्ली में या कहीं और जोश दिखाने से सवाल नहीं हल होते। जोश अच्छा है, लेकिन जोश में बदतमीजी की बातें करने से जोश निकम्मा हो जाता है, निकम्मा हो जाता है कि आप माफ़ कीजिएगा, आपके निस्वत में नहीं कहता, लेकिन कोई जोश में हमें गाली देना शुरू करे, यह कमज़ोरी की निशानी है, ताक़त की नहीं है। यह बहुत जब मर्द और औरत बूढ़े हो जाते हैं उनमें जान नहीं रहती, तब बैठकर गालियाँ दिया करते हैं। तब, उस जोश को हमें बदलना है, ताक़त में, शक्ति में। तब कुछ कारामद होती है। क्योंकि आप यकीन मानिये कि यह सवाल काफी मुश्किल है, मुश्किल होते ही हैं सवाल। दो मुल्क जो ऐसे बड़े मुल्क दुनिया के, दुनिया के सबसे बड़े मुल्कों में हैं। जो कम से कम लम्बान-चौड़ान और आबादी में हिन्दुस्तान और चीन, इन दोनों मुल्कों का आपस में झगड़ा करना यह चीज़ दोनों मुल्कों के लिए बहुत बड़ी बात है। और दुनिया को भी हिला देती है। तो फिर ऐसी बातों को हमें पक्के तौर से सोचना है। और सोचने में हमेशा अव्वल बात यह रहेगी कि बाज़ बातों में जैसे मुल्क की इज्ज़त हो, मुल्क की आज़ादी हो, इज्ज़त, और आज़ादी का समझौता किसी से नहीं हुआ करता है। कमज़ोर मुल्क करते हैं समझौते इन बातों में, कमज़ोर दिल के मुल्क करते हैं।

एक तरफ़ से यह पहलू, दूसरी तरफ से सारी हमारी ज़िन्दगी गुज़री इस बात के सुनने में या कहने में और उस पर अमल करने की कोशिश करने में, कि हम दुनिया के झगड़ों को बाअमन, शान्ति के तरीकों से हल करना चाहिए। मुल्कों को शान्ति से रहना चाहिए। पंचशील की चर्चा हमने किया, औरों ने भी किया। हालांकि औरों ने हमेशा उस पर अमल नहीं किया। बावजूद कहने के? तो आसानी से कोई मुल्क एक लड़ाई के मैदान में नहीं कूद जाता। जबकि वो जानता है कि यह चीज़ एक तो हमारे कौल के खिलाफ़ है, जब तक कि मजबूरी न हो। और दूसरे वो चिंगारी है, न जाने कहाँ फैले, दुनिया भर को भस्म कर दे। और आजकल का ज़माना, एटम बम का है, मामूली ज़माना नहीं है। काफी पेचीदा हो जाता है। ख़ैर, पेचीदा तो बड़े सवाल होते हैं। लेकिन सवाल के हल करने के लिए एक चीज़ बिल्कुल ज़रूरी है वो मुल्क की ताक़त है। मुल्क की ताक़त कई तरह की होती है, फ़ौजी ताक़त होती है उसके पीछे - उससे ज़्यादा ताक़त होती है उसकी। उसकी कारख़ानों की, जो पैदा करते हैं सामान। उससे ज़्यादा ताक़त होती है उसकी आर्थिक हालत क्या है? इकॉनोमिक हालत क्या है? और सबसे ज़्यादा ताक़त होती है लोगों के दिल कैसे हैं, दिमाग कैसे हैं? क्योंकि आख़िर में इंसान और कौम के दिल और दिमाग ताक़त हैं मुल्क की, वो और चीज़ें पैदा करता है। तो, यह ख़ास मौक़ा है जो एक, जो एक नाजुक और पेचीदा सवालों का आया, एक आज़माइश का आ गया है। हमारे लिए बड़ी ज़बर्दस्त आज़माइश का। वो आज़माइश का, लड़ाई के मैदान में ख़ाली नहीं, वो हो न हो। बल्कि हमारे दिलों का, हमारी कार्यवाही का, हमारी एकता का। हम हिन्दुस्तान की ज़्यादा फ़िक्क़ करते हैं कि अपनी जातीय फ़िक्क़ करते हैं। हम तरह-तरह की तहरीकें, आंदोलन शुरू करते हैं अपने जातीय फ़ायदे के लिए। या हम सोचते हैं कि मौक़ा आया कि अपने जातीय हक़ को भी दवाना है और मुल्क की ख़िदमत करनी है। यह सवाल आया।

और लोग, ग़ैर लोग आते हैं बाहर से। कहते हैं कुछ। यहाँ का हाल पढ़ के कहते हैं। हम तो समझते थे यह अख़बारों में जो छपता है बाहर के अख़बार, कुछ यहाँ के अख़बारों में भी कुछ तस्वीर उनके सामने आती हैं एक मुल्क की, जिसमें आपस में लोग लड़ा करते हैं, झगड़े हैं चारों

तरफ, झगड़े फ़साद- चाहे वो सूबे के नाम पर हों चाहे वो भाषा के नाम पर हों, चाहे वो तनख्वाह मज़दूरी के नाम पर हों, चाहे वो किसी और नाम पर हों, ये कम्युनल झगड़े हों, साम्प्रदायिक झगड़े हों। क्योंकि यहाँ तो हमारी पीठ के ऊपर एक-एक भूत बहुत दिन से बैठा हुआ है। जिसको कि कास्ट सिस्टम कहते हैं। भूत है समझ लीजिए, चिपका है। और जब तक उसको पीछे से उतारेंगे नहीं, पीठ हमारी सीधी नहीं होगी, कमर सीधी नहीं होगी। यह कि एक अलग-अलग टुकड़े हमारे समाज के और एक-दूसरे से एक टुकड़ा लड़े। और अपनी जातिभेद, और यह और वो, यह चीज़ें हमें अब कमज़ोर करती हैं। और लोग कहते हैं कि यह मुल्क इतना लम्बा-चौड़ा है और इसने बड़े ज़ोरों से आज़ादी हासिल की। लेकिन इसमें तो कितने झगड़े हैं आपस में। इसमें ताक़त कैसे आ सकती है।

और ऊपर दूसरी तरफ़ मुल्क है जो कि दिलों में जो कुछ हो, कभी आवाज़ ऐतराज़ की नहीं उठती है। वहाँ चीन में, वहाँ तो गुंजाइश नहीं, वहाँ कोई आदमी उफ़ करे, ज़रा ख़िलाफ़ सरकारी बातों के, तो आख़िरी आवाज़ उसकी हो जाती है वो। तो ज़्यादा कहने की गुंजाइश नहीं रहती है। तो फिर, लेकिन यह न समझिए कि चीन वाले महज़ एक-एक कह दिया जाये कि गुलामों की तरह से काम कर लिया। वो बात ग़लत होगी। क्योंकि उन्होंने इतना ज़बर्दस्त परिश्रम किया है कि कोई गुलाम उतना कर नहीं सकता है। मेहनत की है उन्होंने, शायद साठ करोड़ आदमी की मेहनत जिससे उनकी ताक़त बढ़ी है। हाँ, अफ़सोस की बात यह है कि उसके साथ उनका अभिमान और गुरूर बढ़ गया है। और यह ख़तरा है क्योंकि ताक़त का और उसका दूसरे का जोड़ बुरा हो जाता है और ख़तरनाक हो जाता है। तो ख़ैर, हमें तो अभिमान और गुरूर करने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। लेकिन फिर कुछ अपने ऊपर भरोसा करने का, किसी से डरने का नहीं। डर से कुछ नहीं होता, डर निकम्मी चीज़ है। हमने डर का साथ नहीं रखा अपनी आज़ादी की लड़ाई में। अब फिर एक आज़ाद मुल्क होकर हम डरेंगे? ये तो ग़लत बात है, बिल्कुल ग़लत बात है (तालियाँ)। लेकिन फिर उसके नतीजे को आप लें, नतीज यह है कि हम मर्दों की तरह से अपने को तैयार करें। अपने को ज़रा दबायें भी अपनी ज़रूरियात को, अपनी माँगों को। और एक दुनिया को दिखा दें कि हम एक असली आज़ाद कौम हैं, जोकि अपनी हिफ़ाज़त कर सकती है और किसी ख़तरे से डरती नहीं।

मैंने कहा ये चर्चा हुई, कहीं-कहीं बाज़ लोग चर्चा करते हैं कि तुम फ़ौजी समझौता क्यों नहीं करते। औरों से और मुल्कों से, अपने पड़ोसियों से, तुम्हें मदद मिलेगी। मैंने शायद आपको मालूम हो, इससे बिल्कुल इत्फ़ाक़ नहीं किया। बल्कि इस ख़याल की मुख़ालफ़त की। कई वजुहात से, एक तो मोटी बात यह कि अब तक इस बारह बरस में जो हमने पॉलिसी नीति रखी अपनी। वो इसके ख़िलाफ़ रखी, तरह-तरह के हुए आप जानते हैं समझौते। ख़ैर, यूरोप का तो है ही, उससे हमें मतलब नहीं, नाटो-नेटो। लेकिन यह सीयटो हुए इधर के पूर्वी एशिया के कुछ मुल्कों के, दूसरे बग़दाद पैक्ट कहलाता था। वो जब उसका दफ़न हुआ, तो पुनर्जन्म उसका हुआ। तो जाने क्या सेंटो कहलाता है, अब वो हम उनसे अलग रहें। उधर कम्युनिस्ट देशों की तरफ़ अलग समझौते हैं उनके और दो बड़े-बड़े गिरोह एक-दूसरे का मुकाबला करते हैं। हमने शुरु से अपनी नीति रखी, कि किसी से फ़ौजी समझौता न करें, किसी मुल्क से हम अदावत न करें, अपनी नीति पर चलें। चाहे उससे अलग भी क्यों न हो, और सब मुल्कों से दोस्ती रखने की कोशिश करें। और मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे हमें बहुत फ़ायदा हुआ।

एक तो यह सही रास्ता था और उसी के साथ मुफ़ीद रास्ता था, जिससे मुल्क को फ़ायदा हो। पहले लोगों को इस पर शक़ होता था और मुल्क वालों को। लेकिन हल्के-हल्के उन्होंने देखा कि

हम इस रास्ते पर चलते हैं किसी के डर से नहीं, किसी लालच से नहीं। लेकिन चूंकि हम उसको पसन्द करते हैं अपनी राय पे चलना। अब मेरे तो बात समझ में नहीं आती। उसमें बहस क्या? एक आज़ाद मुल्क को आज़ादी से अपने रास्ते पर चलना है, औरों से दोस्ती रख के। और उसमें आप बँध जायें उस फौजी गुट में। तो आप वारिस हो जाते हैं उन सभों के झगड़ों के, जो उनके झगड़े हैं। और अगर आप एक से बँधते हैं, याद रखिये, फौजी समझौता किसी एक देश से करें या कई देशों से करें। किसलिए आप करते हैं? इसलिए न कि किसी और के खिलाफ़ करते हैं आप। और कोई माने नहीं। तो फ़ौरन आप इस दुनिया में, जो वो गिरोह बड़े-बड़े फौजी हथियारबंद एक दूसरे का सामना कर रहे हैं। हम दोनों से अलग रहे थे और दोनों से दोस्ती रखी थी। हम फ़ौरन एक तरफ़ हो जाते हैं और दूसरे के दुश्मन हो जाते हैं। तो यह बात, तो बिल्कुल जिस पॉलिसी पर हम चल रहे हैं, जिस नीति पर चले हैं कुछ दिनों से, उसका विरोध है वो ग़लत है। और उसूल तो हो ही गया, लेकिन उससे हमें फ़ायदा होता है कि नुकसान यह सवाल। यानी हो सकता है कि कुछ इसके करने से, हमें कुछ सामान मिल जाये, फौजी सामान और मुल्कों से। लेकिन हम एक बड़े हिस्से, दुनिया के, मुखालिफ़ हो जाते हैं। जिस तरफ़ हों, दूसरे के मुखालिफ़ हो जाते हैं और बुनियादी नीति अपनी छोड़ देते हैं। जोकि जिसने हमारी ताक़त बढ़ाई और हमारी इज्ज़त दुनिया में बढ़ाई। किस हैसियत के हम होंगे? कि हम अगर यह करें कि ज़ाहिर होगा कि उसके एक ही माने हैं कि हमने डर के यह किया, घबरा के अपने ऊपर भरोसा नहीं करके, हमने यह किया। यह अच्छी बात होगी आप सोचें? यह खयाल और मुल्कों का होना या हमारे दिल में होना कि हम इस तरह से करें। अगर हथियार, हथियारों की ज़रूरत है हमें, जोकि होती है बदकिस्मती से। तो पहला सवाल यह है कि हम तेज़ी से तेज़ी से अपने घर में पैदा करेंगे जिससे चीज़ें हमारी हों, हमारे काबू में हों। और उसी के साथ हमारे मुल्क की दौलत बाहर न जाये, हमारे यहाँ रोज़गार बढ़े लोगों को, यह हो, ज़ाहिर है। दूसरे, यह अगर हमें बाहर से भी कोई हथियार मँगाना है, बेहतर है हम पैसा दे के उसे ले लें। क्यों हम बँध जायें रस्से से? यह दो बातें हैं। तो मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि लोग ऐसी बातें करते हैं इस किस्म की बातें।

यह तो वही ढँग है। मुझे याद आता है कि तीस-चालीस बरस हुए जो लोग गांधी जी की तहरीक़ की मुखालफ़त करते थे डर से, डर से, उफ़ किस तरह से तुम अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य का मुकाबला करोगे इस तरह से। तुम हारोगे, कुचल दिये जाओगे और इसलिए वो अलग रहते थे उससे। ये वो ही दिमाग़ है। कभी-कभी वो ही लोग हैं जो इस वक़्त यह कह रहे थे। जो उस वक़्त करते थे अब भी हैं। लेकिन दिमाग़ वही है सारे लोगों का, डर का दिमाग़। और एक बात का मुझे पक्का यक़ीन है कि डर से कोई मुल्क आगे नहीं बढ़ा है। और जिस वक़्त हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों में डर आ गया तब उनकी ताक़त आधी-चौथाई रह गयी। यह ठीक है। और मैंने कहा, कि मुझे बिल्कुल मंज़ूर नहीं है, किसी हालत में भी कि ग़ैर मुल्कों की फौजें हिन्दुस्तान में आएँ, चाहे ये समझा जाए कि वो हमारी मदद करने आयी हैं। मेरा दिमाग़ और दिल गवारा नहीं करता है इस खयाल को कि ग़ैर मुल्कों की फौजों को हम दावत दें। क्या आप भूल गए हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास को? किस तरह से (तालियाँ)। किस तरह से, बाहर की फौजों को दावत दी गयी थी यहाँ। किस तरह से बाहर की फौजें आयीं, अंग्रेज़ आए, फ्रांसीसी आए, कौन-कौन आए। और यहाँ के उस वक़्त राजा महाराजा जो थे नवाब, एक-एक को अपनी तरफ़ दावत देते थे कि हमारी मदद करो आकर। आखिर में न राजा रहे, न नवाब रहे। रह गये थे अंग्रेज़ उसके बाद। (तालियाँ)

तो ज़ाहिर है मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान ज़्यादा जागा हुआ है इस वक़्त, बेहोश नहीं है। यहाँ

की आम जनता भी कुछ जागृत है। तो इस तरह से कोई आके जम नहीं जाता यहाँ। लेकिन मुझे जो लड़ाई है वो इस खयाल से, इस कमजोरी के, डरपोकपने के खयाल से, कि और लोग आकर हमें बचायें। मैं इसको नहीं स्वीकार करता। यह खयाल ही हमें कमजोर कर देता है।

और तीसरी यह बात मैं अपने देश को नहीं समझता कमजोर। मैं अपने को धोखा नहीं दे रहा हूँ। (तालियाँ) लेकिन जब मैं यह कहता हूँ तो इसके माने यह हैं कि यह नहीं कि आप बैठे यहाँ कुछ लोग, कुछ लोग अपनी हिम्मत दिखायें, एक रेज़ोल्यूशन करके कि जंग करो, यह करो और वो करो, जाके हमारी फौज बेचारी जंग लड़े। वो तो लड़ेगी, उसका पेशा है कि हिम्मत से लड़ेगी और आप आराम से यहाँ बैठे-बैठे माँगे पेश करेंगे रोज़, यह नहीं। आजकल की जंग है, आपको जानना चाहिए, वो कोई सरहदी जंग नहीं होती है, वो शहरी जंग होती है, शहर के ऊपर बम आते हैं। आप, आपको उसमें सिपाही बनना पड़ेगा, एक-एक बच्चे को बनना पड़ेगा, जंग के यह माने हैं। और सिपाही जो कुछ काम करें, चाहे कारखाने में काम करें, चाहे सड़क बनायें, वो अमीर-गरीब का सवाल नहीं है। वो हरेक को काम करना पड़ेगा। तो यह न समझिए कि ये पुरानी जंग है कि सिपाही आकर लड़ लें और आप उनकी पीठ ठोक दें यहाँ से और आप आराम से बैठे रहें। इस किस्म के ज़माने हैं ये। और इसमें कुछ लोग बाहर से फौजें आके, हमारे चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को बचायेंगी। अगर चालीस करोड़ आदमियों में दम नहीं हैं? मुझे बिल्कुल नामंजूर है इस तरह से फौजी समझौते करने। और मैं यह जानता हूँ कि ये आमतौर से हिन्दुस्तान के लोग कभी इसको मंजूर नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन यह बातें मैंने आपको कहीं सब - इसी के साथ, याद रखिए कि इन सबके माने क्या हैं? इन सबके माने आरामतलबी नहीं है, इन सबके माने हैं कमर कसके तैयार रहना, हर ख़तरे के लिए, और डर को अपने दिल और दिमाग में नहीं आने देना। और जो अपनी माँगें हों अपने हक़ भी हों, उनको छोड़ने को तैयार हो जाना। यह माने हैं इसके, क्योंकि यों भी कोई आज़ाद मुल्क, आज़ाद नहीं रह सकता अगर उसके लोग हर वक़्त होशियार और तैयार न रहें। यह कीमत है आज़ादी की जोकि देनी पड़ती है आज़ादी हासिल करने के लिए। हमने लम्बी-चौड़ी कीमत दी, कुर्बानी की, लाखों आदमियों ने, ख़ाली नेताओं ने नहीं, लाखों आदमियों ने, करोड़ों आदमियों ने कीमत दी। बग़ैर कीमत के कोई चीज़ मिलती नहीं है। तो आज़ादी मिल गयी। तो फिर रोज़ उसके लिए आपको हमें कीमत देनी है- उस ढँग की नहीं दूसरे ढँग की। अपने हर वक़्त तैयार रहने की, होशियार रहने की, एकता कायम रखने की, आपस में झगड़े, अंदरुनी झगड़े कम करने की। यह कीमत देनी है आज़ाद होने की।

यूरोप के आज़ाद मुल्क हैं ताक़तवर मुल्क हैं। आप देखें, आपस में हज़ार बहसें हैं। लेकिन कोई ख़तरा आस-पास आए, तो फिर वो सब झगड़े दब जाते हैं। कुछ यह हमें सबक सीखना है यूरोप से, बहुत सबक हमें सीखने हैं। यह भी सीखना है उन मुल्कों से। और हमें कुछ एक फ़िज़ा पैदा करनी है, एक कि हम एक क्या, एक कहूँ, एक जैसे म्यूज़िक में, बैंड में एक सिम्फ़नी होती है एक साथ मिलकर चीज़ बजती है। तब सुंदर आवाज़ें निकलती हैं, उससे मिली जुली, बहुत सारी आवाज़ें हों, चाहे गाने में, या बजाने में। एक ऑर्केस्ट्रा की आवाज़ें होती हैं, एक सिम्फ़नी की।

तो ताक़तवर और सुंदर आवाज़ें होती है और सब एक अलग-अलग अपनी चीज़ें लेकर बजायें। कोई सुर एक न हो उसमें, तो न सुंदर होता है न उसमें शक्ति होती है। जब मुल्कों के सामने कोई ख़तरा आते हैं, उस वक़्त कम से कम यों तो हमेशा ही अच्छा है। लेकिन उस वक़्त कम से कम कुछ यह सिम्फ़नी पैदा करनी है। जैसेकि बावजूद इन लोगों के जो डरते थे, घबराते

थे, भागते थे उस ज़माने में तीस-चालीस बरस हुए। जबकि जंग-ए-आज़ादी जारी थी, फिर भी कितने थे लोग जो डरते घबराते थे, मुखालफ़त करते थे हमारी तहरीक़ की, गांधी जी की। लेकिन देश भर में एक थी, एक लहर थी, दिलों में, आवाज़ों में। जोकि एक मुल्क की एक असली आवाज़ थी।

उसी तरह से इस समय देश में एक ऐसी लहर हो, हम लोग सब एक महसूस करें। और कुछ लोग हमारे भाई नहीं उसमें आते, न आएँ, कोई ज़बर्दस्ती तो नहीं है, न हमें उससे कोई द्वेष है। लेकिन यह जान लें कि इस वक़्त हमारा कर्तव्य क्या है कि हम इस तरह से ज़ोरों से एक हिन्दुस्तान की आवाज़ वो आवाज़ जो हमारे गले से निकालने की नहीं है। गले से भी कुछ निकले, लेकिन काम की आवाज़ है और अपने मज़बूती की आवाज़ है कि हम हर मुसीबत का सामना करेंगे, दिलेरी से और एकता से। यह बात याद रखने की है। यह सबक गांधीजी ने हमें सिखाया था। यह लहर उठानी थी हिन्दुस्तान में और बहुत बड़े गढ़ों में गयी लहर, लेकिन कामयाब हुए आख़िर में। और जो क़ौम तैयार होती है इस तरह से कि डरती नहीं है और कुर्बानी देने को तैयार है, हिम्मत से हर, हर ख़तरे का सामना करने को, उसको कोई हरा नहीं सकता है। जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers and sisters,

For over a week now, the whole of India and the city of Delhi have been celebrating Republic Day. The celebrations came to an end today. It was not an ordinary celebration because it was the tenth anniversary of the Indian Republic. Ten years have gone by since the Republic was established and an old pledge of ours was fulfilled. Freedom had come two and a half years earlier and as you know, we celebrate the 15th of August as the Day of Indian Independence. Freedom was complete in every sense, but until the Republic was established, our pledge would have remained unfulfilled.

By a strange coincidence, after a week of celebrations, we come to this day, which is regarded as the Martyrs' Day. We are reminded with a jolt once again of past events. This day is set apart in memory of everyone who laid down their lives in the struggle for freedom. The greatest of them was Mahatma Gandhi and so it was proper that the day of his assassination should be set apart as the Martyrs' Day, in the memory of not only Gandhiji but all those thousands of unknown who gave their lives for freedom. Therefore, please remember that it is a Martyrs' Day. But it is obvious that the thoughts of Gandhiji are uppermost in our minds. For one thing, he was a very powerful personality and moulded India and led her to freedom. His final act of service to India was that he laid down his life for her.

So, it is a strange combination of a week-long festivities followed by this day which gives a different direction to one's thoughts. In a way it keeps us on an even keel and mindful of the problems that we face today, our duty to the country and the demands that India makes upon us. Gandhiji toiled for over sixty years

for India and her millions and finally gave his life for them. The last one week has been one of celebrations not only in Delhi but all over India, in the towns and villages. In Delhi, you saw a glimpse of the pomp, pageantry and strength of India, her military strength, in these celebrations. But the most significant feature was the celebration by the masses. After all, India lives in the hearts of millions of her people and not in buildings or aeroplanes. Those are merely an outward symbol. It will be a good thing for the country if we remain firm in our resolve and do not forget the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi and our duty to our Motherland. But if we forget them or swerve even slightly from our chosen path, everything else, including the gigantic tasks that we are taking up will be merely superficial. Therefore on this day particularly, we must search in our hearts for the mistakes that we have made or the weaknesses that we have shown and prepare ourselves for the future with strength. Everyone of you must be aware of the innumerable problems, complex and dangerous problems that confront us. They will be solved ultimately, but we come round once again to the question of what the people of India feel and think.

So we cast a backward glance at the days gone by, we indulged in some festivities; but today is always succeeded by tomorrows, and we have also to think of that tomorrow. Most important of all, we must pause to think which way our thinking lies, as individuals and as a nation and what we plan and resolve to do. Personally speaking, those of us who are responsible for the administration of India, must consider how well we are discharging that responsibility. We must try to evaluate how far we have been able to fulfil our pledges and promises. We must also consider how far we are adhering to the path shown by Gandhiji. It would be most improper for me or anyone else, but especially me, to shelter behind Gandhiji's name and take undue advantage of it. We are all very small people who grew a little under the shadow of a great man and learnt something from him and tried to understand, in some small measure, the way his mind worked. It is not proper to use Gandhiji's name as an excuse for any mistakes that we make. I am aware that all of us do it to some extent. But it is not right, for ultimately the responsibility is ours. Our mistakes are our own, not Gandhiji's. Whatever little greatness there is in us is his gift to us.

However, time changes, new problems arise, and even old problems present themselves in new ways. The world is changing and to try to fit an old solution to a new problem may not be the answer. Yes, old principles must certainly be kept intact. But the responsibility for finding solutions to the new problems that crop up is ours. As I said, the world is changing very fast. It has changed tremendously even during the last ten-twelve years. When I look back upon the long span of my life-time and see the great changes that have taken place in the world in this time, I am absolutely amazed. The entire way of life has changed. Freedom came to India and tremendous changes are taking place in her way of life. Innumerable countries in Asia have become free. Now within the last two-three years a new

wave has spread all over Africa causing great upheavals and it is fairly certain that in the next year or two, many more African countries will become free. Perhaps it will be correct to say that in the last ten years, Asia is once again taking its rightful place on the world stage and the countries which were in bondage are emerging again. That process will go on. But, another process has also started off and that is the emergence of a new Africa. The people of the African countries are to be congratulated. For centuries, in the history of the world, the peoples of Africa have been brutally suppressed and faced great difficulties the like of which perhaps no other continent would have seen. Do you remember those days when thousands of people would be taken away by force to the Americas and elsewhere and sold as slaves? Their offspring are to be found in those countries to this day. Perhaps very few people would know the history of the slave trade and the brutal, inhuman way in which human beings were transported in ships. Half of them used to die on the way due to the privations that they suffered. Even the epithet of "Black Hole" of Calcutta, made infamous by the British wrongly in the Indian context, cannot describe the horrors of those voyages. For those poor Africans life itself was a black hole, a never-ending tale of misery. So, one is happy to see the emergence of a new Africa with its new enthusiasm and spirit. There are such tremendous upheavals taking place all over the world.

I would like to remind you of one more thing about Africa. It is in one corner of Africa that Mahatma Gandhi started his life's work. As you know, he worked in South Africa and achieved some success. But the problem remains unsolved to this day. He had raised the question of equal rights for Indians in South Africa, though he never differentiated between Indians and Africans. He was opposed to oppression in any form, wherever it was in the world, and fought against it. But it was in Africa that he made a beginning and I am convinced that the rapid transformation that is taking place in eastern and western Africa will have a tremendous impact on South Africa too. How and what shape it will take I cannot say. But at the moment we are witnessing the emergence of a strong and spirited continent from the shackles of centuries. Sometimes in the new-found enthusiasm and strength, mistakes are also made, I agree. But the important thing is that a new age is dawning in Africa which fills us with happiness. We are happy in any case and particularly because the task started by Gandhiji is nearing completion in a different way. So, these were something about the conditions in some countries.

Now, take a look at the world as a whole. Great wars were fought. Gandhiji's freedom movement, satyagraha and non-cooperation which began in India over forty years ago. In a sense, it was an off-shoot of the First World War which was fought between 1914 and 1918. It was inevitable considering the circumstances which prevailed in India. Big wars turn the world topsy-turvy and often have extraordinary consequences. The First World War had many results. Great empires trembled and a great revolution took place in Russia. It was at the time when Lenin raised the banner of revolution in Russia, that Gandhiji started his non-

violent satyagraha here. Then came the Second World War, and its repercussions can be felt to this day. All kinds of upheavals took place in the world. As a result of the war or rather, it was during the war that the atom bomb was used for the first time and two cities in Japan, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were razed to the ground. But apart from that, it heralded the dawn of the atomic age in the world; a great new source of power which will undoubtedly transform the world even more rapidly.

There is a vast difference between India and the West. But the fundamental difference lies in the fact that the countries of the West are very advanced and rich while India is poor in spite of all our efforts. The real test of this lies in the villages of India and it is only when they become prosperous that we can be considered truly advanced.

How did the West become so prosperous? If you look back even a couple of centuries, you will find that, generally speaking, India was considered rich in comparison to the West. That does not mean that even then India was prosperous. The masses were poor even then. But there was plenty of wealth in the country and some of it may have percolated down to the masses. Europe was poor in comparison. Then what was it that was responsible for the rapid advancement of the West while Asia remained backward? Ultimately, the reason lay in the fact that when a nation becomes weak and the people are lazy and disunited, it falls. A nation's downfall is never wholly due to external factors. The main reason behind it is internal weakness and disunity, narrow-mindedness and lack of foresight. By a strange coincidence, just at the time when the West was filled with a new spirit of adventure and acquiring new powers, the countries of Asia became weak and disunited. That was the age of the downfall of the Mughal empire in India. It was breaking up into fragments and small kingdoms were becoming independent. There was a new awakening too in some parts of the country, as in Maharashtra under Chhatrapati Shivaji. But India as a whole presented a picture of disunity, fissiparous tendencies and fragmentation.

Secondly, this new wave did not spread to India. In the West a great revolution took place in the field of science which led to the discovery of new forces and to the steam engine and new weapons and what not. The West grew very powerful because the hidden forces in Nature were now under their control. It was something which is available in every house and has always been for thousands of years. It was a question of harnessing it to Man's use. With the discovery of steam power came the railways and new machines and industries, etc. So, Man acquired a new force. The European countries which had coal and steel put it to good use and advanced rapidly. They began to produce new wealth, new weapons and industries and what not. The Industrial Revolution gradually spread to the whole of Europe while India became weak and disunited. Why did India not take advantage of the new knowledge and scientific advance that were taking place in Europe? Who is answerable for this?

Let me give you a small instance. Printing began in Europe a long time ago. It was a revolutionary event because it helps to spread knowledge. Earlier when books used to be written by hand, they looked very beautiful but they were available to only a handful of people. When they began to be printed in millions, knowledge began to spread which in itself was a great strength. But in India, though there was nothing complicated about it, printing was not started for another two hundred years. We could not even copy Europe. I do not remember exactly, but I think it was in the time of Emperor Akbar or Jahangir that printed books came into India, and people liked it. But they did not even think of doing it here. It is quite evident from this that our society had become stagnant. There was no freshness or a spirit of adventure in the people. Such nations are bound to become stagnant and even if the outward form is beautiful, it gradually becomes weak and lifeless. So by a strange combination of circumstances, the age of Europe's advance coincided with India's age of weakness, mental and otherwise. The result was that Europe gradually gained dominance not only over India but over Asia and Africa as well. This was inspite of the fact that just two or three hundred years ago, Asia was wealthier than Europe. Anyhow, I was trying to show you now the Industrial Revolution led to the West advancing in science and acquiring new sources of power like steam and then electricity. These have now become extremely common today. In any case, they had always been there. There was nothing hidden or magical about it. But Man used his intelligence to harness them for his use, and it transformed the entire world. So, Europe grew more and more powerful and wealthy. The countries of Europe made full use of iron and coal to set up millions of industries and improve agriculture. So their production increased enormously. There is no dearth of iron or coal in India. We have plenty of resources, perhaps even more than others. But they remain hidden underground, and to some extent, we have also been buried in ignorance and backwardness. I am trying to show you how nations advance. It cannot be done by shouting slogans or taking out processions or by passing laws. The outlook of the people must be fresh and spirited and they must have the capacity to work together.

I remember, that during the freedom struggle, I was fully confident that freedom will come to us. But the thought that used to disturb me was what the stature of India would be after that, whether we will gain a freshness of outlook or we would continue to be in the old rut, stagnant in a fast-changing world. Nothing can stand still without becoming stagnant and lifeless. As you know, a river flows constantly; the waters of the Ganges and the Jamuna are always fresh because they are constantly changing. If you store water in a tank, it loses its freshness and soon dries up. The same thing happens to nations and peoples too.

Well, in the thousands of years of India's history, we have seen both—rapid progress like the flowing waters of a river and stagnant decay, like water stored in a tank. Therefore, I often used to wonder what India would be like afterwards.

I would wonder if the freshness of outlook, daring and courage which were evident in Gandhiji's movement would remain with us. Courage, pride, sacrifice, etc., are great things. We had some freshness of outlook but it did not have an opportunity to grow. Well, that could be remedied once freedom came. These were the problems which were constantly in my mind. I would convince myself that when a nation becomes free after such terrible tension, sacrifice, etc., it is bound to be a spirited one which would take it forward on its own momentum.

Have you ever considered that though Gandhiji's movement, in fact the entire freedom struggle, was against British imperialism, his attention was constantly on how to make the people stronger and foster unity among them. Freedom was but one result, to his way of thinking, of the strength of a nation. In a sense, he was not prepared to accept that freedom should come by chance, without any effort, hard work, sacrifice or strength on the part of the people. If freedom came so easily, while we were still weak, it would again be snatched away by someone. If we remained useless, we could not prosper just by chance.

Therefore, his entire effort over a period of thirty or forty years was to make India's millions strong and stout-hearted, with a freshness of outlook, strength of purpose and unity, and to teach them to hold their heads high. This implied several things. It is obvious that we had to root out communalism altogether from the country and people of all religions should enjoy equal rights. India had to become like one large family. Then it also meant uplifting the so-called untouchables—we call them Harijans now—who had been oppressed and downtrodden for centuries by Hindu society in its foolishness. They too had to given equal rights. Gandhiji wanted that the whole country should become strong internally, for the rest would automatically follow. But if the nation's progress is superficial, not backed by internal strength, it will never become stable. Therefore, the picture in Gandhiji's mind was to increase the strength of India's millions and develop their self-respect.

Another aspect of this was to foster self-reliance among the people instead of depending on others. When he introduced the charkha, the great pundits of economics scoffed at it saying that it could not compete with the heavy machines. I do not know what their reaction would be today. I would like to draw your attention to one implication of the charkha. There are several implications, but I am not a pundit to explain all of them to you. What I wish to draw your attention to is that Gandhiji wanted to foster self-reliance for that gives strength to an individual. Even if the income from the charkha was not more than a few annas a day, it was better than sitting in idleness and poverty at home. If those annas are multiplied by thirty crores of human beings, it add up to an enormous sum. Even if ten crores of people did it, it would come to a great deal.

This problem is coming up in a different form these days. As you know, we have never been against heavy machines. I have always considered them essential for India's progress because it is by using them that other countries have become

so prosperous. It is heavy machines which have brought about a great revolution in the field of knowledge and science in the West, made them wealthy and provided employment for everyone. Therefore, it is absurd to oppose the introduction of heavy machines. We must certainly consider how we should go about it. If you go to any of our large industries, like the fertilizer plant in Sindri or the steel plants in Bhilai, Rourkela, Durgapur, etc., you will find that each of them is a large and thriving hive of humanity and huge machines. Soon they will be counted among the big cities of India. So we will continue to do this with all our might. But in spite of all this, the fact is that millions of people in India are either too lazy to do something productive or, even if they work, it is only for a few months in the year.

We are trying to look ahead fifteen or twenty years hence, as we should. We find that as the process of industrialisation goes on, we require more and more trained people to man these plants. But heavy industries help in increasing agricultural production and ancilliary industries come up. The implements that are used are not very good these days. The ploughs are extremely outdated which barely scratch the surface of the earth. The common complaint is that there is not enough production in the country. But what is to be done? Therefore, heavy industries and the use of steel can benefit agriculture greatly and innumerable ancilliary industries come up as their offshoots which could definitely help to solve the problem of unemployment. It is difficult to say how long it will take. But the process will be speeded up.

The problem is that every year fifty-sixty lakh people are added on to the population and they have to be fed, clothed, housed, educated and health-care facilities and employment have to be provided for them. This slows things down a little [laughs]. Anyhow, all these problems will be solved, no doubt. But, as I mentioned just now, millions of people are not doing a full day's work. It is not their fault. They just do not get the opportunity. Innumerable people are unemployed. Take farming, for instance. Our farmers are doing good work though most of them are still following old-fashioned methods. They must adopt modern techniques. I do not mean that we should get tractors and big machines. That is not possible at the moment all over the country. But better ploughs can easily be purchased. The best plough will not cost more forty-fifty or at the most sixty-seventy rupees. Other small tools cost about fifteen-twenty rupees and will facilitate the working of the farmers. Production will immediately increase. You do not have to go very far to see how much they can benefit if these things are done.

The district of Allahabad is generally regarded as a backward area in agriculture. I think the average yield in India is twelve maunds per acre which is very little. It should be twice or thrice as much. In Allahabad, it is even less, about nine or ten maunds. So I was telling the farmers that it is a shameful thing that they should be so backward when a very ordinary looking Kurmi got up and said that he had been able to produce forty-nine to fifty maunds of wheat per

acre of land. Just imagine, he was able to produce five times as much as the general average without any tractors and what-not. It is true that he looked after his land very well, selected good seeds, used fertilizers and made arrangements for proper irrigation. These are some of the things which every farmer must do. He can then immediately increase the production by five times.

Well, anyhow, this shows that production can be increased all over the country gradually, if not immediately, if people pay attention and take advantage of the modern scientific techniques. There is nothing secret about all this. Everybody knows about them. Well, I think it is happening more and more in India. As I was saying, the new techniques of agriculture and the new implements that are available can do a great deal of good. I am not talking of heavy industries and big machines, etc. But the problem is that there are far too many people who are dependent on agriculture nowadays in India. If the pressure on land could be reduced it will be better. But where are the poor people to go? Each family owns a small piece of land and the number of people who are dependent on it keeps increasing. So the land gets poorer in quality and farmers get poorer day by day.

Therefore, some alternative sources of employment will have to be found for the people in the rural areas. Agriculture must be improved and secondly, small industries must be set up. I am not in favour of concentrating all our attention on putting up huge industries in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and the other big cities though they are no doubt important. But we must make our rural areas prosperous. It is absurd to put up a model village somewhere or the other. It is very important to produce goods from land, industries, etc. There is terrible unemployment in India, both among the educated as well as the uneducated. The only solution is to set up more industries, big and small, village industries, etc., in villages and the cities. You will find that even now, generally speaking, the individuals who are trained in engineering and other skills or become technicians, foremen, etc., are able to get employment immediately. The others find it more difficult to get jobs.

So, the problem before us is to take advantage of the unused manpower which is available in the country today. Leave aside the problem that the unemployed are facing. If it is utilised, immediately a whole sea of humanity becomes available to the country and even if they do not get the best opportunity at least they will be able to earn something. For instance, suppose the average income of an individual is a rupee or two daily, in the rural areas it is less. If they are able to earn a little on the side by spinning the charkha or doing something else, they will produce new wealth for themselves and the country. There is no question of the Ambar Charkha competing with big machines. It is a new way of producing goods and of providing a source of income for the unemployed or under-employed. Looking at the problems of today, I am reminded of what Gandhiji used to say about the charkha. Whether we spin the charkha or do something else, the important thing is to utilise unused manpower that is available in the country.

You must have heard that there has been tremendous progress in certain

fields like agriculture and industries, etc., in China. I do not know exactly how much progress has been made and later reports show that the earlier figures were somewhat exaggerated. But there has undoubtedly been progress and it has been possible because they have utilised the unused manpower in the country. I agree that it was done by coercion, but they have got results. The people do not enjoy much individual liberty in China. The Government decides whether or not they will work, how much they must work and what wages they shall be paid. But they have achieved results by making their millions work hard. Production from agriculture, industries, etc., has gone up tremendously. We cannot possibly use force as they have done in China. It has never been the tradition in India and we do not wish to use force. But broadly speaking, you must remember that a country's progress depends on the amount of work that the people do. A country does not progress by paper-work or by taking out processions, though that may be all right in its place. But ultimately, an individual or a nation can progress only as much as the amount of work they do, no matter what revolution you bring about in the country or whether you have socialism, communism, capitalism, or some other ism. The principle behind all of them is the same.

As I told you earlier, there are several examples of rapid progress in some of the countries after the World War, twelve-thirteen years have gone by since the war and the countries which were completely ruined were Germany, Soviet Union and Japan. Other countries were also devastated in varying degrees but these three countries suffered terribly. The Soviet Union is a communist state while Japan and Germany are capitalist countries. All three countries have made extraordinary progress in the last ten-twelve years. Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the two cities in Japan which had been razed to the ground by the atom bomb, are once again prosperous cities with thriving industries and houses and what not. Germany which lay in ruins at the end of the war has once again become one of the richest countries in the world and is growing increasingly more and more powerful. Similarly, the Soviet Union where a large portion of the countryside had been devastated by Hitler is once again back on its feet. They have become extremely powerful and are now trying to reach the Moon.

I have given you these examples to show that whether it is in the capitalist or communist countries, if the people are hard-working, there can be tremendous progress within no time at all. These countries worked really hard. If people keep indulging in debates or making demands for more wages and salaries or this and that, the entire picture changes. It is obvious that there should be debates about what policy we should follow. I have no objection to that. But please remember that there has to be a hard core of hard work and cooperation if you want results. If everyone pulls in different directions, nothing can be achieved. Let me tell you that Delhi is not a place for hard work but an official place. I do not deny that people work hard in offices too. But take Germany, for instance. In the aftermath of defeat in war, when ruin stared them in the face, Germany was filled with

humiliation and anger. Anyhow, whatever the reason might have been, the Germans began to work hard, day and night. Millions of them had been rendered homeless and most of their cities lay in smoking ruins. But they preferred to rebuild their industries, working day and night rather than to build houses. There was no question of demanding more wages for less effort. In fact, it was just the opposite. Their single-minded effort was to put Germany back on her feet and they did it. Now, it is a wealthy, powerful country, and people are earning plenty of wages and have houses to live in. Their effort and hard work have paid great dividends. If their priorities had been different or if they had put comfort before national interest, Germany could not have progressed.

This is something that should be borne in mind because there is a tremendous pressure of circumstances on us, whether it is the danger that arises on the borders or the Five Year Plans which are eating up enormous sums of money. At the moment we have to spend huge amounts on putting up steel plants and various other projects which will eventually benefit the country greatly and the national wealth will increase. As far as I can remember, we have invested five hundred crores of rupees in the three steel plants. It is a huge amount. Now the plants are almost ready and are going into production. Soon the country will begin to benefit enormously from them.

In short, we need to invest money in everything at the moment without any immediate returns, whether we set up industries or agriculture or in education. Education is very essential to train people to take the reins of the country. Ultimately, it is human beings who count, not industries or anything else. Therefore, we have to train people. Then we have to invest in health-care facilities. Thus, there is demand for money from all sides for the progress of independent India. If we have less to invest, our progress becomes slower; if the expenditure in the country is too heavy there will be nothing left over to invest.

Recently, the question of raising the salaries of the Central government employees came up and a Commission was set up to go into the matter. A judge of the Supreme Court was the Chairman³ and the Members were good people who have sympathies with the masses and matters pertaining to labour. They presented a Report after a detailed examination of the issue. But it put us in a great dilemma, not because we thought the Report was wrong but because as a result of it, we would have to spend a very large amount every year on unproductive, governmental set up. I do not remember the exact figure, but suppose we had to spend twenty crores more every year. It is an amount which could be more usefully spent on putting up a fertilizer factory or one for producing atomic energy or education or something else. There would have now been a shortfall for all this. So, we were in a great dilemma. On the one hand, there is

3. See fn 2 in this section.

great pressure on us to invest for the sake of future progress. On the other hand, there is the persistent demand for more wages, more salaries and what-not which would mean less to invest in tasks of development. Well, we could not ignore the advice of a judge of the Supreme Court and other senior members of the Commission, so we accepted it. The twenty-odd crores will somehow have to be produced. There was no alternative. But government employees are still not satisfied and are demanding a further raise. Now it is pretty obvious that people are entitled to better wages and salaries and to afford a better standard of living. The Five Year Plans, etc., are aimed at doing just this. But the problem is that our future will be ruined if we look for comfort and ease today. So, as I said, on the one hand, the Central Government employees have a good case for salary hike. On the other hand, the Government employees in the States get far less than the Central government employees though the work is the same. Therefore, they have an even greater right to ask for an increase in salary. If you go a step further, you will find that the per capita income of the common man in India is far less than what the Central or the State Government employees get. So, how is one to judge this? We want that everyone should become better-off.

So, I want you to understand that all of us have the right to many things, this is not the time to be demanding them because we will not be able to progress at all. I gave you the example of Germany after the Second World War, where people lived in hovels and ruins and worked for twelve to fourteen hours a day on meagre wages. In China, the people are being forced to work extremely hard. We do not wish to do that. But it is an example which shows how a country can progress only by having a strong determination and resolution. If a country is prepared to put up with hardship for a few years, it will reap the benefit thereafter. Otherwise neither this generation nor the next will be able to look forward to a comfortable future. There is no doubt about it that we have progressed a great deal during the last ten to twelve years. The whole world knows about it. But it would be more correct to say that we have laid the foundations of future progress, whether it is by schemes to produce electricity or something else.

Take the armed forces, for instance. There has been such tremendous progress in the production of military hardware, especially during the last three years, that there has been a rapid transformation in the armed forces. Most people may not be aware of all these things except what they see during Republic Day parades and what-not which are superficial things. The real strength of the army depends on the goods and military equipment that we produce in the country. Even brave soldiers are useless without proper weapons. We are even now dependent on the United States and England and other countries. The modern weapons are extremely complicated. Now for a free country this does not constitute freedom; you, more or less hand over your liberty to others if you cannot even produce your own weapons. I agree that we did not lay emphasis on this, but now we are rectifying that. We have very able people in the ordinance

factories, technicians, mechanics and engineers, etc., and they are now beginning to produce military equipment. We are even issuing some planes and soon we will have big fighter-bombers. This is just the beginning. If you go to the Agricultural Fair, you can see the Defence Pavilion and learn how much progress we have made in this field.

This is the thing that really counts. Our soldiers are brave people but they need good weapons to be able to fight well. We are doing that now and our military strength is increasing. But all this depends on the wealth which is produced in the country from land or industries. So it comes round again and again to this. We can produce only as much as we invest in improving the land, producing fertilizers and in setting up new industries. So, it is a question of how much we are able to save to invest in tasks of development. It is obvious that it is difficult for poor countries to save very much or to have a surplus which can be invested for the progress of the country. If there were savings a country would not be poor. This is the problem. How are we to save? Governmental expenditure is of two kinds. One is in the tasks of development, in putting up industries or in education and other things, as we are doing. The second type is the administrative expenditure. That is essential too, but it is unproductive expenditure. So, the less we spend on administrative expenditure, the more we will have to invest in other tasks. I want you to think about this seriously. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that we must increase production in the country as quickly as possible so that the people become better off. This is not my opinion alone, everybody in the world knows about it. This is how the West has advanced. You will shudder if you read about the condition of the labourers and the hard work that they had to do for a mere pittance in England in the 18th century. But gradually, with the increase in production, their condition improved.

In short, we are at a critical and historic momentum in India's history today. We are in the middle of an industrial revolution and there is no scope for any slackness because that will be the surest way to ruin. You cannot stop swimming midstream, for you will drown. It needs only a little extra effort to go across. The face of India will be transformed in a few years when our hard work and effort will begin to pay off. The people's status and standard of living will improve gradually. So, this is a crucial time for us.

The Third Five Year Plan period which will commence a year and half from now will be very crucial for us. We must make a strong effort even if it means tightening one's belt a little more and bearing some hardships. Otherwise the opportunity will slip away. We cannot afford to let time slip away, especially since there are innumerable dangers before us. The burden is bound to be a heavy one. So, we are looking for aid from other countries. We do not want charity but only loans, long term credit, because within ten-fifteen years our capacity to pay back the loans will increase. The United States, the Soviet Union and some other countries have given us some loans and it is possible that we may get more. This

is nothing extraordinary. All countries take loans and repay them.

It has become essential for us to produce enough steel and power and other things in the country. We have put up three big steel plants and would like to put up some more. The sign of progress in any country is the amount of steel and power that it produces. Electricity is very essential for industries and other things. We have made some progress in the field of atomic energy too. In fact, we are one of the few countries in the world who are doing this. We are not interested in making an atom bomb but in using atomic energy for tasks of progress. Therefore, we are on the threshold of a new age in India and the world and yet, to some extent, we are in the old rut too. How are we to march forward into the new age? This is what the Five Year Plans are for. So you must understand their implications fully because this is not the time for us to do anything which will weaken us or prevent our progress. It is pretty obvious and I do not have to spell it out that the most important thing is unity. I have no objections to debates over policies and ideologies and what not. But behind that, there has to be solid hard work and unity.

All these things come to my mind, the days gone by and especially Gandhiji's; the innumerable occasions when we used to talk about the future of India. I cannot say what he would advise us to do if he had been alive today. But one thing I do know and, that is the fundamental principles which he believed in are right and we must remember them. There is no point in merely shouting Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai.

I have drawn your attention to one aspect of the problem. The other dangerous one is the problem that has arisen on our borders. India's borders with China and Tibet extends for thousands of miles and there had never been a hint of danger or dispute for hundreds of years. Today the problem has suddenly flared up and the situation is fraught with dangers. As you know, all kinds of strange complications have arisen in this context. It is obvious that the foremost duty of every country is to protect and defend its freedom against external aggression and to combat any danger that threatens. No country can survive without this. Our past history shows that we used to indulge in petty feuds and quarrels, forgetting our duty.

The danger that has reared its head on the border has affected everyone in India, adults as well as children. It is proper that the children in a vibrant nation should be able to grasp things. But what is the course of action before us? How are we to combat this danger? What should be our political and military strategy? These are the difficult and complicated problems that arise. It is not enough to have some spirited demonstrations in Delhi or elsewhere. No problems can be solved in that way. It is absurd that people should misbehave in a fit of momentary passion. Forgive me. I am not talking about you. It is not a sign of strength but of weakness to abuse and threaten. It is only old men and women who do such things. Enthusiasm should be converted into strength if we want to achieve something.

Believe me, these are extremely complicated problems. For two countries of the size and population like China and India, the world's largest countries, to be fighting with one another is a big issue and shakes up the world. Therefore, we must be clear-headed and think straight about this problem. The most important thing will of course be to maintain the honour, independence and self-respect of the country. It is only weak countries which would compromise these things.

This is one aspect. On the other hand, we have spent an entire life-time trying to work on the principle that the problems of the world should be solved by peaceful methods and that there should be peace in the world. We have talked about Panchsheel and so have others, though they have not always followed it scrupulously. No country will jump into a war without a great deal of provocation when it is fully aware that such an action is opposed to all our principles and norms. Secondly, an unthinking act on the part of one country can light a spark which will engulf the whole world. This is not an ordinary age but the age of the atom bomb, which makes the situation more complicated. To solve this problem, it is absolutely essential for a country to be strong. A nation's strength depends on several things. One is military strength but even more important is industrialisation, production of goods and the economic strength of a country. Above all, the real strength of a nation depends on its people, their thinking, etc. Therefore, this is a crucial time for us when complicated questions are before us. It is a testing time for us, though the need for a military confrontation may or may not arise. It is a testing time for our unity and strength of purpose and will show whether we put national interest before our personal ones. It will prove whether we do things for our personal benefit or we are aware of the need to suppress our interests and serve the country. This is the question that we face today.

People who come from outside read our newspapers and form a picture of a country in which people fight among themselves constantly, In the name of religion, province, language or about wage increase or something else. Caste system has been the bane of this country for centuries and unless we get rid of it, we will never be able to stand erect. The internecine fights among the people and the caste system, etc, weaken us. People are amazed that a large country like ours which has won freedom by its own effort should be constantly in a ferment of disunity. How can a country become strong? There are other countries like China where, whatever the private opinions of individuals may be, not a single voice is raised in protest. There is no scope for anyone to criticize the government. The Government has the final say on all matters and there is not much room for protest. But it would be wrong to think that the Chinese are treated like slaves. They have worked harder than any slave could and consequently the effort of sixty crores of human beings has added greatly to their strength. It is, however, regrettable that with that, their conceit and pride have also increased. Anyhow, we need not incite them. Yet we must have confidence in ourselves. There is no

cause for panic because fear is a useless emotion. We were not afraid during our freedom struggle. Why should we be afraid when we are free? That is absolutely wrong [Applause]. We must stand erect and be prepared to face the enemy like soldiers. We must suppress our demands and needs a little and demonstrate to the world that we are indeed a truly independent nation fully capable of protecting ourselves and not given to panic.

As I mentioned earlier, some people seem to feel that we should come to some military agreements with our neighbours and other countries in order to get military aid. You may perhaps be aware that I have not encouraged this idea at all and, on the contrary opposed it strongly for various reasons. For one thing, our foreign policy during the last twelve years has been diametrically opposite to this. All kinds of agreements and alliances have been signed. In Europe, there is the NATO Pact which does not concern us much. But in East Asia, there is the SEATO Pact and the Baghdad Pact which is now been reborn as the CENTO. We have kept ourselves aloof from all of them. The Communist countries have their own pacts and agreements and the two camps are in a state of confrontation. Right from the beginning, we have followed a policy of not entering into any military alliance and of friendship towards all the countries, as far as possible. I feel that we have stood to gain a great deal from this. For one thing, it is the right path and, moreover, a really beneficial path for the country. In the beginning people used to be rather suspicious about it, but gradually they began to realise that we were following this path not out of fear or greed but out of conviction. I cannot understand how there can be any argument about this. A free nation should follow its own independent policy and be friendly towards everyone. Getting into any military alliance or agreement means becoming heirs to all the disputes. Moreover, a military pact is, by its very nature, directed towards one or more countries. The moment a country enters into such alliances, it joins one or the other of the two hostile armed camps into which the world is divided. This would be absolutely contrary to the policy that we have been following in the last few years. Apart from the question of principles, we must also take into account whether it will do us good or harm. It is possible that we may be able to get some military equipment or aid from other countries. But at the same time, we will become hostile to a large chunk of the world and will also have to abandon our fundamental policy which has contributed to the enhancement of our strength and prestige in the world. If we do this, it will become obvious that we have done it out of fear and lack of confidence in ourselves. Just think how this will affect us if we harbour such thoughts. If we need weapons, as unfortunately we do, the first thing to do is to produce them in the country so that they are under our control and the wealth of the country does not go out. It will also mean more employment for the people. Secondly, even if we have to import some equipment or weapons, it is better to pay for them in cash rather than get tied down in other ways. Therefore I am amazed at the way the others talk.

I remember, thirty or forty years ago there were people who were afraid of Gandhiji's movement and used to express fear that we should dare to challenge the might of the British imperialism. They used to predict that we will definitely lose and be crushed. This mentality persists till today. I am fully convinced that no country can progress in fear. The moment there is fear in the people of India, their strength is reduced by half or one-fourth. I have repeatedly said that I shall never tolerate the presence of foreign troops on Indian soil even if their intention is to help us. My mind and heart cannot tolerate even the thought of inviting foreign armies to come here. Have you forgotten India's history and the innumerable times, foreign troops British, French and others—were invited by the maharajas and nawabs. The result was that ultimately there was no raja or nawab left and the British grabbed hold of our country [Applause].

I am fully aware that India is vigilant today. The people are vigilant, and no outsider will be allowed to spread his tentacles here. But I am opposed to the idea of inviting others to come and help us. Such thoughts are born out of fear and cowardice and will definitely weaken us. I do not accept it. Thirdly, I do not consider India a nation of cowards and I know that I am not fooling myself in this [Applause]. But that does not mean that you can show your courage by passing a resolution that we should go to war. Our forces will fight and fight bravely if the need arise, because that is their duty. But you cannot pass resolutions from your safe, comfortable positions. You must realise that modern warfare is urban warfare, with bombs raining down upon cities. Everyone of you, man, woman and child would have to become a soldier. In a war today, the soldiers may fight but everyone else will have to participate in other tasks like building roads or working in factories.

Therefore, please do not think that a war can be fought by the army while the rest of us relax. The times have changed. How can a handful of troops come and save us if forty crores of people lack the courage to do so? I refuse to come to such military agreements. I am also convinced that they will not be acceptable to the people of India, by and large.

What does this imply? It implies that this is not the time for complacency, because we shall have to tighten our belts and prepare ourselves against every kind of danger and not allow fear to creep into our hearts and minds. We must even be prepared to give up even our rights. No country can retain its freedom unless its people are constantly vigilant and prepared. This is the price that has to be paid for freedom. We paid a tremendous price in the sacrifices that millions of people made. Nothing can be achieved without paying the price for it. Once we have achieved freedom, we shall have to keep paying the price for it constantly, in a different way, in constant preparation and vigilance and unity. We must root out our internal disunity. This is the price that has to be paid for unity.

You will find that the powerful nations of Europe may have innumerable internal differences, but the moment danger threatens, they are swept into the

background. This is one of the main lessons that we have to learn from the West. We must create the right atmosphere for it. There must be a harmonious orchestration of voices as in a musical band or a symphony. If each one of us speaks with a different voice, it will be a cacophony of sounds without strength or harmony. At least when danger threatens the country, a symphony has to be created as was done during our freedom struggle thirty-four years ago. In spite of a handful of people who lived in fear and panic and were opposed to Gandhiji's movement, there was a wave of patriotism in the hearts and voices of the people all over the country. That was the real voice of India.

Similarly, there should be harmony in the country today. If there are some people who do not wish to join, there is no compulsion nor will we feel bitterly about it. But everyone must realise where our duty lies. It means showing strength not only in what we say but in everything that we do. It should reflect in our unity and determination to face every danger with courage. This is the lesson that was taught to us by Mahatma Gandhi, and in spite of various ups and downs, we ultimately succeeded in our goal. The nation which is not afraid to make sacrifices and is prepared to face every danger with courage need never be defeated by anyone. Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

2. In the Rajya Sabha: On the President's Address⁴

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Chairman, I must begin with an apology to you and to the House for not having been present for the greater part of the time during this debate on the President's Address for three days. I wish to assure the House that no discourtesy was intended. I have lost by my absence, not the House, but as the House knows, we have now a distinguished visitor in Delhi⁵ and because of my preoccupations—I had to meet him, attend to him, and go to various functions—it made it impossible for me to come here frequently. I have tried to remedy that lapse partly by reading the notes prepared by my colleagues of the speeches and addresses and partly by reading the actual speeches, the record of the actual speeches, in the small hours of the night. Naturally, that cannot take the place of attendance and listening. All I can say is that I am deeply sorry that I should have been put in this position by circumstances.

4. Speech during the debate on the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address, 12 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 602-626.

5. Khrushchev arrived in Delhi on 11 February 1960.

Now, Sir, in the course of this three days' debate many points have been referred to. Even as I came in just a few minutes back, an hon. Member opposite was speaking with some force about the Reserve Bank employees.⁶ Now, I do not wish to go into that matter except to suggest for consideration that the Reserve Bank employees are the best paid in India. This fact might be remembered. It is sometimes thought that the profits of the Reserve Bank are like the profits of some private concern to be divided among the employees. The Reserve Bank money, obviously any bank money and more especially the Reserve Bank money, is the nation's money which it collects for various purposes. On the merits I wish to say nothing at the present moment except to express my regret at the way this matter is brought forward by some of the employees, the language they

You Said It

By LAXMAN



I've a wife and four kids to feed, Sir—I need a job badly with two months' bonus and D.A. merged with the salary!

(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 4 JANUARY 1960)

6. R.B. Gour, CPI, MP from Andhra Pradesh, speaking on pay disputes.

use, the letters they write, and I have seen some of them which are highly objectionable.

Now, Sir, again I do not wish to refer to a large number of small points, important as they might be in their different contexts. I propose to deal with two or three major points. Among the smaller points I was a little surprised to hear Mr Dahyabhai Patel⁷ talk of the Government's lapses in regard to oil in Gujarat. That surprised me because that is one of the things in which the Government has not only not been negligent but has been paying every attention to it, and my colleague, the Minister in charge of oil,⁸ is well known to be very enthusiastic and constantly to be trying to push this work. If difficulties have come, and they have come, they are not due to Government's fault but due to circumstances. The other day a very high official of the Russian Government dealing with this matter was telling me of the accidents they had had in their earlier days in the oil industry, tremendous accidents, loss of lives, bursts, etc. And these things happen, and to blame the Government for them does seem to me to imply a certain ignorance of how these things work. Of course, it is open to the opposition to blame the Government if there is no hail or shower or eclipse. More especially when valid grounds for naming it are absent, they have to search for something to say, and in that something they usually go back to certain fixed complexes, antipathies and the like, and they come up every time regardless of context. One of those antipathies, as some hon. Members seem to possess, is in regard to the Defence Ministry and the Defence Minister.⁹ It is like King Charles's head. It comes up again and again regardless of any fact, circumstance, like or dislike. I am sorry I am not a physician to cure people of their allergies and their antipathies, but I should venture to suggest to the House that criticism in regard to these matters should really be directed to me who holds himself responsible for these matters. Undoubtedly, hon. Members are entitled to criticise. Whether that criticism is justified or not is another matter. But the responsibility is mine both for the members of my Cabinet as well as for the major lines of policy that we pursue, in particular in regard to foreign policy and defence policy. And so I would suggest to them certainly to criticise, but perhaps to try to do so forgetting a little their allergies and antipathies, because the line of their criticism, if I may say so with all respect to them, is wrong in regard to our Defence Ministry which, at the moment, at a rather crucial moment, not only in our period of history in India but particularly so in that of the Defence Ministry, has to deal with these burdens which have arisen today. That type of criticism can only lead obviously to much harm in the country and outside. That is obvious. Again, I do not say that criticisms should not be made; I am really pointing out that this type of criticism cannot be made

7. Mahagujarat Janta Parishad, MP from Gujarat.

8. Keshava Deva Malaviya.

9. V. K. Krishna Menon.

lightly because it has repercussions outside the country; it weakens our apparatus with which we deal; it produces all kinds of confusion in the minds of those who are supposed to be outside the pale of normal politics, I — mean the Army, etc. And so it should not be lightly made as Mr Dahyabhai Patel makes it or someone else does. I am a little distressed at the way these matters are dealt with when we have to face severe trials, severe crises, and we say all the time that we have to do so with unity of purpose and unity of effort. Now, it may be that the Government does not represent that unity of purpose which is so desirable, and no doubt the Government may be criticised, may be blamed. But, nevertheless, I would venture to say that there are occasions, there are certain points which, unless there is an overbearing necessity for bringing them, one does not repeatedly refer to them without doing harm. So far as I am concerned, naturally, I am responsible for the members of my Cabinet. It was I who ventured to appoint them and I have them in high regard otherwise, I would not have them. I have them in high regard for their capacity and for their ability. And I should therefore like the criticism to be directed against me. It is not an easy matter to face these various problems and difficulties not only in regard to the question of our border or other internal problems or the Five Year Plans, but also so many other questions that are ever before us. But on the one hand, we talk about unity of effort and on the other, there is a hue and cry like the one I have mentioned or like the other hue and cry which hon. Members opposite referred to, about corruption in high ranks. And for once, the leaders of two parties opposite, the Communist Party and the Praja Socialist Party, found themselves in complete agreement in talking about corruption in Government. Mr Bhupesh Gupta¹⁰ in the course of his speech apparently, from the record that I read, got rather confused, and he referred sometimes to the fact that some names had been mentioned to me and asked why I did not place them before the Cabinet and why I did not place them before Parliament; at another moment, he said that names had not been mentioned to me. It is really surprising, the light-hearted manner in which this kind of thing is done. I do not object to criticism, and I get plenty of it and my Government gets plenty of it. But I do think that there are certain standards which we should observe, and when we bring serious charges, well, if they are justified, they should be brought, but they should not be flung about in the air just to vitiate the atmosphere, create lack of faith, create confusion in people's minds and thereby, I believe, do injury to the national cause.

I shall take up this matter right at the beginning—this question of corruption. Now, either this House or this Parliament believes in the personal integrity of the members of the Government or the Government as a whole or my personal integrity or it does not. Proof apart, if it does not, naturally it has a right to say on

10. CPI, MP from West Bengal.

and a right even to remove them from office. For my part, I do not wish to depend upon some odd vote or other. There are policies which I hold and which may be criticised. But if it becomes a question, at this time of my life and the life of many of my colleagues in Government, of their personal integrity being challenged, then it is a serious matter. It deserves, wherever necessary, the fullest enquiry. And I should have thought that even those who differ from us would at least do us the courtesy in the afternoon of our days not to make charges which they cannot themselves justify and not to repeat charges upon others. And I wish to assure this House that any specific charge made will be enquired into whoever it is, whether it is I who am concerned or anyone else is concerned, however high placed he may be, provided—I shall make that proviso—that I am going to have an enquiry only when it seems to me that there is some at least *prima facie* substance in the charge. I cannot go about making enquiries because any odd newspaper or individual makes charges. The other day I was reading a newspaper—not a widely circulated newspaper—in which I was amazed to see the fantastic charges against myself in regard to money matters. I was just amazed. I was just amazed, but what has one to do with a little paper somewhere in a State—not in Delhi, somewhere? I cannot go to court because a paper with a circulation of three hundred or four hundred copies makes those charges, charges against my daughter again of want of integrity in finances. These things hurt but one faces them and one gets hardened in public life. But it is, if I may venture to say so with all humility, somewhat different, if responsible, respected Members of Parliament or of this House circulate such stories.

Now, about this particular matter of corruption, first of all it is obvious that all of us here are deeply interested in the eradication of corruption. It is obvious. In any Government, they have to be, and the whole of our background in the past has been such. I do not pretend to say that there is no corruption. Of course, there is corruption in various places, in various services. I cannot say that about everybody. But my point is that we are all deeply concerned about it and trying to the best of our ability to meet it. So far as the normal police processes are concerned, we have a special department dealing with this matter alone. We have the best men in it. That department has on the whole done rather well, I think; that is to say, it has pursued every case brought up before it—either they have dropped a case because there was no proof at all or, if there was adequate proof, they have gone ahead, started cases in law courts or initiated departmental action, whatever it may be. And I get a monthly report from it, and it is not a matter of small men being involved; fairly high-placed officers and others are involved too, and they have been punished. In court cases always there is this difficulty that the courts are not satisfied unless there is, what might be called, hundred per cent, evidence to prove a charge; our whole legal system is based on a charge being completely proved; nobody is considered guilty unless he is proved to be guilty. The only exception to that is apparently in Parliament, where everybody is considered

guilty unless he somehow proves his innocence, more especially the Ministers and the like. So, we are all interested in this and this matter is being pursued and we are all the time concerned with how to expedite those processes because, if we go to a court of law, it takes years and then the effect of the case goes; people forget about it. At the same time, as Mr Sapru¹¹ pointed out yesterday, we do not wish to upset, in this matter or any other, the basis of our legal system; it is a serious matter to do that. It may be and I for one shall gladly consider any way or having a summary procedure which does not take so long, provided it adheres to those basic principles for which we stand. One has to choose. There is this argument—as Mr Sapru also pointed out yesterday about summary procedures—that it takes you perilously close to authoritarian Government, and I do not know if this is realised by those who suggest it, but it does take you perilously near that. It may have its advantages sometimes, but I take it that this House, in the balance, does not favour it. And now a kind of mentality is produced consciously or unconsciously or deliberately in favour of this kind of thing. We admit that everything feasible within the ambits of the basic principles and law should be done to eradicate corruption. I have no doubt that many Members may have good suggestions to make. Let us consider them; let us sit down and consider them. Something has been done, and I would venture to suggest with all humility but with some confidence that while there is a good deal of corruption round about in this country, nevertheless, it is infinitely less than what is talked about. After all, I am not denying that there is corruption, specially in the lower circles, but the impression that is being given, let us say, to a foreign observer who comes here and who talks with people or reads papers, or to those foreigners who do not come here but read about this constant talk, all this makes them think that this country is a sea of corruption. I am amazed at this because this country—I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, but it is so—stands high up in the list in so far as the integrity of public work is concerned.

Now, coming to this particular matter, about a year ago, in May last year, or maybe June, I forget, there was a seminar organised by the Planning Committee of the All India Congress Committee at Ootacamund,¹² and a number of eminent people were present there, Congressmen and others. In discussing various matters various sub-committees were formed, and one such sub-committee discussed this question broadly, of standards in public life, corruption, etc., and it was pointed out by some members present there—stress was laid on summary procedures—that the thing must be quickly done and all of us felt, I myself felt it; it is an exasperating and frustrating experience to see years pass before a person I considered guilty of almost a heinous offence being let off or lightly dealt with.

11. Prakash Narain Sapru, Congress, MP from UP.

12. 30 May to 4 June 1959. For details, see SWJN/SS/49/pp. 413-422.

There was one case where I was so exasperated by a certain official's doings that I felt that he should be dealt with then and there, law or no law—I was so angry. Well, this is an old case, some years old. Now, the State Government dismissed him—what I considered very adequate of course. I should have thrown him out of my window if he had come to see me—I was so angry with him. After two or three years he went to a court of law and represented that he was wrongly dismissed, and three years afterwards, because of some flaw somewhere, he recovered all the arrears that were due to him for three or four years, and there he was. Now, what is one to do with that? Now, it may be that our rules which protect these things go too far. However, we are not worried about this. Now this matter came up before that committee and we discussed it, and at that time the first suggestion was made about some kind of a tribunal to deal with such matters. I did not think, at that time it did not even strike me, that this had to do with any special cases or highly placed Ministers or others; the matter did not strike me; it may have been in the mind of some. I thought it was a case of dealing with those found corrupt—whoever it may be; it may include Ministers, of course—generally speaking. Later Mr Deshmukh¹³ referred to the appointment of a tribunal in the course of a speech, which he was completely entitled to do, and anything that Mr Deshmukh says, I think, deserves attention, certainly my full attention. After a little while I asked him if he could be good enough to tell me some of these cases so that I could myself form some idea of what they were, or whether to institute further enquiries or not. To that Mr Deshmukh replied that he felt that if he did this, his informants might get into trouble, and therefore he was not prepared to disclose their names. Thereupon I said, “Please do not trouble to tell me the names of your informants”—after all why should they get into trouble if what they say has substance in it—“Tell me the cases, what it is.” Of course I cannot enquire on that basis. Mr Deshmukh however felt that he could only do so, not in that informal way but if some formal steps were taken. Now, I am not criticising Mr Deshmukh at all, but I wish the House to consider what my function and my duty was in the circumstances. Till a few days ago it did not strike me that these so-called cases referred to any Minister of the Central Government. I say so because Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has said that there were four or five Ministers of the Central Government, four present Ministers and one previous Minister. He said that. Now it did not strike me at all till a few days back when I heard a lobby rumour to this effect. Now, it is a very extraordinary thing that a number of our Ministers, highly placed Ministers, should be dealt with in this casual way. Obviously, however highly placed a man may be—in fact, more so because he is highly placed, he should be judged by strict standards; if he fails to keep up those

13. C.D.Deshmukh, the former Finance Minister, and Chairman, UGC; for details, see SWJN/SS/50/p. 178 & SWJN/SS/54/p. 328.

standards, he should be punished; I have no doubt about that. But my submission to the House is that this kind of thing, this kind of vague bandying about, the old women's gossip going about from ear to ear without any attempt to say what it is, is not a fair thing to anyone, and it creates a bad atmosphere everywhere.

Now, Mr Ganga Sharan Sinha¹⁴ said that his party had proposed some kind of a tribunal some time ago. I was not aware of that; that is my fault, but having given much thought to this matter I cannot think how such a tribunal can be appointed, a permanent tribunal. I can ever understand that, for a particular case, one, two, three cases, somebody is appointed, but I cannot understand a permanent tribunal to sit and invite complaints. I have had some training in law although it is rather old, but my friend, Mr Sapru, who has held the high office of a Judge of a High Court,¹⁵ said something about it—which seems to me completely true—that, under our Constitution, under the rules and conventions that we work under, under the very basis of our principles, such a thing would not fit in at all. I think so. I do not myself see where it would come in the scheme of things that we have. Certainly change the scheme of things if you like. Anyhow, the point is that a permanent tribunal of this type does not seem to me desirable, feasible or in keeping with our constitutional machinery.

I am myself sometimes criticised for being in a hurry, for doing things which I should take a little longer to do. So, I am not, normally speaking, one who wants to delay processes; rather I want to expedite them. I would certainly like to expedite these processes too. But after a good deal of thought I do not think that that is the way to put up a tribunal. Apart from what Mr Sapru said, that would mean every person who has a grievance, who has a grouse, rushing up to the tribunal, whether he has enough matter or not does not matter, to gain publicity by shouting, etc. Who is going to pursue everyone for defamation, libel, slander, etc.? Most of them may have no substance even. So, it will convert this country into a place where no Government can function adequately and where the newspapers and the public are constantly dealing with, or thinking about, or gossiping about charges and counter-charges. So, I submit that that is not a procedure which can be done. But I invite the House to bring any definite case to my notice and I shall certainly try to enquire. I cannot give up my responsibilities; I cannot say that. But I shall enquire into everything that is written or mentioned to me.

Dr Anup Singh (Punjab)¹⁶: May I make a submission, Sir. Some time back the Prime Minister was reported to have said that he did not know whether such a tribunal, as is proposed by Shri Deshmukh, existed anywhere else in a democratic country. I saw a letter to the Editor in the *Punjab Tribune* from

14. PSP, MP from Bihar.

15. Allahabad High Court, 1947-54.

16. Congress, from Punjab.

somebody—I do not recall the name—in which he pointed out that such a tribunal has existed for a number of years in Sweden and Switzerland. The name of those tribunals were also mentioned. But as to what is the composition, the jurisdiction and who appoints them, that I do not know.

Diwan Chaman Lall:¹⁷ It is not a tribunal, but a committee of the House.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes. I have a vague idea that there is something which is quite different. I cannot go into it because I have not got the facts. But if I may say so, there is a slight difference between the way affairs are managed in Sweden and Switzerland and the way they are managed here, I mean the way charges, etc. are made here. It is a committee or an individual appointed to look into the names, not a tribunal, finally to judge these things. However, I was pointing out that I am prepared for any serious charge made against any person who occupies a high position, for that matter to be considered not by me, although it is my right in the beginning to consider it, to ask the opinion of a highly placed person in whose judgment all can trust, as to what I should do, or whether there is or there is not enough evidence or grounds for not proceeding with it—that I am prepared to do. So, I do suggest, therefore, that in this matter let us be strict, but let us also be careful that you do not permit an atmosphere to arise in this country in which every man is blaming and condemning every other person. It is a well-known fact in life that the persons who shout most against corruption are the corrupt. It is the old story: “Stop the thief.” It is quite natural. I am not saying that this kind of thing is done by others. But it is a fact. Once you create that atmosphere, the person who is the safest is the corrupt person because he is shouting the loudest against everybody. Every person, every government employee who might be retrenched or dismissed for something makes these charges against all his officers, against a Minister sometimes. Sometimes, he goes to Members of Parliament with some papers he has stolen from the Ministry and makes these charges, which I am sure the Member of Parliament, if he had investigated them, would probably find out that there was little or no truth. Without that investigation he cannot say either.

So, every person when he is superseded comes up with this question. Now, are we going to have a system? On the one hand we are told that people should not be promoted by seniority alone, but on merit. The moment merit comes in, every person who is superseded has a grouse, and often questions are asked in Parliament: “See partiality has come in.” Now what are we to do? If it is a question of merit, I cannot, unless he serves under me, judge all his merit nor can anyone else judge of it. It is only the persons who deal with them who can judge their

17. Congress, from Punjab.

merit and I have to accept that—the judgment may be wrong—just like in the Army you have to rely on your senior officers, or committees whatever it is, to judge merit. If they went by seniority, the Army would be just no good at all as everyone knows.

I have taken a long time in dealing with this matter because I would like hon. Members to realise that—we are all colleagues, we have been colleagues and we are colleagues even though we may differ from each other—in a matter of this kind, on the one hand we have to try to keep the highest standards, at the same time this kind of mud-slinging does not help to keep our standards or even normal decency in public life.

Now, Sir, there are two other matters I wish to deal with principally. One is this border question. I do not quite know. One hon. Member, Shri Jaswant Singh,¹⁸ talked about—this is not the border—our cringing and appeasing Pakistan, cringing everywhere. Now, I am prepared to admit that I am not so gallant and brave as Mr Jaswant Singh, but I have doubts about his conclusions and his wisdom nevertheless. If his idea of governing the country or dealing with another country is to go about bravely striking about or waving a sword, a lathi or a fist that is not my idea, and that is not, I believe, the idea of any person versed in these affairs. How are we to deal with these matters when such remarks are made which represent a state of mind which will get this country into indignity and disgrace all over the place? “Cringing to Pakistan”—I do not know what he calls “cringing to Pakistan.” If he says being friendly to Pakistan is cringing to her, then I am going to be friendly to Pakistan. This is our policy. But being friendly does not mean giving in principle or showing any infirmity about dealing with important matters.

Jaswant Singh: That is exactly what I mean. We have given thousands of square miles of our land to Pakistan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: All I can say is that Mr Jaswant Singh and I differ very greatly. I am not aware of this type of charge having been made except perhaps by one or two persons.

Because I am referring to Pakistan, may I say that I am happy about the border agreements and we shall endeavour to go on trying to widen the sphere of cooperation and agreement? But again I say that it does not mean our forgetting our responsibilities and the vital interests of the nation. The other day, Field Marshal Ayub Khan mentioned something about—what is it—mutual defence or common defence or some such thing...

An Hon. Member: Common defence.

18. Independent, from Rajasthan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, common defence. He has referred to this matter on many occasions and almost every time with a different emphasis and in a different context. I pointed out that we would be very happy to cooperate in an ever-increasing measure with Pakistan but the difficulties about this common defence were very serious. One was that defence is closely allied to foreign policy and so far as I know, our outlook on foreign policy was very different—Pakistan's and ours—and even if we removed our problems and went, even then, unless some changes occurred in our minds, our policy would be different.

Secondly, in practice, I did not quite see what this would mean and so on and so forth. Lately, Field Marshal Ayub Khan has pointed out more or less clearly what he means by common defence. He means—he has said clearly—that this can come only after the Kashmir question is settled in his favour. So you will observe—I am not criticising him—that this common defence was not the real issue at all but something else—the Kashmir issue—and more or less on the plea of common defence or whatever it was, this was raised. You see, that itself shows the complication of the matter. One cannot deal with these major matters affecting the country's interests, which we have been carrying on for 10 years, in this way. We get into a fright about something and talk about common defence. I am pointing out how these points are entangled. You cannot isolate them. I said that the foreign policies were different. The evidence of them may be that Pakistan has preferred to join some military alliances—SEATO, CENTO and maybe some other. That is merely an evidence of it, which is clear evidence, while we do not wish to join any alliance of that type but it is deeper than that. The whole approach is different. I have found often in the criticisms made, even in the course of this debate by hon. Members, of our policy, whether it relates to China or whether it relates to any other place, going to the back of it, there is either a complete disagreement or a misunderstanding as to what the policy of non-alignment is. There is that basic misunderstanding. Even though sometimes they may talk "Yes, non-alignment is good", but they really do not understand it. Indeed our policy is something more than non-alignment. Non-alignment is a negative thing. Ours is a positive policy, I hope a positive policy of friendship and trying to gain the goodwill of other countries while firmly adhering to our principles. Non-alignment is one basic expression of it but only a part of it. Hon. Members opposite seem to imagine that foreign policy consists in threats to other countries and in other manoeuvres like tying oneself to other, etc. One hon. Member, Dr Bose¹⁹ I think, was displeased that we have not formed some kind of joint military or other alliance with Indonesia, Burma and Nepal.

Dr A.N. Bose: I did not say "joint military alliance". I only suggested a common policy.

19. Atindra Nath Bose, PSP from West Bengal.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Common policy about what? May I respectfully suggest not only to Dr Bose but to some other Members also that we should be a little careful in mentioning other countries. They are very sensitive and rightly so. They are proud of their independence. They do not like their names being bandied about in our Parliament as if we are some kind of an authority to deal with them as we like—it is a very ticklish question—as if we are merely to decide that this and that country should do this and that country does it. In fact that is a very worse [sic] way of building up that common policy to which Dr Bose refers.

Then, again one or two odd Members²⁰ expressed their regret that we allowed circumstances to arise which led to the recent border agreement between Burma and China.²¹ It is very extraordinary. We should not come in the way, according to him, of that agreement. So far as I am concerned, I welcome that agreement as I welcome every settlement of a difficult problem. I might say that that agreement is more or less on the line of some such agreement 2 or 3 years ago.²² It is not a sudden development. It is a gradual development. Why it was not done in these 2 or 3 years and why it has come about now is another matter but it was basically agreed between the Burmese Government and the Government of China two or three years ago and the Government of Burma was good enough to keep us informed 2 or 3 years ago and later of many of these developments. There has been not the slightest difficulty in our relations with Burma over this issue or any other issue and we have been glad that they have come to this agreement because on matter less in conflict is good for them and good for the world.

So, I would like this House to keep in consideration the context in which things are happening today. Naturally we function in our corner of the world, in India. Naturally we are concerned with everything that affects India's interest—the border, this, that and the other—apart from the internal policies and planning. Nevertheless all these things are directly or indirectly connected with world happenings and we live today in an age of the most amazing revolutions in everything. What is happening in Africa today is an astounding revolution. The whole of Africa or large parts of it are shedding their colonial status with an amazing rapidity. No one knows what is happening but here is a live movement shaking the world to some extent or will shake the world. In Asia we have seen all kinds of things happening and among the other things that have happened, has been what has happened in our country and what has happened in China; the two major happenings in Asia, in India and China, are great developments. Look at

20. Anand Chand, Congress, MP from Bihar and Bhupesh Gupta, CPI, MP from West Bengal.

21. On 29 January 1960, Ne Win, the Prime Minister of Burma, and Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of China, signed an agreement on the delimitation of the border and for a Border Commission to work out the details. It was seen as a signal to India to do the same. See the *Hindustan Times*, 30 January 1960.

22. On 9 November 1956.

these things in this vast field of revolutionary changes in Asia, Africa and all over the world. Then there are the technological changes and scientific changes which are really changing the way people think about these matters. Some people think that even biological changes are coming to the human race, I do not know. But there is no doubt about it that basic changes have been coming in the last 150 years or 200 years. The industrial revolution has powerfully changed the living conditions, life, the context and the content of life in a part of the world which is industrially and technologically advanced. Now, those processes are going on in India. Those processes, in a different sense, are going on in China. New worlds are being created. In India we are on the way to technological maturity. It may take 5 years, it may take 10 years or it may take 15 years but we are on that way and we are going pretty fast. There can be no doubt about it, whether our policies are right or wrong, that we have set India on the course of technological changes or industrial revolution. There is no doubt about it. Nobody can stop it. We cannot stop it, nobody can. We may get into difficulties. Take again, the approach to education which in the ultimate analysis is one of the greatest liberating forces in the country. That is what is happening, all these revolutionary happenings. And in all these revolutionary happenings, these two giants of Asia, India and China, come into major conflict. It is a very serious thing for us, for China, for Asia and the world. It is not a small thing, not a light thing, to be talked about lightly and for hon. Members to suggest: "issue an ultimatum." We are not dealing with a minor matter, of a trade union issuing an ultimatum that they will strike if their demands are not fulfilled. Two major countries are concerned, two essentially powerful countries. The power may be greater on one side or less, but essentially two powerful countries geographically placed against each other. We feel and we think and the President has given expression to it that China has not behaved properly to us. We have been let down in many ways. You may, if you like, say that our policy was such that we permitted them to do so. You may do that, though I do not myself see how any policy could have made any major difference, any policy of ours, I mean. However, you may say so. If that is so, we are in error, we are guilty of it. But the major thing is we feel that we have been let down, that injury has been caused to our principles, and indeed, to our frontiers. And we have to face that situation, face it with the right policy, face it with the right strength, face it, as everyone knows—and that is the result of a right policy—with a measure of unity, etc. How, no doubt, so far as strength is concerned, we should try to build up our strength and utilise it to defend our frontiers. And so far as policy is concerned, that should support it. But I venture to say that we should always aim at peaceful settlements. Peaceful settlement does not mean appeasement, the giving in to anything that we consider wrong. I do not understand why it should be thought that there are only two policies, one of ignoble submission and the other vulgar aggression, in the world. I do not understand this, as if there is no civilised approach to a problem left, but only weak surrender or the

uncivilised approach of brawling and shouting. Surely we have to and I hope we shall function in a more civilised way, adhering to our principles, adding to our might, to our strength, and yet functioning in a civilised way, realising that what we are doing today may have effect on generations to come, in this changing revolutionary world. That has been our policy.

We are accused repeatedly that we hide things. The fact is—and I have spoken about it in this House and elsewhere previously—that there is nothing that we have hidden from Parliament, from the country, except if you like, the fact of what happened in the Aksai Chin area about which we got confirmation in October 1958, when we immediately wrote to the Chinese Government, when we found that a road had been built there in the northern Aksai Chin area.²³ We wrote to the Chinese Government and we were corresponding for a few months when the Tibetan rebellion took place. Now, you may be justified...

Dr. H.N. Kunzru:²⁴ When did the Government first get the information about the building of the road through Aksai Chin?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We got what?

Dr. H.N. Kunzru: The Prime Minister said that he got it confirmed in October, 1958. When did he first get information about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That I think was either late in 1957 or early in 1958. I am not quite sure about my date. The hon. Member just now referred to information. Our first information was from some very rough Chinese maps which we saw in a magazine and on a very small scale which did not give precise information but which drew our attention to this. Thereafter we sent some of our people there to find out and it took them six months to go there and come back. It was round about October that we wrote, may be September or October 1958 when we got their report. Immediately after, within a week or ten days, we wrote to the Chinese Government. This correspondence went on till early in 1959 came the Tibetan rebellion.

Now, I am prepared to accept that it would have been better to have placed all this before the House, all that we had discovered at that time. But we thought it better to correspond and find out exactly what was the position. Apart from this particular incident, there is absolutely no basis for any person to say that we were keeping facts from this House. It would be foolish for us to keep back facts. It is true that in diplomatic matters we do not come with every move, every letter, every message, to newspapers or to this House. It is true you cannot

23. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 702-706.

24. Independent, from UP.

conduct diplomacy or any kind of foreign relations on that basis. But in this particular matter, it has come to this, that we have placed every letter, every fact about this before the House in various White Papers. And I may inform the House that we have just very recently addressed a communication to the Chinese Government²⁵ in reply to their last letter²⁶ and in due course that would also be placed before the House.

It is not for me, it would be unbecoming of me, to talk rashly about the brave steps that we are going to take and what we are going to do. That is not the normal language of responsible people speaking for a government. But I have said it before and I may repeat it. However, I need not repeat what the President has said so well in his Address. Look at the President's Address. Mr Bhupesh Gupta, I believe, did not like one or two phrases in it. What the President says, if you would be good enough to read it again, does not lack in firmness anywhere. It is a firm statement of India's position in this matter, at the same time laying stress on our desire for friendly settlements. Friendly settlement does not mean giving up basic principles or a basic interest. Nevertheless it is and should be our function and that of every government to try for friendly settlements, because there is no alternative to it. It is all very well saying—you go and do this or that. But there is no alternative in India, in Germany, in France, in America or Asia, there is no alternative to friendly settlement. A friendly settlement may take a long time and that friendly settlement may be upset by the opposition party and war may begin. That is a different matter, because every kind of folly might be committed and we should be prepared to meet every contingency like that. But the only reasonable approach is to be firm in your position and try as far as possible to reach settlements in a friendly way. The President has said quite firmly what—our position is, about our deep sorrow at what we consider a breach of faith from a country with whom we have been friendly, with whom we had concluded an agreement laying down the very principles which are talked about so much, about Panchsheel. Nevertheless our desire is for peaceful settlement.

Let it be understood quite clearly that though we talk about friendly settlement, I see no ground whatever at the present moment, no bridge between the Chinese position and ours. That is to say, our present positions are such that there is no room for negotiations on that basis. There is nothing to negotiate at present. It may arise later, I don't know.

To say that we would not have anything to do with them or to issue an ultimatum to them is not wisdom or statesmanship. That kind of thing is not done by responsible mature countries. It is only the people who talk without acting up

25. See Appendix 25.

26. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 398-423.

to their talk later on who may do that kind of thing. That would be a thing almost entirely opposed to all that we have done in the past in regard to foreign policy and the like.

May I just mention one thing? Perhaps the House knows that we have prepared an atlas of the India-China frontier and copies of this atlas have been placed in the library of Parliament and I think a copy each has been sent to the leaders of the principal parties in Parliament for their convenience.

Two subjects I have dealt with and the third I had in mind to deal with was the question of planning. Now, the real question for us to be clear in our own minds is this: Do we believe in planning or do we not? If we do not believe in planning, as for instance, some people do not, then, of course, it is a different matter and there is no common ground left between us to discuss but if we believe in planning, we might of course have different views about planning, the content of planning, we may discuss, we may argue because planning today, apart from certain basic approaches or principles—is becoming more and more not an ideological procedure but a scientific approach to desired ends. Either you believe that there can be no such thing as a scientific approach and you leave things to chance, to what is called an open market, to Adam Smith and what not—if you believe in that, then it is a different matter but I do not believe in it. There are very very few persons who believe in it, except some odd relics of a past age who may still think in that way but it has no relation to reality. No party in the wide world believes, no real political party of any kind, socialist, communist or capitalist, believes in that sort of thing. Get hold of any professor who has studied these matters. Whether he is a professor or a man belonging to any party, you will find an amazing commonness in the approach in regard to what should be done because it has become now a known procedure of how to develop a country on a technological basis, with heavy industry, with light industry and the others. It is a calculable thing. Of course, one factor, which cannot be calculated is the human factor, how much energy, how much hard work, how much ability, the human beings of a country would put in a job. That is an uncertain factor. The others are known factors which any expert to whatever party or ideology he belongs will probably be able to state clearly without such conflict. We had people here from America advising us, discussing these matters. They are not communists, they are not socialists and technically speaking, they are not planners or anything but as experts in certain matters they discuss the matters with us and it is surprising how they agree with others of a different school of thought. This is so because of the scientific approach now but there is this uncertain factor of unanimity of effort and the hard work to be put into it. That again leads us to this conclusion that if we are all the time criticising each other, we do not want to get unity of effort. Criticism, yes, in regard to improvements, constructive criticism, but if all the time we are thinking of running down or preventing something being done, then obviously the best Five Year Plan or any plan in the world will not

succeed. Inevitably, we have to shoulder the gravest of burdens; there is no help for it but to shoulder them. All kinds of demands are made to add to those burdens, however justified those demands may be. It is clear that there is no reality about our desire to make good in the Five Year Plan. It is not realistic to have all these, forgetting the basic thing. As the House knows, we have a small but very good committee of Members of Parliament in regard to planning. It has met several times, a few times, and it will meet more in the future, I hope regularly this session because, in this matter our approach is to gain the goodwill and cooperation and even criticism of others. It is not a party approach at all, though as a party we may have some views in regard to a certain matter. That is a different matter but, as I said, it is a question of more and more scientific approach regardless of parties and ideologies except for those who do not believe in the basic thing called planning and that, I think, is not a realistic approach but we cannot do anything about it. I will not say much about this matter because I hope we shall discuss this repeatedly, not only in committees but whenever necessity arises, in this House itself.

I have not been able to deal with many matters I had in mind but I hope I have been able to put before the House some major aspects of these questions referred to in the Presidents Address and which are in the minds of Members of this House. It is clear that we are passing through a stage of history in our country which is of crucial importance. I said we live in a revolutionary age, technological and other developments, but I fear sometimes that the age is going a little faster than our minds and we are speaking the language of the past age or employ past slogans not realising that they are not very realistic today and in these moving changes our traditional society is becoming a different society. Sir, I would beg that these matters, therefore, should be considered from the point of view of the age in which we are living, the present day problems, forgetting the past slogans and times.

Thank you, Sir.

Bhupesh Gupta: I would seek only a small clarification. I am glad the Prime Minister gave a little attention to what I had said. I did not personally bring any charge against any Ministry. I only stated what had been stated by Mr Deshmukh and drew the attention of the Prime Minister to the newspaper report. In fact, I did not even mention any names although I have them; they may be right or wrong. I would like to know the present position. Mr. Deshmukh has said something.

Mr. Chairman: No discussion now.

Bhupesh Gupta: I do not want a discussion. Sir. I do not want this question of a general tribunal to be set up permanently to be gone into now. Mr. Deshmukh has said certain things. He would not give the materials to the

Prime Minister and I cannot help it. I would like him to give, but the point is, how is the matter going to be tackled even provisionally, or, is, there going to be a deadlock? That is what I want to know.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult for me to reply to this matter. It is not fair to me or to Mr Deshmukh because I have great regard for Mr Deshmukh and I want to deal with any matter that is in his mind but the question is, how best to deal with it without going into this process which, I think, will be wrong, this tribunal business. Otherwise, I am prepared to deal with it and in fact, if I may say so, I am still in correspondence with him.²⁷

(b) Press Conference

3. In New Delhi²⁸

Prime Minister: I must apologise to you for the delay in holding this Press Conference this month. As you know, there were many eminent visitors and then came the beginning of Parliament²⁹ and I did not like the idea of having a press conference two days before the Parliament session. So it has been delayed. Anyhow, perhaps a number of questions that you might have asked have been dealt with in Parliament. That might simplify matters.

Well, shall we note down the subjects you may like to deal with? What?

Question: Subjects suggested for discussion:

Some clarification on China.

Maintenance of Price line.

Warsaw Pact countries conference in Moscow.

Prime Minister: What am I to say about it, I really do not know.

Question: Prof. Toynbee's lectures – your reaction.

Correspondence with Mr. C.D. Deshmukh.

Mr Khrushchev's stop in Calcutta.

Bihar-Orissa border issue.

27. See items 52-53.

28. New Delhi, 24 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in file No. 43(73)/60-PMS, JN Collection and PIB files.

29. They were, since the previous press conference of 8 January 1960, B. P. Koirala, the Prime Minister of Nepal, Voroshilov and Khrushchev, President and Prime Minister respectively of the USSR, V. J. Sukselainen, the Prime Minister of Finland, and Heinrich von Brentano, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Bombay-Mysore border issue.

Congress President, Mr Sanjiva Reddy has made a statement in Bombay recently that the Government of India should solve all these border issues on uniform principles.

Kerala.

Workers' living conditions in Bhilai.

Prime Minister: Well, there are a number of matters suggested about which I can say nothing at all. You have asked me about various things.

Workers' living conditions in Bhilai.

I cannot say anything, I do not know. But I can say this that it is pretty disgraceful what happened there the other day, and I have no sympathy with the workers if they do that in Bhilai.³⁰ Living conditions or no living conditions, when they go about damaging and sabotaging the plant and they expect anything to be done for them; it would not be done simply. Mind you these are not the Bhilai workers and it is not the engineers and others. These are the construction workers who are coming in the way of the working of the plant. If they have any grievances on living conditions, let them be considered. But going about damaging the plant—fortunately the damage was not much, that is a different matter. But even the slightest damage shows the mentality, which I think is very bad.

Question: Is it a fact that there have been 160 fatal accidents³¹ in the working of the Bhilai Plant?

Prime Minister: I have absolutely no knowledge. I do not know.

Question: Apart from the workers even the management persists that there have been 100 accidents. The workers say it is 160.

Prime Minister: That has nothing to do with living conditions. That has to do with security precautions certainly, but the trouble there, as far as I know, has little to do with this. Obviously, one must agree there should be every possible security

30. According to a *Times of India* (19 February) report of 18 February, Deosharan Dubey, the General Secretary of the Bhilai Steel Kamgar Union had been on fast since 11 February in protest against poor safety standards, frequent accidents, and inadequate compensation to accident victims. On 17 February, a zonal engineer visited Dubey, was mobbed by workers, panicked, and knocked down a worker as he drove off. Angry workers then assaulted an engineer, burned down two jeeps, entered the generating plant and power house, and attempted to damage equipment. An official statement declared that the police had asserted control, nobody had been injured, and plant had not been damaged.
31. M. P. Petrenko, a Soviet Deputy Chief Engineer at the Bhilai Steel Plant, was killed instantaneously when a heavy steel door fell on him on 22 February.

step taken as well as good conditions, etc., supply, but what I am saying is that always jumping from this to this kind of action, of damaging and sabotaging is really... it is a kind of thing, whether it is even not too uncommon now, students doing it or not, anybody else, deserves the severest condemnation. For my part I do not wish to compromise in it, whatever the consequences. I am fed up with this kind of people going about, breaking down things, burning cars, burning buses, this that, just to show that they are dissatisfied with something; something absolutely wrong, about an individual or a group who function in this way. It may be he is not blameworthy but he is mentally ill possibly. I do not know what it is. It is not a healthy state of affairs. It does not deserve the slightest sympathy. Damage to public property is really cutting off one's own nose to spite one's face kind of thing. It shows such a state of immature mental development, that one is rather alarmed at this low level of intelligence.

Question: Do you suspect some political motive?

Prime Minister: I have no reason to suspect it. So I cannot say. I have heard about it.

ORISSA-BIHAR BORDER

Prime Minister: I have nothing to say about it.

Question: The Chief Minister of Orissa³² is reported to have said in the Orissa Assembly that Seraikella and Kharsawan which now form part of Bihar should be transferred to Orissa and much progress has been made in this connection. I wanted to know are the Central Government aware that much progress in this connection has been made?

Prime Minister: Not much, except that I heard rather vaguely, some reference to it or some talks about it amongst some people, but I do not know at all that much or any progress has been made.

Question: What is your attitude to this?

Prime Minister: Well, honestly I have no attitude. I have given no thought to it. Didn't think it is important for me to bother about it. It is a matter of no consequence to me where the border of one State ends and where the other begins, provided it is a matter of goodwill and agreement. There is no principle involved in this border. I am astonished that there was so much trouble over this matter. So my

32. Harekrushna Mahtab.

broad approach is whatever is done with goodwill about such matters, is a good thing.

Question: The Congress President suggested in this connection that the Government of India should lay down a uniform principle in respect of this demarcation, either on the basis of district, village, taluks or so, and then it should be left to various States to work out border disputes on that basis.

Prime Minister: I do not know. It is always good to have some principles to guide one, but it was on the basis of some principle that these divisions were made – States Reorganisation Commission and after. It may be also that very rigid principles, instead of easing the situation, may create difficulties. One may apply one principle in one place and another in another. But, broadly, I agree there must be some kind of approach which is more or less always common. It may be adapted.

KERALA

Prime Minister: Well, our friend asked about Kerala. What about Kerala?

Question: May I know how the Congress formed a coalition government with a party which has called your government at the Centre and your party men of dishonour, as persons who have sullied the honour of India? How can you sit in a government in Kerala like that?³³

Prime Minister: Speaking for myself, because we are patient and tolerant, and we realise that sometimes the opposition parties say things in excitement which they do not mean.

Question: Yesterday I think you devoted two-thirds of your speech in reply to that in Lok Sabha.³⁴

Prime Minister: It is true.

Question: There is one more question about Kerala, that is about keeping the Muslim League out of the present government. The question is when the Congress could consider the Muslim League as a fit party for electoral alliance, now they do not give it any share in the government? I would like to refer to the remarks made by Maulana Azad in his book that the cardinal mistake

33. Following mid-term elections held on 1 February 1960, a Congress-PSP Coalition Government headed by Pattom Thanu Pillai took office on 23 February 1960.

34. See item 168.

SACRIFICE!



(FROM *THE TIMES OF INDIA*, 24 FEBRUARY 1960)

made by the Congress was in the year 1937, it did not share power with the Muslim League and that created the partition. Do you think that the history of India would be repeated?

Prime Minister: What will part from whom? What kind of partition is now envisaged in your mind?

Question: You had been always condemning communalism and at this juncture, you have compromised with communalism itself, and this is something which has shocked us.

Prime Minister: Compromised in what way?

Question: Compromised with the Muslim League in electoral alliance.

Prime Minister: I should have thought that the whole course of recent events has shown how far we were prepared to go in order not to compromise with communalism. I should have thought that that is evident from our absolute refusal, come what may, to form a joint government with them. In spite of our strong feelings on other subjects, we took the risk—an enormous risk—when we said that we will not form a joint government whatever happens. Surely, no greater proof can be required of the Congress not coming to terms with communalism.

But you referred to Maulana Azad's book. I do not wish to discuss what happened then. The main thing is that it is not names that count in such matters, names like the Muslim League, Congress, etc. But I must confess that I did not take the Kerala Muslim League very seriously—from the point of view of policies I mean. When I saw, fairly recently, their election manifesto, I was astonished what they stood for. I thought that it is only a relic (of the past), they repeated things there in the election manifesto which I thought were very objectionable.

I must confess that it is my fault that I had not seen it before. It was in Malayalam to begin with, the original thing, did not somehow reach us, but when it did, if that is the open policy of a party, well, however much we may otherwise try to cooperate, we could not share a government with that party in the slightest degree. There is too great a difference in their approach to do things. I am not accusing them or any individuals there. I do not know, they may be good people, probably they are. But I am merely saying that the policy for which they stand became rather clearer when we saw their manifesto. After the election I saw it not before, long after.

Question: Is it not a fact that a copy of the manifesto of the Muslim League was sent to the office of the AICC before the electoral arrangement came into being and it was discussed by the Congress High Command?

Prime Minister: That, surely, is not a fact, because, so far as that manifesto is concerned, it was shown to me and to some others who are called the Congress High Command, in my presence for the first time, I should say, about ten days ago, may be or less, a week ago. Whether it was sent to the AICC or not I cannot say, but I know this, this has produced great surprise when it was displayed that this is their manifesto.

Question: Can you specify some of the aspects to which you took exception? Was it separate electorate?

Prime Minister: It was more or less—there was nothing new in it—more or less a repetition of the programme of the old Muslim League. Yes including, not precisely, but a hint, even a hint, separate electorates are not directly asked for, but a suggestion was made that some such thing might be necessary and desirable.

Question: Did the AICC enter into an electoral arrangement with the Muslim League without caring to know its election programme? And if this late realisation has come, who is responsible for that—because virtually the Muslim League has been given recognition, and it may emerge in other States also?

Prime Minister: As a matter of fact, I do not think all that has justified what you have said because one step led to another there. And then as you know there is a very strong feeling in Kerala against the previous Government, and it is natural for, the strong feeling is represented by a number of groups—for them to cooperate to that extent. It is a big difference between forming a Government representing a policy, and negatively opposing something which you dislike. Its positive and negative, is an enormous difference.

Question: Would you therefore, accept the Communist complaint that the democratic alliance won the elections in Kerala on the cry of communalism, because the Muslim League won on the basis of the election manifesto?

Prime Minister: I am sorry I have not quite grasped the question.

Question: The Communist Party has charged that the democratic alliance in Kerala won the election on the basis of communalism. Now since the Muslim League has won it on the basis of their election manifesto, does it not mean that you concede to their charge?

Prime Minister: Too complicated a question for me to understand. [Laughter] I heard it twice, but I have not grasped it yet. If this happens, if that, then do I concede that that follows? It is much too complicated for my poor brain. I tell you this. I do not know what the Communist Party has said about it really. The issues at the election time, I suppose all of you know, were mixed, but they are pretty up and clear on the whole. Essentially at a time like this the issues are, for or against the previous Government's activities or policies. These are the broad issues, however they may be put. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, I almost consider it to be rather local league there, chiefly in the Malabar area. It has been represented for the last few years solidly. When it thinks of itself in a much broader way, then it raises different questions.

Question: This very issue of the communalism of the Malabar Muslim League was raised at Chandigarh AICC³⁵ when some of the Congress High Command

leaders, not you, but other leaders said that it was not so, it was only a local league. Did those leaders make that statement and enter into the alliance in spite of the charges made without enquiring into it?

Prime Minister: I do not quite understand what you are driving at. Most of these things were done by the local Congressmen in Kerala under stress of great pressure and excitement, which existed at that time in Kerala before the elections and after all these movements there; and the AICC really agreed with them, not in this particular matter, I mean in any matter, but broadly it had agreed with them about the conditions that had arisen there. But the real arrangements were made locally. It might be,— to have hindsight and say that this step should have been taken differently and that should not have been taken; it may be so.

Question: Apart from the question of whatever may have happened, in view of the fact that many communalists were included, the Catholics, the Muslims and the Nairs, will you now take care to see that the activities and policies of the Government are directed in a non-communal manner?

Prime Minister: Good advice. I shall remember it [Laughter].

Question: May we have your comments on the election results in Kerala in terms of the voting?

Prime Minister: Broadly, you have said that a strong minority support the Communist Party of Kerala, and that a large majority was equally strongly opposed to it. The actual figures, of course, are rather confusing, because the Communists for the first time, contested all the seats, or practically all. The Congress, having allowed the other parties to contest a large number of seats, only contested 80, I believe, out of 126. So, naturally, the number of actual voters for the Congress will be less when they contested only—whatever the percentage may be—60 per cent of the seats.

So, those percentages are not very helpful, if you say, oh, the Congress had only so much, and the others so much. Very possibly—it is my personal view, it may not be correct—if the Congress had contested every seat, we would have won many more seats.

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FEBRUARY 28, 1960

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY



(Seated from left: Asoka Mehta, Pattom Thanu Pillai, M. Padmanabhan,
R. Sankar, U.N. Dhebar)

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 28 FEBRUARY 1960)

Question: Can we say that of the votes cast in favour of the Communist Party, a certain proportion can be taken to represent not pro-something but anti-something also?

Prime Minister: It is rather metaphysical [Laughter]. You must ask straight questions, not these metaphysical ones.

Question: Would you explain the basis of the offer made by the Congress to the PSP that the Congress would support a Ministry formed by the PSP in the knowledge that the PSP's condition was that any government it entered into would be in alliance with the Muslim League? Does that mean that the Congress was prepared to support a coalition of the PSP and the Kerala Muslim League?

Prime Minister: Certainly, it means that, obviously, rightly. But that has nothing to do with the Muslim League, so far as we are concerned. That was a consequence. We told the PSP to form a government. That was the next biggest party, that is, bigger than this other group. We realised that that would mean their being associated, but we did not mind that in the circumstances because the main thing was that the mere fact that we were prepared, although the biggest party, and practically a majority, not to form a Government with Muslim League association in Government, was such a big thing, showing our attitude to the Muslim League. We had no personal grievances against any individual of the Muslim League. But it is business of the Congress attitude to that, which attitude, you may well say,



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 21 FEBRUARY 1960)

had created some doubt in people's minds in the elections etc. We wanted to clear that up. And the fact that the Muslim League and the PSP afterwards cooperated, the circumstances were of much less significance.

Question: There are certain reports that a Muslim Leaguer would be elected Speaker. Do you think that there is less objection to the Muslim Leaguer becoming a Speaker as against his becoming a Minister?³⁶

Prime Minister: It is eminently desirable for him to be elected Speaker, so far as I am concerned, I do not see any harm. You look upon it in terms of individuals, and not of policies. A Speaker does not represent any governmental policy, or should not. There is no harm at all, if he is a good man, if he is selected.

Question: For your information, I was in Kerala covering the elections, and the popular belief was that if it was possible under the Constitution to have President's rule, they would prefer it to Congress rule.

Prime Minister: You must have met the wrong kind of people [laughter].

Question: If you consider that the policy of the Muslim League is almost the same as that of the old Muslim League, then why in Kerala even now, after the elections, you are enlisting their support in running the Government? They will sit with the Government and they will support the Government.

Prime Minister: Certainly. Why not?

Question: Your differences with them are so wide.

Prime Minister: The differences are on a very important plane but a distant plane. It has nothing to do with the Government of Kerala, that particular matter for the governing of Kerala.

I must go on to some other subject. What was it about the border issue with China? What about it? A great deal has been said about it.

CHINA

Question: You said in the Lok Sabha that while there has been no reversal of policy "I have never said that I will never meet. The meeting depends on

36. Although the State Muslim League withdrew its claim for representation in the Ministry on 21 February, K. L. Seethi Sahib of Muslim League was unanimously elected Speaker of the Kerala Legislative Assembly on 12 March 1960.

certain circumstances in a changing situation.”³⁷ What is the changing situation now?

Prime Minister: I read out, I think, seven or eight extracts from various speeches delivered in the Rajya Sabha, Lok Sabha and Press Conferences. And if you read the whole lot, you will find my broad approach to this problem. The first approach is that if the heavens fall, I will never say that I will not meet anybody, because that represents a mental approach which, I think, is a wrong approach. It is the cold war approach which, I think, is a basic ill, evil and disease of the modern world and to some extent, I regret to say some of our newspapers display it from time to time.

So, I am conditioned that way. All my training, from my youth upwards has been that way, being influenced by Gandhiji and others. So it has been an amazement and surprise to me to see the kind of reaction of some newspapers here to my proposal which seemed to me the obvious and natural one, with certain disadvantages certainly, and certain advantages. That is to say, having disposed of it negatively, and that is the attitude which some others take up here, negatively one should never do that that I don't agree with. Positively, it becomes a question of desirability and a balance of advantages this way and that way, the advantages and disadvantages.

Now, the fact that Premier Chou En-lai invited me to meet him certainly put me in a position³⁸—either I had to refuse to meet him completely or to meet him and I thought this might be done. I need not go into all the details, but the point, is that in the balance after much thought, we thought that it desirable to have a chance of meeting, instead of merely taking up this negative attitude, even though it was by no means certain that any positive good might result from the meeting. It is a difficult subject. There are many difficult problems in Europe for which people meet; sometimes do not meet, sometimes meet, summits take place, all kinds of things happen, without pre-conditions.

Question: Will your letter of November 16 now lapse and no longer hold the field in view of the rejection by the Chinese?³⁹

Prime Minister: They are very much in the field; they remain there.

37. See item 168.

38. Chou En-lai suggested on 17 December 1959 that they should begin talks on 26 December 1959 either in Peking or in Rangoon. For details, see *White Paper No. III*, pp. 52-57. Also available in SWJN/SS/55/pp. 467-475.

39. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 47-51. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

Question: I am quoting you and please correct me if I am wrong. I think it was after Mr Chou En-lai invited you to go to Peking or rather Rangoon, that you said that "no discussion can be fruitful unless the posts on the India side of the traditional frontier are first vacated unless there is some preliminary arrangement about the facts." Would you kindly enlighten us as to what made you change your mind after you made this statement?

Prime Minister: I have ventured to say that I have not changed my mind. That is exactly the same position today. You do not seem to realise that mind may be not quite so thick as to only see in one direction; it can see in two or three directions. Discussions may not be fruitful and yet they may be advisable. Do you understand that?

Question: I cannot envisage what you can talk to him about if not to negotiate?

Prime Minister: I have put it in a nutshell. One may not expect much fruit to come out of the discussions, and yet it is very often that that much discussions either between individuals or between nations, nevertheless, are considered advisable, because not to have them is inadvisable. Put it the other way.

I used the word "fruitful" then, not casually as I sometimes use my words, but with thought, and I am still prepared to say, that the fruitfulness is very limited at the present, I cannot rule it out completely. But, nevertheless, in the balance, a certain step was considered desirable, realising that it might not lead to the results aimed at present.

Question: What is your hunch about it? Do you think he will accept the invitation....

Question: After the outbursts of the Opposition groups?

Prime Minister: And the Press, why not add? I must say it has not enhanced the great reputation of some newspapers in India for restrained thinking or writing.

Question: My question is still there.

Prime Minister: I have forgotten it.

Question: What is your hunch about it?

Prime Minister: I thought the people who have hunches were newspapermen. I cannot afford hunches.

Question: Is there any indication that Mr Chou En-lai may prefer to meet outside Delhi?

Prime Minister: We have had no reply.

Question: You said on one occasion that if the negotiations failed it would worsen the situation.

Prime Minister: Yes, it sometimes happens so.

Question: There was a report in one Bombay Weekly about one of our senior officials in London being spied upon —

Prime Minister: Almost kidnapped, oh? Is that what you are referring to?

The weekly you are referring to has a remarkable knack of stating things which are remote from facts. It is difficult to catch up to it. It brought in our Vice-President into a story. Our Vice-President rushed to London on some secret errand. Vice-President had gone there because he was rather ill and his doctors had advised consultation with London doctors about his future treatment. I think the story arose this way. We sent long ago, some months ago, long before the Vice-President was there. We sent Dr Gopal who happens to be the Vice-President's son but who is the head of the Historical Section of the External Affairs Ministry. And we had sent him to London to look into the old papers in the India Office Library. He had gone there, he spent about a month there, looking at those papers, maps, etc., old, what happened fifty years ago, minutes of those meetings. He found much useful material there. In this connection, he received one or two anonymous letters and somebody said, "We want to meet you". And he did meet somebody at some cafe or some such place. He talked in a round about way, "what are you doing there", that kind of thing. That is all that happened. But this has been exaggerated. Of course, what happened has a certain oddness about it. I admit that, but nevertheless I have told you exactly what happened.

Question: Apart from this case of Dr Gopal, has there been any instance in London brought to your notice of a similar attempt of getting at papers or documents that may be with the India House by people believed to be associated with the Chinese?

Prime Minister: There have been anonymous letters inquiries, "what are you doing."

Question: Quite apart from Dr. Gopal's case?

Prime Minister: Even apart from Dr. Gopal's case, I have a vague recollection that somebody wanted to know 'what are you doing, what are you getting from the India Office Library.' That kind of thing. I have no other recollection.

Question: The person who met Dr. Gopal what nationality did he belong to?

Prime minister: I have an idea he was an Englishman.

Question: From what did he receive those letters?

Prime Minister: Anonymous.

MR. KHRUSHCHEV'S CALCUTTA VISIT

Prime Minister: Mr Khrushchev's coming visit to Calcutta, what about it?

Question: He has been here and talked to you for three or four days. Why is he coming to Calcutta?

Correspondent: Both.

Prime Minister: Mr Khrushchev's passing through Calcutta has been a part of his programme long before he came here. In coming from Indonesia he wanted a halting place, before he proceeded to his next long hop and Calcutta was a suitable one. That is natural. I decided that it would be a good thing if I went to Calcutta during his brief half-day stay there to meet him and talk with him. Nothing mysterious about it.

Question: Would you like to comment on President Soekarno's suggestion that Asian countries should be represented at the Summit Conference?⁴⁰

Prime Minister: The question is President Soekarno has said apparently that Asian countries should be represented at the Summit Conference.

I do not know exactly what he has said and I can't say at what stage—but—well of course if too many people are represented at the Summit, it becomes rather flatter. The point is that there are some subjects like disarmament which obviously is not the monopoly of three or four countries. Every country in the world is interested, certainly countries in Asia are interested. And at same stage, I have no doubt, they should come into the picture. But things being what they are in the world today, it seems to me that if a large number of countries sit

40. On 23 February 1960.

together, they deliver harangues to each other without getting anywhere. That is the tendency at large conferences while small meetings, informal, private, is much more likely to yield some results. Therefore, I would leave the Summit as it is at the present moment, in the hope that they will get somewhere. But any of these major questions like disarmament should come later before somewhat larger gatherings where Asia should certainly be represented.

Question: Do you agree with Mr Khrushchev's observation at Bhilai that the Western capitalist countries are giving a dole to India and the Soviet Union was the only country, disinterestedly helping India and other underdeveloped countries and there is colonial exploitation?

Prime Minister: Now, this is a question which can hardly be dealt with, I will try to answer it in few sentences. I will have at least to write a long essay on it. I suppose Mr. Khrushchev said what he believed in. My views are not identical with Mr. Khrushchev's in that matter. Normally speaking, countries function not on the pure humanitarian plane, but on the ground of enlightened self-interest. Peace may be due to a feeling of enlightened self-interest, although peace is good. Peace does not become bad, because my self-interest makes me feel that India requires peace. Personally I would rather not suspect people of low motives. I suppose actions are governed by a variety of factors in which self-interest comes in undoubtedly, national and individual.

Question: Mr Khrushchev further said that we are sort of very soft-spoken towards those colonial powers but he cannot understand this. Probably for ages we have been under subjugation and so we are soft. He said so in his Calcutta banquet speech.⁴¹

Prime Minister: Partly true. We are a soft people, excepting Indian press occasionally.

Question: I would like to know your objection to meeting Chou En-lai in Rangoon. Supposing Mr Chou En-lai does not agree to come to India. Have you any particular objection to go to Rangoon?

Prime Minister: I have no objection to Rangoon or any other place as a place, but I have a certain reluctance to going out of India and at that time I certainly had a certain reluctance to accept going out or having a meeting. The background of the Chinese note which came to me then.... It has made a good deal of difference, whether I meet anybody in the background of the Chinese note or our note.

41. On 15 February 1960.

Question: Has the background changed then?

Prime Minister: Read the notes. It is a very simple reply.

Question: Do you mean Sir that your note is conditional to the meeting?

Prime Minister: I make nothing conditional to the meeting. But I take the fact of the note becomes an important factor.

Question: And you will only meet in the background of that note?

Prime Minister: I am afraid, these press conferences are moving away not only from facts, but, shall I say, from something rather solid into something rather metaphysical, which I use in the other sense.

Question: These Warsaw Pact countries met in Europe. Since this boundary question in Europe is predominant in the minds of those countries did the Chinese observer raise the question of Ladakh there? Is it within your knowledge?

Prime Minister: Did Chinese observer raised the question of Ladakh in Warsaw?

Question: The Warsaw Pact countries met in Moscow. Had this question been raised there?

Prime Minister: I am sorry, I have no knowledge.

Question: Do you try to make any enquiry from Mr Khrushchev or our Mission there try to find it out from any other sources, whether the Chinese observer raised it?

Prime Minister: It is the first time that I have heard of any such thing from you now. I have not heard it previously anywhere.

Question: The speech of the Chinese observer has also been published and it is quite a stiff speech.⁴²

Prime Minister: I know, but I don't see why you should expect me to read everything that is published. Well, this is beyond my capacity. I tell you I have not

42. Sharply anti-American.

heard anything like this till you have mentioned it just now. I have no knowledge of it.

APPOINTMENT OF TRIBUNAL

Question: Are these reports correct that Mr Deshmukh⁴³ had agreed to your suggestion that Mr S.R. Das⁴⁴ might look into the position?

Prime Minister: He has asked if Mr Deshmukh has agreed to some proposal that Mr. S.R. Das might look into some cases. Well, I do not think it would be right for me to deal with questions which bring in names like that of Mr. S.R. Das etc. It is not fair to Mr S.R. Das. Therefore, all I have said in regard to these matters is that I am quite clear in my mind that a suggestion for a permanent standing tribunal to enquire into charges of corruption is not a right or desirable or feasible proposal. Constitutionally, one does not quite know where it leads to, because the proposal has not been worked out and you may have something which goes against our Constitution, our system of judiciary, and is the beginnings of some kind of a super apparatus which normally is associated with countries having authoritarian rule. Either it has power or it has not. Or is it merely to be a kind of enquiring, forwarding agency. So all kinds of difficulties arise. We have certain laws to deal with such cases. The laws may be strengthened. The laws wherever they do not satisfy, do not meet the situation, can be dealt with accordingly. I do not say that our present arrangements are perfect. I do not think they are, because there is so much delay about it.

But I am clear in my mind that this proposal is not a right proposal and it is definitely an injurious proposal and it is a proposal, if I may say so, which will work ultimately in favour of corruption, not against it. Why do I say so? There is no half-way house. Either you have a dictatorial rule and cut off the head of everybody you suspect or have some slight evidence about. You may punish the innocent, but you will also punish the guilty, and you may succeed in frightening people into behaving for a while. That is a possibility. But if you do not go to that length, you will only create a whole atmosphere of charges and countercharges and I repeat—I do not say that the charges made are always wrong, but the charges made are frequently completely wrong. Human nature being what it is, if I dislike a person, angry with him, I bring a charge against him. Every person who is not—let us say—promoted in Government service writes to me, cursing his superior. I do not mean every person writes to me but a large number do, that he is partial, he is corrupt. Immediately, the moment he is not promoted, he calls

43. C. D. Deshmukh was the Chairman of the University Grants Commission.

44. Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University.

his superior a corrupt person, he has shown partiality to the other person. It is quite extraordinary, the way the amount of time I spend in looking through this kind of correspondence that comes to me, charges, counter-charges—not here, from the rest of India, too, and I try to follow up every one of them, if there is the least substance, at least to find out what the facts are. It takes a lot of my time. Now, but the question if I may answer it, I said—we are facing a very peculiar position; a position, I must say to which my mind has never been conditioned. That is, no charge brought forward, no specific charge brought forward; vague charges are that the Government, the Ministers, the Cabinet Ministers and the Government of India are all corrupt. What is one to do in the circumstances? My training all along has been that no vague charge should ever have been made by a newspaper by an individual; it is not fair. You cannot catch hold of a vague charge; you can deal with a specific charge, deal with it and the public judges. There is a public, after all, wide awake public, there is the Parliament, there are the Opposition Members, if Government Members are supposed to be tongue-tied, which they are not—all these are factors today in our set-up which make it very difficult for corrupt people in any position to get away with it. They may sometimes, I suppose sometimes they do. But the fact is—you must realise this—that many thousands and thousands of eyes that are always there out to find the fault, to find if a person has erred in a way. Every Opposition party is concerned with it; newspapers are concerned with it, all kinds of people. So the right way obviously is, where such a thing occurs, whether in a big person or a small person, either to take steps in law or at any rate make it public and then let everybody judge of it. I cannot understand this type of procedure, which, whether in Parliament or in the newspapers, others, there is constant talk of this kind of thing without coming down to specific cases or instances.

Question: In the speech made by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri⁴⁵ in the Parliament, he has given specific cases; he even referred to the Chief Minister of Punjab and mentioned certain cases connected with him.

Prime Minister: I do not remember Shri Prakash Vir Shastri's speech. But, as a matter of fact, so far as the names do not count, instances in regard to Punjab are concerned, we have thoroughly enquired into them in the past, and I am now enquiring into certain recent charges made.

Question: Against whom are those charges made?

Prime Minister: He said, from the Punjab Government. He was referring to the charges made. I do not remember what Shri Prakash Vir Shastri said, but one or

45. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Gurgaon, Punjab.

two charges, were made about the Punjab Government and the Punjab Chief Minister.

Question: In the Rajya Sabha you said that you were willing to have Shri Deshmukh's charges,⁴⁶ if he is not willing to present them to you, enquired into—the *prima facie* nature of the charges—by some eminent person. Has Shri Deshmukh accepted that offer of yours?

Prime Minister: I have said that you should not bring in names. I am prepared, because I want to go anywhere. I can get no grip of the situation, when I am neither supplied with an instance, with the particular charge, except general charges, I cannot get a grip of the situation. I am told that you must appoint a tribunal. Well, I am not just going to be bullied into appointing a tribunal if I disagree with that procedure completely. It is obvious. I should like to suggest honestly, that some of the newspaper gentlemen who write leading articles on like this, should have the matter examined by a competent lawyer and think again about it,—the consequences of all this. It is all very vaguely said.

What I had said in the Rajya Sabha was that "I am trying to grapple with something which is not solid enough to come into my hands." I said I am prepared if people do not trust me in the sense that they would not give me the information—to have a person of unimpeachable position and authority to look into those matters, even apart from me. And to advise what I should do. That is what I have said.

Question: How is it you will ask some eminent person to go into it? Is it according to any provision of law or on a private basis?

Prime Minister: As for the moment you come within the law. The law is there. Follow the law. This is entirely on an informal basis. As I said, I cannot say anything legal, or private or anything unless I know what the charges are. Simply being told that there are grave charges involving people in high authority is not good enough for me to enquire into anything on any basis, formal or informal.

Question: Is it the privilege of people like Shri Deshmukh only to make charges and ask for an enquiry or can lesser individuals, citizens, can also bring charges? For instance, some people may bring charges against Shri Deshmukh himself, of corruption, nepotism and favouritism. So, is it only the people higher up who have the right to be heard in the present condition of things?

Prime Minister: This is what is called not a question but an outburst [Laughter].

46. See item 55.

Question: The appointment of a tribunal or a trusted single body to go into loose charges may not have any effect. I suppose this tribunal that is suggested would accept only substantial charges and then look into them and investigate.

Prime Minister: How will they know that they are substantial until they looked into them and investigated them?

Question: By investigating there.

Prime Minister: That is what I said. They have to look into them, investigate them and then say, "this is substantial this is not; this trivial; this is frivolous; this is malicious."

Question: Should not a legal body do that rather than any other body?

Prime Minister: What are the normal courts meant for? Exactly for that process. You may say normal courts function slowly, Well—expedite the processes have a—if you like, you may add to a court to do this specially, so that there may be no delay. These are different approaches. I can understand of course, where a serious charge is made which is important enough, or if you like, a special tribunal to go into it, if you like. But I cannot understand a standing permanent tribunal, sitting down, asking, "come, what complaint have you got about corruption?" I just cannot understand it.

Question: While, there cannot be a permanent tribunal, what is the objection to having an ad hoc tribunal to look into what Shri Deshmukh has said?

Prime Minister: Without my knowing what it is?

Question: Let us expose Shri Deshmukh in the eyes of the public, if it is wrong.

Prime Minister: I am not interested in exposing anybody, least of all Mr. Deshmukh. But I am not going to take a wrong step simply because some people are shouting about it. I am not made that way. It is fundamentally a wrong step, it is undemocratic step, harmful to the community. It is my belief in regard to this kind of shouting about these things without bringing specific charges, which can be dealt with.

CURRENT ARTICLES

Question: Mr. Deshmukh has spoken about it again in Rajamundhry, yesterday, he again asked for a Tribunal. Would you suggest that he has not agreed with

your suggestion that it may be placed before some Supreme Court....but something to do with the *Current* newspaper.

Prime Minister: Sometime back, my attention was drawn to, it was quite series of articles attacking one of our senior Generals, Lt. Gen. B.M. Kaul.⁴⁷ It is bad enough for civilian officers to be attacked in this way, because they have no chance of replying. It is worse for the defence people, who are much more disciplined than civilians, they have no chance of replying. Casting aspersions on them is anyhow most unfair and objectionable. But when factually wrong facts are given, becomes worse.

Now the *Current* in a course of two or three articles pursued General Kaul who is one of our ablest and most energetic generals. I am referring to it not merely because of Lt Gen. Kaul, but generally about defence and other services. We have got fine defence services, able generals. I do not want political arguments, or this type of charge and counter-charge to come within our defence, as far as possible. Of course, if there is a bad matter, nobody wants to hide it; it is a different matter.

Now in this case, the main basis was about his promotion, that he being promoted out of turn, he has had no experience of active service, and then there is some kind of purchase of bran and some purchase of animals, I forget, mules or donkeys or something. I was surprised when my attention was drawn to it, because it so happened that I was partly connected with this matter. Here is this man who has put in a good deal of active service not only in Burma, Arakan, etc., in the last War, in the old North-West Frontier Province, later in the Kashmir operations. He was our Military Attaché in Washington when the trouble in Kashmir began. He asked to resign from the soft job to be sent to the front and we did permit him and he came and he was sent to the front. But before that, in Burma, Arakan and old North-West Frontier Province he had seen a good deal of active service.

Then he was accused of not having commanded this and that. He has commanded every single grade from infantry to platoon, a company, a brigade, and a division. All this, as many other officers have done. Statements were made which have absolutely no factual basis. Then it was said that he had bought a lot of bran for the army. It is not his function to buy bran at all. It is the Food and Agriculture Ministry that buys it for the army, he has nothing to do with it. Then there was also the question of purchase of some animals. Again, I would not go into details and I have been into the details, as a member of the Defence Committee, when the matter came up before me about the purchase animals. General Kaul had little to do about it except that he had put forward the need of animals. He did not purchase them, the Defence Committee and others. So, I am giving this to

47. General Officer Commanding, Fourth Division.

you to show that it is very unfair for people to drag them into a controversy, a newspaper controversy. You have asked me if General Kaul should reply to these things? I said "No, none of your business to go about entering into newspaper controversies." But I promised him long ago, a month ago, that I will mention it in my press conference, and that is why I am mentioning it especially.

Question: Was he given out of turn promotion? That is not cleared yet.

Prime Minister: Completely in turn. But that matter, if I remember, I spoke in the House about it. First of all, it must be realised that at the top there is no in turn promotions, in the higher ranks of the army; otherwise, the army would be reduced to a lot of dunderheads; if everybody, whether he a clever or a fool, all are promoted equally. Obviously not. We go about laying stress on merit and, therefore, in the army promotions are made by select committees on the basis of merit; all throughout. Not throughout at the lower stages, but as soon as you reach, I believe, the Colonel stage, I forget now, and more so the Brigadier, more so Major General. The higher you go, the more stricter are the tests, and they even lay down that in the case of such a person, his ceiling is, let us say, Brigadier; he cannot go beyond that, it does not matter how long he may serve. The promotion committees lay down: this man's ceiling is a Brigadiership, this man Colonel, can't go beyond that. They judge from his record. So, merit comes in at every stage, and almost all these choices are made by high-level committees. When you go right to the top, those choices are made by Government, no doubt after some recommendations, formal or informal. They are Government appointments. Because, all along Government has kept it in its hands to appoint them. These are Government appointments, which means, in such a matter, by the Defence Minister, in consultation with the Prime Minister. Suppose, there is the Chief of Staff. Well, obviously, nobody is going to recommend the Chief of Staff, because they are all lower than the Chief of Staff; that becomes an appointment, which the Defence Minister, in consultation with the Prime Minister, and with informal consultation with others has to make.

This particular appointment was made out of a panel of three, which were recommended by the Chiefs of Staff, or by the regular recommending committee, and this man was chosen. Out of three, two were chosen. About the third, a very eminent person of reputation, very fine man, he was not chosen, rightly or wrongly, because he had no actual experience of commanding in the field of a division. And he was sent there for some months, so that after that period of six months, so he would get back and get promoted. As a matter of fact, he is now being sent to command our troops in Gaza.⁴⁸ In fact all the three were dealt with, and all the

48. Major General P. S. Gyani, Commander of United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF).

three were promoted. However, I am not going into that.

I merely wish to make it clear that it is very unfair that a gallant officer is run down like this. Then again he did work at Ambala. He was given a rather novel task of finding residences for our troops suffering from lack of accommodation. These poor troops spent years, let us say, in Kashmir, or, let us say, in Naga Hills, come back and they cannot have houses to live, no family life, nothing. Very hard life. Of course, we are building something, but you cannot build it fast enough. Too costly. So it was decided that this thing should be done it was called the "Amar" project, that soldiers themselves should be asked to build for themselves. And General Kaul was put in charge of it. Nobody forced the soldiers, it was voluntary job. He spoke to them, discussed with them and got them round and they worked. In a few months they put up, I do not know how many thousands of buildings for themselves. It is a very fine effort.⁴⁹ Then he finds some kind of a propaganda going on, that the houses are leak, that the houses are not good, or something has happened which is quite absurd, I had them examined. Now, at the present moment, the same problem has come up before us, in NEFA accommodation of some troops that have been put there. Again we have no alternative. We are asking the soldiers to put it up. And General Kaul has been asked to do it because he did a very fine piece of work in getting thousands and thousands of houses put up in a few months' time. And we have given them eighty days, I think, to do this. In fact, it has just begun. Just a short while ago I have been asked to go and be present at the opening ceremony when the construction is over, on the 15th April, less than two months from now.

Question: Will you go there?

Prime Minister: I am not sure if I will be able to go, I want to go. It was said that soldiers' training suffered by doing this. Well, that again, is quite wrong. The soldiers would be better soldiers infinitely having done two or three months of other work when the training was going on.

Question: Why not prosecute the paper?

Prime Minister: It is a fair question but not easy to answer. What I mean is, one does not want to, however false it may be, and one may. I am not saying one should not do it. According to our legal processes, which last months may be, all these senior officers and others being dragged from their duty, pushed backwards and forwards. The *Current* fortunately is not a paper with a wide reach.

49. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 626-636.

Question: You are not prepared to appoint any Tribunal and you have also said that there is a good deal of corruption. What specific steps do you propose to take to eradicate this?

Prime Minister: I have also said that while there is a good deal of corruption, it is far less than people shout about. I am really amazed at the way we in our country have got into the habit of running ourselves down all the time and our people down.

Normally, people in other countries do not function in that way. But we seem to delight in doing it. When we talk about corruption, you must remember you are talking about the points to which Mr Deshmukh referred. It is not normal corruption, because it is vaguely hinted at that it is in Ministerial circles. That is another type of thing, remember. The normal corruption in the public services—to that I referred—certainly is considerable and if you see our reports, we are dealing with it. I won't say as well as we would like to, but still fairly effectively. But when you reach the Ministerial circles, you can deal with them in the same way. There is no reason why it should not if you get hold of a fact of something to be enquired into.

Question: If it is the case of an ordinary

Prime Minister: Any public figure. Any of you gentlemen can go to a court of law.

Question: In other words, Mr Deshmukh or anybody else who has the guts must be brave enough to publish things and face the consequences?

Prime Minister: Certainly, anybody who has a charge must put them out and take the consequences. It is very unfair, I think, it is not only unfair, as I said, my training has been against the business of any type of charge being made without putting it out and taking the consequences.

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

4. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Masani for MPs' Planning Committee¹

February 1, 1960

My dear Gulzarilal,

I think you should send a reply to Minoo Masani's² letter. The reply might be to the effect that we have, in the normal course, invited representatives of Parties in Parliament to join the MPs Committee on Planning. This does not involve any commitment on their part, but it is obvious that the question has to be approached in a constructive way if any good is to come out of this Committee. If the approach is merely destructive, then this will not lead the Committee anywhere. Thus far the Committee has had members from the major Parties in Parliament as representatives. There have been differences among them in their approaches, but they have accepted the broad principles of planning and their association with the Committee has been helpful. It is entirely for Masani to decide whether he would care to associate himself with this Committee.

I am returning Masani's letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter to the Union Minister of Planning, Labour and Employment. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Ranchi-West, Bihar till June 1959; joined Swatantra Party upon its formation and became its Secretary in December 1959.

5. To Randhir Singh: Lobbying for a Rajya Sabha Seat³

February 6, 1960

Dear Randhir Singhji,

I have your letter of the 3rd February. I was much impressed by your scheme for your Kamala Nehru Centre for the training of Panches,⁴ and I am glad to know that this proposal is progressing.

You refer to standing for a Rajya Sabha seat on a Congress ticket from the Punjab.⁵ These matters do not come up before me at all, and I seldom interfere. As you will realise, I get many letters and requests of this kind from various parts of the country. I have felt that it would not be proper for me to make recommendations because such recommendations from me prove embarrassing to others who have to deal with this matter. Sometimes, at the last moment, I see the selections being made. If I have anything against a person from personal knowledge, I say it. Otherwise I think it is right that those who bear the responsibility for these choices, should exercise it. The procedure is for the Pradesh Congress Committee to make a recommendation, which is considered then by the Central Parliamentary Board of the A.I.C.C.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Achleshwar Prasadji: Rajya Sabha Seat⁶

February 7, 1960

Dear Achleshwar Prasadji,

I have your letter of the 2nd February. The question of selecting people for the Rajya Sabha does not come up before me, and no question arises of my issuing any directions. The normal procedure is for the Pradesh Congress Committee to suggest names which the A.I.C.C. Parliamentary Board considers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Letter to Randhir Singh, Joint Secretary of the Shrimati Kamala Nehru Panch Shiksha Kendra at Sonapat.
4. Nehru had laid the foundation stone of the Kamala Nehru Centre for the training of Panches at Sonapat on 28 June 1959. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 141-168.
5. Randhir Singh, Congress, was elected to the Lok Sabha in the Fourth General Elections (1967) from Rohtak, Haryana.
6. Letter to Achleshwar Prasad Sharma, Congressman, journalist and the founder of the *Praja Sewak Weekly*, Jodhpur.

7. To the CPP⁷

साथियो, मालूम नहीं इस वक़्त आप क्या किया चाहते हैं, ज़ाबते से हम थोड़ी देर के लिए मिले हैं या देर तक के लिए, क्योंकि प्रेसीडेंट का एड्रेस ज़रा मामूली से ज़्यादा लम्बा था, तो वक़्त काफी गुज़र गया। अब एक बजने में दस मिनट बाकी हैं। खैर, एक तो, पहले तो ये हमारे एक पुराने मेम्बर श्री एम.सी. शाह⁸ का देहान्त हुआ तो उसके लिए हमें, ज़रा सा, खड़े हो जायें आप।

आपकी इत्तला के लिए बता दूँ कि एक मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट के जो हमारी पार्टी में नहीं थे वो अब शरीक हो गये हैं, उनका नाम एकजीक्यूटिव काउन्सिल में आया था पहले और उन्होंने मंजूर किया था, श्री चक्रधर,⁹ आंध्र के। ये पहले लोहिया जी¹⁰ की पार्टी के थे।

अब, पहले तो कुछ हम आइन्दा का अपना प्रोग्राम तय कर लें तो अच्छा है, मीटिंग्स का। यानी, अभी त्यागीजी¹¹ आये और एक उन्होंने कहा कि उसमें, प्रेसीडेंट के एड्रेस एक फेहरिस्त है बिल्स की, क्या-क्या गवर्नमेंट का इरादा है पेश करने का, है तुम्हारे पास लाओ। On page 7&8 तो, there is a two-member Constituencies Abolition Bill, तो त्यागीजी ने कहा कि इसमें शामिल कर दिया बगैर पूरे तौर से डिस्कशन यहाँ हुए। तो इसमें तो मैं आपको बता दूँ इस तरह से होता है कि जो बिल्स पेन्डिंग हैं, जिनका इरादा है रखने का, वो इसमें मेन्शन कर दिये जाते हैं कि लोगों को मालूम हो जाये। आखिर में रखें न रखें ये ग़ौर हो सकता है। अगर इत्तफ़ाक़ से फर्ज़ कीजिए कि यह तय हो कि न रखें तो नहीं रखेंगे। लेकिन इत्तला दे देनी अच्छी है, पहले से। इसपे ग़ौर तो हुआ नहीं था, ये लिखा गया था, इसको हम करेंगे जितने हमारे सामने तैयार थे, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से रखेंगे। तो अगर आप चाहें तो इसपे बातचीत हो सकती है बाद में, वो तो एक इस फेहरिस्त के काफी नीचे है ... मैं समझा नहीं ... ये ही तो मैंने कहा, यही तो मैंने कहा कि इस बिल को यहाँ पार्टी में हम डिसकस करें, ज़रूर करें ... बिल क्या है वो तो सिम्पल बात है उसको आप मंजूर करते हैं या नहीं। अच्छा।

अब ये तो आप जानते हैं, हमारा सबसे लम्बा सेशन और सेशन के दौरान में बहुत सारी बातें होती हैं, मौसम भी बदलता जाता है और सर्दी से गर्मी हो जाती है। और सवाल हमारे सामने बहुत काफी आने वाले हैं। ये बिल्स के अलावा बजट सेशन है। बजट का सवाल है और बजट का सवाल ख़ाली मामूली बजट का नहीं, बल्कि ये हमारी प्लानिंग के सिलसिले में हम क़रीब आते-जाते हैं दूसरे प्लान के ख़ात्मे पर। और तीसरे प्लान का मंजूर करना हमारे सामने आता है। मैं कोई तारीख़ ठीक तो नहीं बता सकता। लेकिन उम्मीद है कि शायद आखिर अप्रैल तक तीसरे प्लान का एक आरज़ी मसौदा तैयार हो। जो कि आप जानते हैं कि साल भर तक वो, उसपे ग़ौर होगा। मुल्क के सामने होगा, बहस होगी और फिर साल भर के बाद वो पक्का होगा।

अब ये प्लानिंग का सवाल तो ज़्यादा, रोज़-रोज़ ज़्यादा गम्भीर होता जाता है। और हम सभी लोग और ख़ासकर जिनका उससे कुछ ख़ास ताल्लुक़ है प्लानिंग कमीशन में या गवर्नमेंट में, या

7. 8 February 1960. Tape No. M-48/c (ii), NMML.

8. Minister of State for Revenue and Civil Expenditure (Finance) till 1957.

9. A. Chakradhar, from the Rajya Sabha.

10. Ram Manohar Lohia.

11. Mahavir Tyagi.

कुछ और मेम्बर हैं। और जो कुछ हो उनका तजुर्बा इसमें बढ़ता जाता है। चाहे वह ग़लती करे या न करे ... उसके इतने पहलू हैं। और तजुर्बा बढ़ता है आपस में बहस करके, सलाह करके और लोगों से, बहुत लोग बाहर से भी आते हैं उनको दिलचस्पी है। कुछ हमारी मदद करते हैं। कुछ देखने को कि क्या हो रहा है? बहसूरत उनकी बहस, बहस से, उनके साथ, बहुत सारे पहलू नये आते हैं। तो इसपे तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस सेशन के दौरान हमारी पार्टी में अच्छी तरह से बहस हो। उसको समझें हम अच्छी तरह से, समझें नहीं तो समझायें कैसे? और कुछ नयी रोशनी पड़े, उसपे मेम्बरों की सलाह से। वो ज़रा कुछ दिन बाद हो सेशन में तो बेहतर है, और उसको भी शायद, वो पूरा नशा तो आयेगा नहीं। यहाँ मोटी-मोटी उसकी बातें हैं, एक-एक को लेके उसपे बहस करेंगे ...। अब, कुछ न कुछ झलक उसकी बजट पे पड़ती है बहुत ज्यादा तो नहीं पड़ती इस वक़्त, जिस चीज़ की झलक बजट पे पड़ सकती है। ज़ाहिर है, वो ये है कि कुछ हमारे रक्षा के, डिफेन्स के सिलसिले में जो कुछ इंतज़ामात और किये जायें। उनको ज़ाहिर है, झलक पड़ती है। और एक काफी बोझा है। आप जानते होंगे कि ग़लत या सही, पिछले साल, दो साल में कुछ किफ़ायत करने की कोशिश की गयी थी। किफ़ायत इस मायने में, जो चीज़ हमें करनी थी, हमने सोचा बाद में करेंगे, इस वक़्त किफ़ायत कर लें। तो अब हालात जो पैदा हुए हैं तो मुलतवी करना उनका ज़रा दुश्वार है और नामुनासिब है। और उसके माने ये है कि ज़रा बोझा बढ़ता है। ऐसे मौक़े पे बढ़ता है, जब हम पसन्द नहीं करते उसका बढ़ना। इस माने में पसन्द नहीं करते हैं कि जब चारो तरफ से कई बोझे होते हैं तो हमें और जो कुछ हो पैसा ख़र्चना, लेकिन एक चीज़ जो बहुत ग़ौरतलब है, वो मुल्क में प्राइसेज़, भाव चीज़ों का बढ़ना, उसपे असर पड़ जाता है, खर्चे का। जितना खर्च बढ़ता है, उतना ही कुछ प्राइसेज़ पे घूमघाम के असर पड़ता है। ये पेंच हैं जो आप ग़ौर करेंगे उनपे।

तो इस सेशन में अव्वल बात तो बजट होगी। दूसरी बात, वो हमारे सामने है ही, ये तो हमारे सीमा के सवाल हैं। चीन से जो हमारा बार्डर है, ये बड़े सवाल हैं। और बातें तो और भी बहुत हो ही रही हैं दुनिया के सवाल कुछ मामूली जगह से हट गये और नये-नये रूप धारण कर रहे हैं। चाहे आप फ़्रांस लीजिए, चाहे यह समिट मीटिंग कहलाती है, उसका क्या नतीजा हो, इस सिलसिले में आप जानते हैं कि मिस्टर खुश्चेव यहाँ आज से तीन दिन में आने वाले हैं। आ तो रहे हैं, यहाँ तो ख़ाली दो रोज़ रहेंगे और फिर उधर सूरतगढ़ और भिलाई और फिर चले जायेंगे। असल में तो वो इंडोनेशिया जा रहे हैं, रास्ते में ठहरे हैं। और मिस्टर खुश्चेव से हमें मौक़ा मिलता है मिलने का, बातें करने का। अच्छा है, क्योंकि उसमें कोई शक नहीं कि वो, उनका मुल्क उन दो देशों में है। जिसके हाथ में लगाम है,¹² एक अमेरिका और एक रूस, मोटे तौर से, औरों के हाथ में भी कुछ-न-कुछ है, मोटे तौर से उनके हाथ में लगाम है। तो उनके आने से कुछ हमें फ़ायदा होता है बातचीत करने से, कई बातों पर। ये भी आपको मालूम होगा कि वो राज़ी हुए हैं पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों को एड्रेस करने के लिए। वो शायद ग्यारह तारीख को है? ग्यारह ही को है, तीन दिन हैं। करेंगे, और कोई उनके कोई बहुत प्रोग्राम नहीं हैं यहाँ। हाँ, और एक उनका सिविक रिसिप्शन होगा। सिविक रिसिप्शन उनका और मिस्टर बुलगानिन का एक दफ़े हो चुका है। लेकिन अब वो प्राइम मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से आते हैं। पहले दूसरी हैसियत थी और बहरसूरत उनकी हैसियत तो है ही। किसी नाम से आप उनको रखिये। तो अच्छा है कि, उसके बाद आने वाले हैं, प्राइम मिनिस्टर

12. For his talks with Nehru, see items 198 and 199.

फिनलैण्ड के... बल्कि जब खुशचेव साहब होंगे, उसी वक़्त आ जायेंगे वो। फिनलैण्ड में और हिन्दुस्तान में जितना नाप के फ़ासला है उतना ही हालात में फ़ासला है। क्योंकि बेहद सर्द मुल्क जहाँ की सर्दियों में ज़्यादातर अंधेरा रहता है, गर्मियों में ज़्यादातर उजाला रहता है, इतना नार्थ है वो उत्तर है। छोटा मुल्क है लेकिन बड़ा तगड़ा मुल्क है। अगर एक तगड़ेपन की निशानी ये गिनी जाये छोटे से मुल्क को कि जो ओलिम्पिक गेम्स होते हैं काफी उसमें उनके लोग जीतते हैं- वर्ल्ड चैम्पियनशिप्स। वो छोटा सा मुल्क, ज़रा सा। और, और बातों में भी। मालूम नहीं सर्दी से ज़्यादा लोग तगड़े हो जाते हैं कि क्या? तो ख़ैर, ये तो बिलफेल होने वाला है। आप लोग अक्सर तो आते-जाते रहेंगे दिल्ली में या दिल्ली में रहते होंगे।

लेकिन इससे वाकिफ़ हैं। यहाँ एग्रीकल्चर फ़ेयर जो हो रहा है, तो अभी तो वो है। इस महीने के आख़ीर तक वो है। लेकिन वो देखने के काबिल है। और खासकर वो उसके हिस्से समझिए। एक तो जो बाहर के हैं पैवेलियंस, अमेरिकन, रूसी और चीनी- तीन बड़े बाहर के हैं। और सात-आठ छोटे बाहर के हैं। और बाकी हमारे हैं। ख़ैर, बाहर का देखना ही चाहिए। क्या दिखाते हैं, वो देखने के काबिल हैं। लेकिन मुझे ज़्यादातर दिलचस्पी हुई हमारे पैवेलियंस जो अलग-अलग प्रदेशों के हैं। क्योंकि उससे एक बात नज़र आती है कि हर प्रदेश में हमारे कहीं न कहीं तेज़ी से तरक्की हो रही है। कहीं न कहीं मैंने कहा। यानी फैली नहीं है वो, लेकिन हो रही है वहाँ। उसका नमूना है, प्रोडक्शन है। जितना चीन या कहीं भी पैदा हो, वो आपको कहीं न कहीं उस प्रदेश में मिल जायेगा। तो सवाल ये होता है कि ये नहीं कि हम जानते नहीं हैं करना या हमारे फारमर्स - बल्कि उसको फैलावें कि आमतौर से वो हो। तो एक इस नुमाइश का ये फ़ायदा है। बहुत सारे यहाँ, मैं समझता हूँ, बीस, तीस, चालीस, पचास हज़ार किसान आये हैं, सारे देश से। और उन्होंने बहुत दिलचस्पी ली है। कुछ चुने हुए किसान हैं। ज़ाहिर है, और सीख के गये हैं। अक्सर मैं उनसे मिलता रहता हूँ करीब-करीब रोज़, तो वहाँ जो आते हैं, मेरे घर आते हैं। तो पांच सौ, हज़ार तक रोज़ सुबह मुझसे मिलते हैं आके थोड़ी देर के लिए। और मैं उनसे पूछता हूँ ज़्यादातर इसी एक्सबिशन का, क्या सीखा, क्या? तो उनके जवाब अच्छे होते हैं। क्योंकि वो महज़ एक तमाशा तो नहीं है। वो तो एक अपना पेशा है, पेशे के तौर से देखते हैं। क्या अच्छा है, क्या ले सकते हैं क्या नहीं। और उससे एक और मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ कि अब हमारे यहाँ किसानों वगैरह में कुछ न कुछ एक जागृति है, अवेर्नेस है। बड़ी भारी बात होती है, कि एक जिज्ञासा हो कुछ जानने की, समझने की, समझ गये हैं कि हमें कुछ करना है। दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी है, और हम कर सकते हैं। ये अच्छी बात है। क्योंकि आख़िर में सारी आपको प्लानिंग वगैरह की बुनियाद एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन हो जाता है, घूम के, कितना हो? आप, किसी तरह से जाएँ उधर पहुँच जाते हैं। तो आपमें से जिन्होंने नहीं देखी है ये एग्रीकल्चरल नुमाइश वहाँ जाएँ। दो-तीन दफ़े गया हूँ, कोई चौथाई देखी है। मालूम नहीं, वक़्त निकालना मुश्किल है, तफ़सील से देखना। लेकिन फिर भी इरादा है मेरा जाने का वहाँ।

तो ये बातें हैं, आपके प्रेसीडेंट के एड्रेस, मालूम नहीं आप सभी सुन सके कि नहीं। कुछ सुना, कुछ साफ़ आवाज़ नहीं आ रही थी। ख़ैर, कुछ पढ़ेंगे आप उसे। ज़ाहिर है, कुछ उसमें ज़िक्र है हमारे सवालियों का।

मैं ज़रा थोड़ा सा अंग्रेज़ी में भी कह दूँ, क्योंकि आप लोगों में से कुछ समझे नहीं। वेल।

[Translation begins:

Comrades,

I don't know what you would like to do now. The President's address was longer than usual and that took up a lot of time. Now it is ten minutes to one. Anyhow, first let us stand up for two minutes to express our sorrow on the death of one of our old members, Shri M.C. Shah.¹³

I would like to tell you for your information that an M.P., Shri Chakradhar¹⁴ of Andhra, who did not belong to our Party earlier has now joined it. He had been nominated to the Executive Council which he accepted. He used to belong to Shri Lohia's¹⁵ Party.

Now, it would be better if we decide about our future programme, of meetings, etc. Just now Tyagiji¹⁶ came and said that he wanted to see the list of Bills in the President's address which the Government intended to present. On pp.7-8, there is a Two-Member Constituencies Abolition Bill which Tyagiji says has been included without proper discussion here. I would like to tell you that the Bills which are pending and the Government intends to take up are included for the information of the people. Ultimately they may or may not be taken up. They can certainly be discussed. If it is decided not to take it up, we will not do so. But it is better to give prior notice. This Bill did not come up for discussion. It is merely mentioned that it would be included in the list and can be taken up for discussion later. Actually it is quite low down in the list [Interruption]. I don't understand....That is what I said, that we should certainly take up the Bill for discussion in the Party, the Bill itself is simple enough. We have to decide whether you want to accept it or not. Well.

Now, as you know, this is our longest session and the season is changing from winter into hot months. We will face many questions. Apart from these Bills, this is the Budget Session. The budget is not an ordinary one because the finalisation of the Third Plan is impending and Second Plan is nearing completion. I cannot give you any definite dates, but perhaps by the end of April, the draft of the Third Plan will be ready which will be thrown open for discussion and debate in the country for a year. It will be finalised after a year. The question of planning is becoming more and more serious and all of us, particularly those who are directly involved in it like the Planning Commission or the Government or even some of the Members, are becoming more experienced. They may [make] mistakes because there are so many angles to it. We gain experience by discussion and

13. See fn 8 in this section.

14. See fn 9 in this section.

15. See fn 10 in this section.

16. See fn 11 in this section.

debate etc. Many people who come from outside show interest in helping us. They are curious to see what is happening.

It is useful to discuss things with them because new aspects of the problem emerge. So, I want that during the course of this Session there should be a great deal of discussion about the Plan in our Party. We should try to understand it fully and if anyone cannot understand, others should try to explain. In this way new light will be thrown by the suggestions of the Members. It will be better if these discussions take place later in the Session. By then the entire picture would not have emerged but we can take up the broad points one by one for discussion. Something of all this will be reflected in the budget. What will be reflected in the budget to a large extent is the defence expenditure we have had to undertake. It is obvious that it is going to impose a great burden on us. Rightly or wrongly, we have tried to curtail expenditure in the last year or two. We postponed doing certain things for a future date. But now a situation has arisen where it is impossible to postpone them any further which means that the burden increases and that too at a time when we don't want it to increase. We don't want it to increase because apart from the fact that we have to spend more at a time when the demands are increasing from all sides, the prices are increasing in the country and increase in expenditure means more inflation. This is one problem which you should consider carefully.

So, the main thing before us in this session is the budget. The second which is already before us is the question of our borders with China. These are big issues. Many other things are happening, too. The international problems are assuming new proportions, whether you take France or the results of the Summit meeting. Then, as you know, Mr Khrushchev is coming here in three days' time. He will stay in Delhi for two days and then go to Suratgarh and Bhilai before going back. Actually, he is stopping over on his way to Indonesia. We welcome the opportunity of meeting Mr Khrushchev and talking to him for there is no doubt that the Soviet Union is among those countries which hold the reins of power.¹⁷ One is the United States and the other is the Soviet Union; others also have to some extent, but in the main, it is in the hands of these two, so we benefit by his coming, by having talks with him on various matters. You must be aware that he has consented to address the members of Parliament. That will be, I think, on the 11th? Yes on the 11th, in three days' time. He doesn't have anything much scheduled in Delhi. Oh, yes, there will be a civic reception in his honour. We had given one when he had come here with Mr Bulganin. But now he is coming here in his capacity as Prime Minister. Well, and after that, the Prime

17. See fn 12 in this section.

Minister of Finland is coming, in fact he will arrive while Mr Khrushchev is here. There is as great a difference in the climate of Finland and India as the distance between the two countries. It is an extremely cold country, being in the extreme north, where there is darkness practically throughout winter and light during the summer months. It is a small country but a strong one. If you count success in the Olympic games as a sign of strength, many of their people are world champions, and in many other things too. I don't know if the extreme cold makes them tough or what. So, all this is going to happen.

You may have seen the agriculture fair which is open till the end of the month. It is well worth seeing, especially the pavilions from foreign countries—the Russian, American and the Chinese are three big ones and seven-eight smaller ones too. The rest are ours. Anyhow, the foreign pavilions are worth seeing, and you must see them. But I was more interested in our State Pavilions because they immediately highlight the fact that—rapid progress is being made in some part or the other of each State. I said in some part or the other, because it is not evenly spread out, but there is progress. The models show production on a scale which can compare well with China or any other country. So really the problem is not that we do not know modern techniques but that of spreading them all over. One great advantage of having a fair like this is that thousands of farmers—twenty, thirty, forty and fifty thousands have come from all over the country and are taking a great deal of interest. It is obvious they have been selected and they go back having learnt something. I am meeting them practically every day. They come in hundreds everyday to my house in the morning. I ask them what they have learnt from this exhibition because after all it is not for mere show, and their replies are very good. They look at it from the point of view of their profession, as to what is good and what they can adopt. I realise that there is a definite awareness among the farmers. It is a great thing that they have the curiosity to learn, to understand what they ought to do. They realise that the world has progressed and so can they. This is a good thing because ultimately all our planning, etc., has its basis in agricultural production, from whichever angle you look at it. So those of you who have not seen the agricultural fair must go. I have been twice or thrice and have been able to see only about one fourth of it. It is very difficult to take time off to see it at leisure but I intend to go there again.

I don't know if you could hear the President's address because the sound was not clear. Anyhow, you can read it. There is mention of our problems like food, etc. I will say something in English now because some of you may not have understood.

Translation ends.]

Speech continues in English

Well, we shall be having a discussion on the President's address in the Lok Sabha on Monday next, and the Rajya Sabha this week,¹⁸ and naturally there are so many subjects referred to in the President's address, any member can cover to a vast extent. It would be better if—I do not know how it is possible—we concentrate on major things rather than drift away into minor things. There is planning, there is food production, there is industrial production, there is prices, there are matters like cooperatives, such like things. This is a budget session which means the budget of course and in a sense the whole field of planning comes in. I hope of course that we shall discuss planning separately and precisely later but in a sense it does come in, because our budgets depend on our plan, and our plans depend on our objectives and resources and the great problem always before us is, how somehow to join together our resources with our targets, that is a terrific problem.

Planning has become now a much more definite and precise thing than it used to be. Certainly for us to some extent in other countries too. That is, one can easily, not easily, but one can plan with precision what to do, when to do it. It requires hard work. The amount of details, statistical work that even our Planning Commission or its Perspective Division have done, is very great, what leads to what, a steel plant leads to this, that, other. A steel plant requires a machine building plant to build the steel plant. One thing in that sense. In fact, for almost every major industry and even for some of the middle industries we have the most detailed description of what it involves, how much money of course, in detail, how much employment, how much time, how much time it takes to pass the project, what is the lag between the time of decision and the time of the implementation. All these have been carefully worked out.

I referred to the lag. Now this business of lag is very important, which a normal government office in the past has not thought much about. They work according to their own routine. But that lag between a decision and its implementation, first of all needs much in terms of finances. Because of the delay in putting up that plant, suppose for any of these big steel plants, every day's delay means a loss of production of that day which is very heavy in the case of a steel plant, it runs into lakhs of rupees. So every day's delay means a few lakhs of rupees again, so that it becomes important that there should be no lag. It becomes important that the preliminary stages should be taken up long before we intend to start it. It becomes important therefore that in planning we are not merely thinking of the Third Five Year Plan although that is distinct yet, but of the Fourth Plan in regard to the major things. If you have got to put up, let us say, a steel plant in the Fourth Plan or a machine building plant, we have to decide about it more or less today, not finalise it, so that this lag of a year or eighteen months

18. See item 2.

may be disposed of even if by mischance we do not build it then we have to do it a bit later when we are ready for it. Now, thus far the result has been we decided on a plan, say the Five Year Plan, and if we start at the beginning of the five year before many of the big items even start being built, two years are passed of the Five Year Plan. To avoid that, one has to think ahead. Therefore, one has to think much more of perspectives today, the Fourth Plan and the Fifth Plan even come somewhere at the back of one's mind. That does not mean that we finalise those plans but that we lay the foundations in preparation, enquiry, sometimes project reports, we spent some money, may be a few lakhs of rupees on project reports, but anyhow we are ready to do it quickly when we decide. I do not know but I should like one of these days for our party, party is too big to discuss these matters, to see all these papers; but some papers as far as possible we shall place in the party office or somewhere and possibly something about these papers might be told to the party by some of the Planning Commission members. They may come, just because it is important that this thinking should go on, I mean to say this party's thinking, members' thinking, otherwise what happens is after years of thinking say in the Planning Commission or perspective, something is put before the party which is new to it. There has been a year's thinking there and discussion; here minus that thinking discussion it is not quite fair for the party to expect the party to evolve a year's thinking and discussion suddenly... Therefore I said the objective somehow or other to keep this thinking, parallel thinking, going on in the party. Now, as you know, some time back we formed an All Parties' Planning Committee, a small committee of course, the bigger it is the more difficult it becomes. We invited members of every group in Parliament to send a representative. They did. Even some of the groups, which say they do not believe in planning. But we did not proceed on that, we invited every group to send a member, and first it was a more limited one, now it is a larger one, and then we probably meet every two weeks or so, during this session. It is very helpful to us certainly and possibly to them, but naturally in that committee there are only three or four members of our party apart from ministers, three or four, because it becomes too unwieldy if we put more people in, but your own Planning Committee of the party I mean

8. To the CPP¹⁹

साथियो! आज हम अपने मामूली काम के सिलसिले में यहाँ नहीं जमा हुए हैं ये आप जानते हैं। ज़ाहिर है कि मामूली काम के सिलसिले में जमा होते तो आपको कोई नाश्ता नहीं मिलता। मिल जाता कभी कभी। हम यहाँ इकट्ठा हुए हैं, एक कांग्रेस के एक नए साल के शुरु होने के सिलसिले में। और जो नये कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष हुए हैं, उनका स्वागत करने और जिनका वक्ता इस

19. 9 February 1960. Tape No. M-49/c (i), NMML.

ओहदे पर पूरा हुआ उनको भी अपनी शुभकामनाएँ देने। ये मौका कुछ खास मेरे लिये बहुत कुछ कहने का नहीं है। मुझे तो आप रोज़ ही सुना करते हैं, करीब, करीब।

जहाँ तक श्री संजीव रेड्डी हैं वो अलावा और बहुत सारी खूबियों के एक बड़ी खूबी ये है कि वो आजकल के कांग्रेस में कुछ नवयुवकों में शामिल हैं मेरे जैसे पुराने नहीं हैं। नये आदमी हैं काम करने में, पुराने हैं सही हैं, लेकिन उम्र में नये हैं। और इस ओहदे पर भी उम्र के लिहाज़ से नये हैं। हमें उनके होने से कई बातों से खुशी हुई। एक तो अज़माये हुए हमारी कांग्रेस के सदस्य रहे ऊँचे, ऊँचे औहदों पर रहे और उनमें भी बहुत अच्छा काम किया। और एक ताज़ा दिमाग लायें और जहाँ अक्सर हम देखते हैं कि कांग्रेस पार्टी में दलबन्दी वगैरा है इनके यहाँ आंध्र प्रदेश में जो कुछ थी वह भी उसको इन्होंने रफ़ा कर दिया, दूर कर दिया और मिल जुल करके काम किया, जो कि एक बड़ी भारी बात थी। और इस वक़्त और बातें आप छोड़ें यहाँ ख़ैर, एग्रीकल्चर फेयर है उसमें भी जाके आप देखें और यूँ भी अगर आप पढ़ें तो जो एक खास हमारी बात है आजकल हिन्दुस्तान में वे खेती से कितना पैदा करें तो आंध्र शायद उसमें अव्वल है। तो ये एक खास मुबारकबाद है, आंध्र प्रदेश के लिये।

अब हमारे कांग्रेस का काम होता है वो रोज़ ब रोज़ ज़्यादा पेचीदा होता जाता है। इसलिये कि मुल्क का काम पेचीदा होता जाता है। कोई कांग्रेस देश से अलग चीज़ तो है नहीं। और इसलिये ज्यों ज्यों मुश्किल प्रश्न आते हैं उनका असर आपको कांग्रेस पे दिखता है। पार साल आपको याद होगा, पार साल यहाँ के डेबर भाई के सभापतित्व में सेमिनार हुए, क्या-क्या हुए, प्लानिंग कमीशन के बारे में। उटकमंड में²⁰ यानी वो एक नया ढंग था कांग्रेस के काम करने का, किन सवालों पर सलाह मशवरा करें आपस में औरों को भी बुलाकर और इस तरह से अपना प्रोग्राम बनाने में मदद करें। तो ये ढंग हमारा होता जाता है। लेकिन उसी के साथ ज़ाहिर है कोई भी ढंग हो, उसके पीछे एक मज़बूत संस्था होनी चाहिए तभी वो बात चलती है। वो तो हमेशा ही रहती है कि कांग्रेस एक जानदार, ताज़े दिमाग की संस्था हो जो कि मिलकर एक तरफ चले। और ये भी आप जानते हैं कि जो इस समय कभी कभी हमारे सामने दिक्कतें आती हैं वो सिद्धान्त की नहीं हैं, उसूल की नहीं हैं, प्रोग्राम की नहीं हैं, पालिसी की नहीं हैं, या बहुत कम हैं। वो अंदरूनी आपस के कशमकश, आपस के दलबन्दी के आती हैं जो कि किसी संस्था को भी दुर्बल कर देती हैं। ख़ैर, मैं इन बातों में इस समय नहीं जाता लेकिन इतना कहूँगा कि ऐसे मौके पर हम श्री संजीव रेड्डी को अपना बड़ा जनरल चुनें कांग्रेस का ये मैं समझता हूँ हमारे लिये बहुत अच्छी बात है और मुल्क के लिये भी। और मुझे यकीन है कि ये जो साल शुरु हुआ है पार्लियामेंट में भी हम शुरु कर रहे हैं।

पिछले महीने वेंगलूर में कांग्रेस का सेशन हुआ। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि साल में काफी हमारे सामने मुश्किल सवाल, मुश्किल बातें उठेंगी बहुत पेंच और पेचीदा बातें चारों तरफ हमें दिखती हैं। लेकिन वो भी एक निशानी है मुल्क के बढ़ने की और मुझे यकीन है कि हम उनका सामना कर सकते हैं बशर्ते कि हम पैर और कदम मिला के हाथ मिला के आगे बढ़ें न कि अलग अलग रास्तों पर चलें। आप उसमें बहस करें, आप उसमें अच्छी तरह से तराजू पे तोलें बात निश्चय करें और

जो बात निश्चय हो उससे मिलकर चलें, चाहे ही एक आदमी उससे सहमत न भी हो, ये भी एक तरीका संस्था का होता है।

तो आप सब लोगों की तरफ से, कांग्रेस की पार्लियामेंटरी पार्टी की तरफ से मैं हमारे कांग्रेस के अध्यक्षजी का बहुत प्रेम से और आदर से स्वागत करता हूँ। और इन्दिराजी के निस्वत तो मेरा कुछ कहना ज़रा मुश्किल है और लेकिन ये तो आप सब जानते हैं कि इस पिछले दस महीने में जब कि वो अध्यक्ष थीं किस क़दर मेहनत की, दौड़धूप की, हर क़रीब-क़रीब हिन्दुस्तान के हिस्से में गई और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि चाहे हमारे ए.आई.सी.सी. के दफ़्तर का काम है या हमारे प्रदेश कमेटीज़ के काम में, एक उनके व्यक्तिगत, उनका एक असर, हर जगह पड़ा। और एक मज़बूत पड़ा जो कि रहेगा। ख़ैर, वो इस ऊँचे ओहदे से तो अलग हुई। हालाँकि आप जानते हैं कि बहुतों की इच्छा थी कि उसपे रहतीं। अलग हुई और ठीक अलग हुई। इस तरफ से अच्छा है हमारा काम करे हर एक को मौका मिले पूरीतौर से काम करने का। लेकिन यह तो ज़ाहिर है हमें सभी की आशा है कि जो हमारे सामने मुश्किल काम हैं उसमें पूरी उनकी सहायता मिलती जाएगी।

अब हमारी खुशकिस्मती से डेवर भाई यहाँ हैं तो मैं डेवर भाई से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वो इस शुभ अवसर पर कुछ कहें। एक बात मैं आपको बता दूँ आप देख रहे हैं खुद को कि हमारे स्पीकर जो कि हमारे साथी हैं वो यहाँ मौजूद हैं। तो उनका भी मैं हमारे इस प्रेम के सम्मेलन में यहाँ स्वागत करता हूँ। और मैंने सुना है, मैंने देखा तो नहीं, मैंने सुना है कि आप लोगों में कहीं छिपे हुए श्री शंकर बैठे हैं जो कि केरल के, केरल के वहाँ के प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी के अध्यक्ष हैं। तो उनका भी स्वागत है। I think you better stand up Shankar [interruption] देखो भइया ये उधर खींच लो।

[Translation begins:

Comrades,

As you know we are not assembled here today on ordinary business. Obviously, if we had met for ordinary business, you would not have been given snacks here [Interruption]. We are assembled here to celebrate the beginning of a new year in the life of the Congress to welcome the new Congress President and to bid farewell to the outgoing President. This is not really the time for long speeches by me. You hear me practically every day. As far as Shri Sanjiva Reddy is concerned, apart from his other excellences, one qualification is that he is one of the young bloods in the Congress. He is not old like me. He is an experienced worker but young in age and young for this part too. We are very happy that he has been elected because he has held many high posts and done excellent work. He brings a fresh mind to bear upon his work. It is a great thing that he has been able to eliminate much of the infighting etc., which prevail in the Congress, generally in his State of Andhra Pradesh. Leaving aside everything else for the moment, if you take the Agriculture Fair going on here, you will see that Andhra is leading in agricultural production for which it is to be congratulated. Now, the work of the

Congress is getting progressively more complicated because the work of the country is getting more complicated and the Congress is after all not a thing apart from the nation. As difficult problems keep cropping up, you can observe their effect on the Congress. You may remember that last year under the Presidency of Shri Dhebar Bhai we had seminars, etc., on Planning in Ootacamund.²¹ That was a new method of functioning adopted by the Congress of inviting public discussion and opinion on important matters. But it is obvious that whatever new methods we may adopt, there has to be a strong organisation to back it up. The Congress has to be a live organisation with freshness of approach. You are also aware that the difficulties that we sometimes face these days is not because of principles, programmes or policies—very little, in fact. It is internal tension and infighting which weaken an organisation. I won't go into all that just now but I will say this much. At such a juncture, it is a good thing for the Congress as well as the country that we have chosen Shri Sanjiva Reddy as our General.

The Congress session was held in Bangalore last month. There is no doubt that we will face a lot of difficulties and complicated problems in the coming year. But that is a sign of progress in a nation and I am confident that we can face anything if we march in step with one another and don't pull in different directions. Let us have discussions, weigh each matter carefully before coming to a decision, but when a decision is taken, all of us must work together even if a few may not be in agreement. This is the only way for an organisation to function.

So, on behalf of all of you and the Congress Parliamentary Party, I greet our new Congress President with love and respect. It is difficult for me to say anything about Indiraji. But all of you know how hard she has worked in the last ten months or so when she has been the Congress President. She has been all over the country and there is no doubt that in everything that she has done, whether it was the work of the AICC or the PCCs, she has left the strong imprint of her personality which will endure. Well, she has climbed down from this high office though, as you know, it was the wish of many of you that she should continue. I think what she has done is right. Everyone must get an opportunity to share in the honours. But it is obvious that we hope to have her cooperation in the difficult tasks ahead of us. It is our good fortune that Shri Dhebar Bhai is present here and I request him to say a few words on this happy occasion. I would like to tell you that our Speaker and colleague is also present here. I welcome him to this assembly. [Interruption] And I hear—have not seen—that somewhere among you is hidden Shri Sankar,²² the President of the Kerala Congress Committee. I welcome him also. I think you had better stand up Sankar. There, pull him out.

Translation ends.]

21. See fn 20 in this section.

22. R. Sankar.

9. To the CPP²³

तो हमारे सेक्रेटरीज़ ने मुझसे कहा कि मुनासिब होगा कि हम मीटिंग करें पार्टी की प्रेसीडेंट्स एंड्रेस के बहस के पहले। और होनी चाहिए लेकिन ऐसे फँस गये दो तीन रोज़ में कोई वक़्त नहीं निकला सिवाय आज ग्यारह बजे के कोई अच्छा वक़्त नहीं है। बहुत कम मेम्बर ही आ सके। लेकिन मैंने सोचा कि कुछ न कुछ शुरू कर दिया जाये फिर जारी रखेंगे बाद में। तो बेहतर यही है कि आपके तरफ़ से आप लोग कुछ कहें मुझे कुछ बाद में ज़रूरत हुई तो मैं कुछ कह दूँगा। आप ही शुरू करें तो अच्छा है।

[Translation begins:

Our Secretaries felt that it would be better for us to convene a meeting of the Party before the President's Address is taken up for debate and it should have been done. But we have been so busy in the last two to three days that we have not been able to find any time except 11 o'clock today. Very few members have been able to attend. But I thought it would be better to start the proceedings now and we can continue later. The best thing would be for you to start and if necessary, I shall speak later. Please start.

Translation ends.]

Yes, I shall ask Feroze Gandhi now to speak, I shall ask him to speak, I am having some difficulty, I should like to go away at 12. [Interruption] No, I am not going to postpone the meeting, this meeting will continue, this meeting. There are many things we have to discuss. We held it today specially to get, to give a start to it rather, and members are, not all members are present. But, you can if you so choose or even after 12 you can carry on for some time. I have got a meeting of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, it is rather an urgent matter. But, there are one or two matters I should like to mention.

One is reference has been made to the Bill of the Abolition of Double-Member Constituencies. I have already stated that this matter will be put up before the party for full consideration. Because, it is obvious that there are two viewpoints about it and they should be fully discussed and it need not be taken for granted that because it has been mentioned in the President's Address, therefore it must inevitably be proceeded with. That is not the position. At one time there was some hurry about it, when it was thought that such a bill should be passed to government. Also the Kerala elections, and the Kerala elections were coming. Well, that was not done as you know so there is no urgency about it at the present moment, it should be considered fully [Interruption].

23. 14 February 1960. Tape No. M-49/c (i), NMML.

The, what is that? Yes, someone referred, I think, to Mr. Avinash Lingam.²⁴ Ministers should show courtesy to each other. Well, of course he referred to something I saw in the newspapers between Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh²⁵ and the Finance Minister.²⁶ Naturally it was not a kind of thing which normally should occur. But, that is accepted that Ministers, why Ministers, others, MPs also should show courtesy to each other. But, in that particular instance, I think that Dr Deshmukh had started this business by appealing in public to the Finance Minister. He would let his semi-private organisation rent free quarters; well, that is not the place to do it. I mean to say he could have said so privately and naturally the Finance Minister answered.

Then, Mr Heda²⁷ has just talked about two committees, he has suggested. One was apparently about contributions by rich people, how to deal with them and small. The other was about MPs renting out their apartments or houses. Both, he said there, should be committees to examine and frame rules. Well, if you so desire this matter, Mr Heda is Secretary, might be put up before the Executive Committee to see how far what one can do about examining these matters. The major matters referred to thus far even of when, have been questions of student indiscipline and the Chinese situation, some brief reference, question of corruption—three points mainly referred to. Well, I would not say much about the Chinese situation. Now, I have just spoken about it and presently we shall place before Parliament some additional papers dealing with this matter. And as you know important documents, that is, maps have been published and have been placed in the library of Parliament and also been sent to party offices. It is impossible to distribute those big atlases to every member but there are quite a number available in the library or in our Congress office or elsewhere [interruption]. Yes.

Now VIP privileges have been referred to. I quite agree that there should be as few privileges as possible. The whole conception of VIP privilege is not of status. But, the conception is that he is supposed to be a busy man and his time should be preserved. That is the conception, not that he is a bigger man. But just like in England the Cabinet Minister has got a certain mark in his car, the moment a policeman sees that mark he stops the traffic and lets it go, because, a Cabinet Minister is presumed to be on urgent business. Which is the conception; he may or may not be. And, or if I go there, my car has our Indian flag on it and the moment a policeman sees it, he lets it pass, he gives a certain priority. It is not a question of, as I said, status or courtesy, but the presumption that he is on business.

24. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras.

25. Union Minister for Agriculture.

26. Morarji Desai.

27. H.C. Heda, Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

That apart, there should be no privileges, really, there is no question of any privileges.

Now, the question of student indiscipline is of course a very serious one. It is no good Mr Avinash Lingam or Mr. Narasingham²⁸ talking about it. We should give attention to this matter because we have tried to give a great deal of attention to it. It is so important, I rather doubt if we can deal with it casually in a party meeting. It may be that you may, the whole party may, meet one day to consider that very question; or if necessary, a committee of the party. It is a very important question, and it is really rather deep down, apart from this man's fault or that or the Professor being bad or the student being bad or anybody, it really is a part of the changing social structure at the present moment. I mean to say there are deeper roots to it. Of course, even the obvious roots of remedy would reduce it. I mean to say this proper teaching, proper accommodation for them, proper this, proper that, they do not roam about streets. And I think personally this, and long before that, this system here of compulsory union. Compulsory union I could either join or not join, nobody forced me to join. Here it is a compulsory membership of the union. And then the union fights the government, or fights the university authorities, you see. And in the union naturally the more active members come, there are those passive [ones], and they dream. However these are, I do not think we need discuss that here, but if you wish it, that may be.

Now, I shall ask Mr Feroze Gandhi to come — (Hindi) alright, would you like next time [interruption] alright begin now, begin now, then you will be part heard, you can carry on next time. (From 262 to 266 speech delivered by Shri Feroz Gandhi) Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no no, Feroze Gandhi: I will continue next time, JN: You would continue next time but you finish your present theme, Feroz Gandhi: the only thing was addressed to you, [interruption] not to Mr. Sapru. Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, Feroze Gandhi - 268 to 272.

हाँ, एज़र्न्ड लोक सभा भी उठ गई मेम्बर कम आए हैं। इसलिये मैंने पूछा। हाँ खैर, [Interruption] कुछ दिन बाद हम मिल रहे हैं क्योंकि बीच में आप जानते हैं एक तो बहुत हम सब मशगूल रहे, कुछ मेहमान भी आये बाहर से उन्होंने वक्त लिया और हाउस भी आजकल छः बजे तक बैठता है। कभी कभी साढ़े छः तक। पिछले दफ़े जब हम मिले थे तो हमारी बहस जारी थी आम बहस और जहाँ तक मेरा सवाल है श्री फ़िरोज गांधी बोल रहे थे और मैंने उनसे कहा था कि अगर आप चाहें तो इसको जारी रखें अगली मीटिंग में। फ़िरोज साहब हैं यहाँ कि नहीं? [Interruption] हाँ, आप और बोलना चाहते हैं उस सिलसिले में इस वक्त। क्या कहा? हाँ कि ना [Interruption] बोलिये ना। अच्छा ज़रा एक मिनट ठहर जाइये, अच्छी बात है आप जाइये। खैर, तो शुरू रखें। एक बात मैं आपसे कह देना चाहता हूँ कोई कांग्रेस के ए.आई.सी.सी. के दफ़्तर से हमें इत्तला मिली है कि वो प्रेसीडेंट शायद एक अपील कर रहे हैं। नहीं आई एम सॉरी जो ए. आई.सी.सी. की अप्रीका कमेटी है उसमें वो करने वाली है एक अपील जारी। ये जो बड़ा हादसा

28. C.R. Narasimhan, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Krishnagiri, Madras.

हुआ मोरक्को में आगाडीर में। आगाडीर में एक शहर का शहर बिलकुल खत्म हो गया नेस्तोनाबूद हो गया। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि ये दुनिया की बहुत बड़ी ट्रेजडी में है। हमारे कोई थोड़ी बहुत मदद करने से कोई बहुत दूर नहीं जायेगा लेकिन फिर भी एक हमदर्दी का इशारा होता है। तो अफ्रीका कमेटी वो कर रही है एक अपील जारी तो आप लोगों को भी इत्तला करने के लिये कि अगर आप उसमें कोई शरीक होना चाहें चंदा दें तो या तो आप ए.आई.सी.सी. को हमारी पार्टी को भेज सकते हैं तो भेज दिया जायेगा।

[Translation begins:

Yes, the Lok Sabha has been adjourned. So very few members have come. That is why I asked. Yes, well. [Interruption] We are meeting after some interval because as you know, everybody has been very busy, guests from abroad took up a lot of time and the House has been sitting till six, six-thirty every day. When we last met, a general debate was on and Shri Feroze Gandhi was speaking. I had told him that he could continue at our next meeting. Is Shri Feroze here or not? [Interruption] Yes, do you wish to speak now? What did you say? Yes or no? [Interruption] Why don't you speak out? Alright, wait a minute, alright, you can go. Well, please continue. I would like to mention that somebody has informed us from the Congress AICC office that perhaps the Congress President is issuing an appeal. No, I am sorry, the Africa Committee of the AICC is going to issue an appeal. The recent earthquake in Morocco, in Agadir, erased an entire town to the ground.

Undoubtedly this is one of the major tragedies of the world. Our help may not go very far but it will be a token of our sympathy. So the Africa Committee is issuing an appeal and those of you who wish to contribute may do so through the AICC.

Translation ends.]

I was just saying that the Africa Committee of the AICC has issued an appeal for funds for relief at Agadir in Morocco. You must have read in the newspapers of the terrible earthquake had happened there which has destroyed an entire city of about fifty thousand inhabitants. And it was one of the pleasure resorts, famous resorts of Morocco and it is one of the biggest tragedies that one has had in recent times anywhere. Of course that requires, that will require no doubt, tremendous efforts for help and rehabilitation; nevertheless whatever gesture people make for it is a good thing. So, if any of you wish to contribute to it you can send your money to our Secretaries who will forward it. Now, Shri Feroze Gandhi, you can charge them at any account. Now, teams or the places or the states even where they occur [interruption] of course most papers name being mentioned but that is a different matter. [Interruption]

मैं नहीं जानता कि कोई बहुत साफ रास्ता इन सवालों के निस्वत निकला, ये बहुत साफ। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ फिर भी जो हम में आपस में बातें हुई इस दफे, पिछली दफे कई पहलुओं पर रोशनी पड़ी जो कि बहुत गौरतलब है। ज़ाहिर है कि हम जैसे मेम्बरान ने कहा हम महज़ एक बैठे-बैठे देखते रहें कुछ न करें। ये तो एक नामुमकिन हो गया है। वो मुनासिब नहीं है और मुमकिन भी नहीं है। और हमें कोई न कोई रास्ते निकालने हैं। अगर सवाल एकदम से ऐसे पेचीदा हल नहीं हो जाते। लेकिन कम से कम, कहिये (Interruption) alright.

[Translation begins:

I don't know if we have found a solution to these problems. But I feel that the discussions that we have had in the past few days have thrown some light on them. It is obvious, as some members said, that it is not possible for us to sit and watch and not do something. It is neither possible nor feasible. We have to find a way. Even if complicated problems do not get solved, at least.... Alright.

Translation ends.]

I was saying yes, yes I was saying that it is not an easy matter to find some magic remedy of social ills or the type of ills that affected a party or the administrative apparatus of the country. These are the biggest problems that any country has to face.

May I just say in passing that our friend Raghunath Singh has paid a tribute to the French Administrative System. In my fairly long experience this is the first time I have heard such a tribute to the French Administrative System. [Interruption] It is not considered a system which is to be admired or copied. Among the various systems in Europe the French is not put on a high list at all. I do not wish to criticise any country. Then our friend, I think Moolchand Jain,²⁹ talked about the United States in 1840. I venture to suggest why go a hundred years back, talk about it today, the state there today. This is, I do not wish to criticise other countries and it does no good to do it. In fact it is harmful because it somehow makes us feel, relieves us of, our own burdens. The fact is that we have these serious problems, whether it is a party problem, or whether it is an administrative problem, and one affects the other to some extent. And we must face them and try to pull the party together and thereby pull the administration of the country together. I am not going more into it.

Sushila Nayar³⁰ said that some senior officials had told her that if the charges that were brought against presumably Ministers, had been brought against them, they would have been nowhere. But, apparently Ministers get away with them.

29. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kaithal, Punjab.

30. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jhansi, UP, according to the Election Commission of India, *Statistical Report on General Elections, 1957 to the Second Lok Sabha*, Vol. 1, pp. 22, 97. However, the Lok Sabha website shows her as from the Janata Party, which seems wrong. See <http://164.100.47/lssnew/members/womenar.aspx?lsno=2> accessed on 23 January 2014.

And therefore he had said and she said that they should be judged by the same yardstick. Well, I would say, first of all, I do not know what charges were referred to, because there is a lot of talk about charges and may be some guesswork too. But I am totally unaware of a single charge in this context, I mean, in spite of every effort to get them.

But, Sushila Nayar was rather incorrect, if I may say so, did not go far enough. The yardstick by which a public man is judged is and should be a much stricter one than that of a service man [Interruption]. It is obvious and that has always been at any rate the theoretical approach. I would say some people get away with it, that is a different matter, that is the failure of an apparatus, but that is it. As a matter of fact also a service man as you know is protected by all kinds of rules and regulations; a public man is not so protected. It is not an easy matter to take action against a service man unless you have positive proofs, etc. And it goes through all kinds of processes, Public Service Commissions, this, that, other; before you can do anything, it takes years. Unless of course it is a criminal offence and the courts take it, they take years too.

Now I repeat that, by and large, it is my opinion for what it is worth, that our higher services can compare favourably in this respect with the services of any country. That does not mean that there is no corruption in them. They of course have, we are catching them, we are punishing them. Some escape too. I am comparing with some knowledge of other countries. That does not apply everywhere and in the lower ranks there is a good deal of corruption sometimes and one has to.

But, we are not for the moment talking about services, but so-called public men, and it is not for me to say, you know them, and I know them as well, and all that we can say certainly is that the situation is such because of various causes that it requires the hardest thinking followed by such action as we may think fit and proper. I mean to say we cannot be complacent about these matters although I would like to put it to you and I am not by any means trying to whitewash anything or any situation.

But, I want to put it to you that unlike almost any country that I know, it is almost the policy of, let us say, the opposition parties as a plank in their policies to attack the Congress on this ground, not so much on grounds of policy. Sometimes that of course comes. But, the whole method of attack, deliberate method, is to go on talking and repeating that the Congress is corrupt, the administration is corrupt. Now, I repeat that I am not saying that there is no corruption, of course there is plenty and we should deal with it. But, it is quite extraordinary and I really do not know any country... And I know many countries which are thoroughly corrupt. And big countries, I do not want to name them. It is quite extraordinary the amount of corruption in other countries, it sickens one to see it and it is put up with. It is not only corrupt, it is put up with. Mr Feroze Gandhi read something that President Eisenhower had said and no doubt President

Eisenhower meant it and acted upon it. The fact is nevertheless the standards there are not terribly high. In the United States I mean, in either public life or in other departments. It is a very very rich country naturally and so the picture is different. Now, but that it is I am merely mentioning this and not as a cloak at all. But, it is a fact.

Take the Swatantra Party, it is one of its main functions from its big leaders downwards to go on repeating this. And other opposition parties too. And indeed our own people too in our own party. I do not wish they or anybody to hide a single case of corruption, misdemeanour, impropriety, anything, we must try to keep high standards. But, what surprises me is not that a case is brought, let it be brought, let it be condemned. But, all the time this type of vague saying, there is corruption everywhere, there is, everybody is corrupt, this kind of thing in which many of us too indulge in and of course our opposition parties. It is difficult to deal with it. And it is a self-defeating process. I mean self-defeating in the sense that the very atmosphere it creates helps that, helps that thing to grow, that under cover of that many things happen. Therefore, we get into a vicious circle we want to deal with a thing to the best of our ability and we must deal with it and yet the way we proceed about it somehow entangles us and comes in our own way to deal with it, it is a difficulty. However, these difficulties have to be faced.

Now, just one or two matters. There has been talk of a code of behaviour. Perhaps, it is very difficult to draw up a code of behaviour, you will realise. But, perhaps some more basic things may be laid down, many things cannot be laid down. How a person should behave decently or indecently cannot easily be put down. You can put down many indecent things which should not be done. But, let there not be thought that anything not mentioned there can be done. Because, there are many things will be left out which will just be indecent, you cannot make a thorough list.

That might be considered. The other, some aspects, Mr. Feroze Gandhi suggests, some people did not, his idea that a party should put up a committee of, well, some leading people, and who can be expected to be objective. Some one or two other members objected to it because they ought to be our own party committee. I do not think that that objection really is valid. Because, I mean to say, we are not dealing for the moment with the governmental action. That is a separate thing. I do not mean to say that if a party appoints a committee, it does not take the place of government action. It is party action for our own benefit and I think it is worth considering some such thing [Interruption]. Well, that too is a matter for consideration, which is a best way to do it. Possibly whatever it may be [Interruption]. Who, [Interruption] no, no, it is not academic. The whole point is that that if you appoint a committee well, I do not quite see how it is going to deal with matters completely outside the range of this party where no member of our party is concerned. Somebody in Madras is concerned, is a Committee of our party going to deal with a person in Madras? You see this

difficulty [Interruption]. No, no. Well, well, anyhow we need not go into that, but all I meant was that some such approach I think should be considered [Interruption].

No, no, there is no such thing as shirking responsibility, but, I do not think that the Working Committee can function at all as it is. It functions very little because it mostly does this kind of thing. I would say there are other things to be done by the Working Committee too. It happens, even Mr Feroze Gandhi is right to some extent. I do not know if he or you realise really how much time I have to give to these matters which come up before me. It is really quite a good deal of time I have had to give to these complaints and charges. I do not mean to say that I deal with them hundred per cent effectively. But, I have to give time, I have to ask for, naturally, if a charge is made. My first step is to get hold of the person against whom the charge is and ask him for his explanation or reply and we carry on correspondence, lengthy correspondence on this subject. I may refer it to the Intelligence Department. I am not talking about Ministers. But I would say other charges etc. And when Intelligence report comes which may make me think there is nothing much in it or there is something and so on, step by step it goes on. And it takes up quite a good lot of time, reading writing reading reports, and all that.

But, all I wanted to say was that there is I think a good deal of justification in that proposal that Mr Feroze Gandhi has made. I cannot say just now what form it should take, but I should like to think about it and I should like you to think about it so that and there is entirely as I say from the party point of view. The Government may be helped indirectly because we happen to be the governing party. But, the government as a government would, naturally, if it takes a step, it will be on a different level.

Just one thing more. Mr Feroze Gandhi suggested a committee on prices, mentioned three names, Shri Dassappa,³¹ Shri Murarka³² and himself. I think it is a good suggestion subject to two matters. One is that it should be as it is indeed a completely informal committee discussing this matter. And, because, if this kind of thing without the fullest consideration goes to the newspapers and others, then our discussion, our action, somewhat gets curbed. I would really in essence have that committee of the three, plus the Finance Minister in it. But, but what I really mean by it is this, that the committee of three should informally function and go in and then have talks with the Finance Minister and that is, I do not want him to be dragged at every meeting of the committee he is very busy now with the budget. But, after all, he is intimately concerned with many of these matters and it would be helpful if these discussions, the committee discusses these matters

31. H.C. Dassappa, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bangalore, Mysore.

32. R.R. Morarka, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from, Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan.

with him and does it at informal level. So, if you agree you can have that Committee of three on this basis that I have suggested. Well, that is all I should say now, Thank you.

10. To K.K. Shah: Muslim League and PSP in Kerala³³

February 18, 1960

My dear Shah,

Your letter of the 16th February. I am fully aware of the repercussions of any recognition of the Muslim League in Kerala. It is because of our realisation of this fact that some delay has occurred in decisions being taken by us.³⁴ The P.S.P. apparently has no principles to stand upon and can only think of some immediate possible advantage. I agree with you that the P.S.P. is very weak in Kerala. In fact, I think that, [the seats of] some of the P.S.P. candidates who lost in Kerala would have been won by the Congress if we had set up our candidates there.

I have no doubt that Congress in Bombay must counter vigorously any attempt by Muslim Leaguers to revive their old and discredited organisation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Govind Ballabh Pant: Rajya Sabha Seat for M. R. Shervani³⁵

February 21, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter I have received from Rashid Shervani.³⁶ I think he has a strong case for being considered by us. But apart from that I have a high opinion of his enterprise and ability and such persons would raise the general level of our membership. He has functioned in the Congress with loyalty and discipline.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

33. Letter to the President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

34. See item 3.

35. Letter to the Union Home Minister.

36. Industrialist from Allahabad.

12. To Achint Ram: Resigning from the Lok Sabha³⁷

February 23, 1960

My dear Achint Ram,

I have your letter of the 21st February.

I think it will be a good thing if you work with Acharya Vinoba Bhave for some time. That does not mean that you should resign from the Lok Sabha. There is no conflict between the two. I am, therefore, not sending on your letter of resignation to the Speaker.³⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) States
(i) Punjab

13. To Ram Kishan Gupta: The Kairon Question³⁹

January 30, 1960

Dear Ram Kishanji,

I have your letter of the 29th January. When I referred to the Punjab affairs at the Bangalore session of the Congress and more especially the Press reports,⁴⁰ I was not thinking particularly of the report about your interview with me. When you told me that you had not said anything to the Press, I accepted your word. As a matter of fact, such reports have appeared in the Press at least five or six times in recent months, whenever I have seen people from the Punjab. Some of these reports obviously emanated from the person who had seen me.

I can hardly discuss Punjab affairs in a letter. No one is satisfied with conditions there. But I have tried to follow them and understand them, and we have enquired into them too. You may remember that some of the matters you especially refer to in your letter were enquired into at length by a special committee of the Congress Working Committee and they gave a long report which was published in the Press. In this report, some criticism was made about certain matters with which

37. Letter to Achint Ram, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Patiala, Punjab.

38. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

39. Letter to Ram Kishan Gupta, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Mahendragarh, Punjab. The *Lok Sabha Directory* (New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 1957) spells the second name Krishan.

40. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 214-216.

the Chief Minister was concerned, but most of the charges made were considered by the Committee to be untrue or incorrect.⁴¹ Those charges were made presumably after full effort had been made to collect as many facts against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon as his opponents could manage to get. That was a poor collection.

None of us considers Sardar Partap Singh or anyone else above error. But, in the balance of things, it has appeared to me that the activities of the so-called Congress dissidents have gone beyond all bounds. The idea of holding a convention at Amritsar by them was an extraordinary one.

We have never hesitated to enquire into any specific matter or charge, and we have actually had such enquiries. But to talk vaguely of malpractices, nepotism, corruption, etc. does not lead anywhere and is objectionable.

You refer to the Congress elections in the Punjab. I went into this matter at the time and I was unable to find any valid ground for such a charge. I think the AICC also enquired into it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To Partap Singh Kairon: Congress Dissidence, Cooperation⁴²

February 7, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I am much disturbed and distressed by the continuous agitation going on in the Punjab against you and your Government by Congressmen.⁴³ This appears to have passed all bounds. I do not like interfering in such matters as it is for the A.I.C.C. people to deal with it. The general impression sought to be created by these dissident Congressmen is that the Punjab is governed by terror and whoever falls into disfavour with you, is pounced upon and punished. Much, of course, is said about your son.

How to deal with this matter effectively, is not quite clear to me. I shall, however, bring it to the notice of the present Congress President.⁴⁴ I should like to know from you what your appraisal of the situation is. Mere mutual enunciation does not seem to take us far.

41. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 436-441.

42. Letter.

43. In the wake of the judgment in the Karnal Murder Case. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 92-96.

44. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

There is one matter I should like to bring to your notice particularly. This is the Cooperative Movement. The Punjab should be a very special place for this Movement, but the progress made there does not appear to be substantial. I do not know if you have changed your Cooperative Law at all. It required substantial changes. I am told that the main obstacle to progress is the official attitude and the complicated rules. This official departmental attitude continues to function in an old and rigid way which leads to frustration among those who want to do some work in this direction. Also, I am told that your Registrar of Cooperative Societies has changed frequently after a very brief period. Evidently, he is appointed not so much for his capacity and ability for cooperation, but because of some chain of appointments. Also, if a man is changed frequently, work must obviously suffer.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To Partap Singh Kairon: Gurdwara Politics⁴⁵

February 10, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a copy of a letter which was given to me personally by Sardar Harbans Singh Gujral and Sardar Atma Singh of the Akali Dal.⁴⁶ I have sent a copy to the Governor and another to our Home Minister, Pantji. I shall be glad if you could send me some particulars so that I can send an answer to this letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. Letter.

46. See Appendices 14 and 30.

'What's The Next Command?'



(Tara Singh, sword in hand)

(FROM *SHANKAR'S WEEKLY*, 17 JANUARY 1960)

16. To A.K. Sen: The Rarewala Problem⁴⁷

February 18, 1960

My dear Asoke,

Thank you for your letter of today's date about the Rarewala⁴⁸ business. Since Rarewala wants to see you, I think you should give him an opportunity for meeting you before you send the final report to me.

I find that his wife is coming to see me in a few days' time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

47. Letter to the Union Minister of Law.

48. Gian Singh Rarewala, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Community Development in Punjab.

17. To Partap Singh: Profiteering Charges Against Rao Birendra Singh⁴⁹

February 29, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

In my letter No. 2154-PMH/59 dated October 25, 1959,⁵⁰ I wrote to you about the various complaints made by Abdul Ghani Dar⁵¹ on the basis of a large number of questions and answers in the Punjab Assembly, giving information on various matters connected with land and cooperatives. One of these complaints was against Rao Birendra Singh who, it was alleged, had managed to sell his land to the Punjab Government for the establishment of a Seed Farm at a very high price, despite the fact that it was of a very inferior quality and categorised as "Bhur" in the revenue records. You have tried to explain this charge in your two letters No. 658-CMP of February 21, 1960 and 657-CMP of February 22, 1960. To my mind the charge has not been adequately answered. It may be correct, as stated in Rao Birendra Singh's letter of February 20, 1960 to you, that the value of this land is fairly high, but this, according to his own statement, is because of its nearness to the Rewari town, where there is no other land available for industries, brick kilns, etc. In other words, the land may be good for industrial purposes. But it has not been established that the land was fit for the purpose for which it was acquired by the Government, i.e., for the establishment of a Seed Farm and that its fertility was of the order required for such a farm. Rao Birendra Singh has merely stated in his letter that he was told that the soil of this land had been declared to be fertile. It has also not been denied that the category of this land, as entered in the revenue records, is "Bhur" which is very inferior.

2. My attention has also been invited to the information supplied by the Punjab Government to the State Legislature according to which the expenditure incurred on the State Farm established on this land during 1958-59 was Rs.14, 816 which has been shown as a total loss. The production of rabi for that year was given as follows:-

Sarson ... 26.97 maunds

Gram ... 68.85 maunds

Thus, from the point of view of expenditure and loss incurred, as also the produce of the State Farm, it seems that the land is totally unfit for the purpose for which it was purchased. I am informed that this is so because the soil is mostly "sand" with no irrigation facilities.

3. I should be grateful if you would look into this particular aspect of the question and let me know the correct position.

49. Letter.

50. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 362-364.

51. Congress MLA, Punjab.

4. Another case which has been brought to my notice is that of Prakash Kaur, your Deputy Minister for Health. It is alleged that she managed to sell to the Punjab Government 50 acres of her land in village Dial Barang for a sum of Rs. 45,900. This land was purchased by the Punjab Government from her husband, Dr. Upkar Singh, for the establishment of a State Farm, although, it is said, that the land is water-logged and entirely unfit for cultivation. Will you kindly also look into this complaint and let me know the facts?

5. I also find that the replies to the other points raised in my letter of October 25, 1959 have not so far been received. I trust that the facts about these complaints are being examined and that you would let me have a full report at an early date.

6. I think I told you that Feroze Gandhi has also sent me a well-documented paper about Rao Birendra Singh and the sale of his land to the Punjab Government. As this matter has been raised in this way, it has to be dealt with fully and precisely. I would, therefore, particularly like an answer from you or from Rao Birendra Singh in regard to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) North-East

18. In the Lok Sabha: The Naga Insurgency⁵²

Situation in NHTA and NEFA

Rameshwar Tantia:⁵³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the law and order situation in Naga Hills Tuensang and NEFA areas deteriorated since November-December, 1959 and disturbed areas were enlarged; and

(b) if so, the reasons there for?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri J. N. Hazarika): (a) No.

(b) This does not arise.

Rameshwar Tantia: Is it a fact that some non-Nagas were recently arrested for collaborating with rebels?

52. Reply to questions, 9 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 71-74.

53. Congress, from Sikar, Rajasthan.

J. N. Hazarika: I have no information to give about this.

Rameshwar Tantia: Since the emergency was declared, how many rebels were killed by our forces, and what were our losses?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have stated some figures in the past. I have not got any up-to-date figures now.

Chintamani Panigrahi:⁵⁴ We are reading in the newspapers that during the last two or three months, the situation in the Naga Hills area is most disturbed and many raids are taking place. But the Parliamentary Secretary does not say that the situation has deteriorated. What is the matter? We would like to know the exact position.

Mr. Speaker: This is a general answer.

Chintamani Panigrahi: During the last three or four months, we have been seeing in the newspapers that many times the Nagas have raided, and many incidents have taken place. But the Parliamentary Secretary says that nothing has happened.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer is that the situation has not deteriorated. It has, in fact, broadly improved. That, of course, does not mean that no incident has occurred. They have occurred. Our judgment is that the situation is very much better, and in fact, possibly as a result of this, and in some desperation, some incidents occurred; some incident can always occur. It can occur in the heart of Delhi; that is a different matter. And I do not mean to imply that things are completely settled and everything is good there. I merely stated that the situation is considerably better than it has been in the past.

प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री:⁵⁵ क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूँ कि सेना के जिन अधिकारियों के हाथ में इस समय नागा प्रदेश में शान्ति स्थापना का कार्य है, उन्होंने भारत सरकार से यह अनुरोध किया है कि जब तक इस प्रदेश में शान्ति स्थापित न हो जाये, तब तक विदेशी पादरियों को वहाँ से हटा दिया जाये?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है वहाँ पर कोई विदेशी पादरी नहीं है। मुमकिन है एक आध हो लेकिन है नहीं। यह सूचना माननीय सदस्य को कैसे मिली कि वहाँ विदेशी पादरी हैं।

54. Congress, from Puri, Orissa.

55. Independent, from Gurgaon, Punjab.

प्र. ना. सिंह:⁵⁶ क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि नेफा इलाके के कुछ रिबेल्स को चाइनीज़ द्वारा चाइनीज़ लीडर्स से मिलाने के लिए पीकिंग ले जाया गया। और चीन की तरफ से नेफा के इलाके में इस तरह की कार्रवाई की जा रही है कि वहाँ गड़बड़ी बढ़े?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जहाँ तक मुझे इत्तला है ऐसी कोई बात नहीं हुई है।

[Translation begins:

Prakash Vir Shastri:⁵⁷ May I know whether those Army authorities, whose job it is to establish peace in Naga areas, have asked the Government of India to remove foreign priests until peace is established.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as I know there is no foreign priest present in that region. It is possible, but in fact there are none. How did the honourable member get this information that there are foreign priests there?

Prakash Narain Singh:⁵⁸ May I know whether China has arranged for some rebels to be taken to Peking to meet Chinese leaders and whether China is engaging in this form of action in NEFA in order to foment trouble there?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no truth in this as far as I know.

Translation ends.]

Hem Barua:⁵⁹ May I know whether it is a fact that recently at Gauhati, the Prime Minister described this area as almost a war region? I quote him verbatim. He said it was almost a war region. That was how it was described by the Prime Minister at Gauhati.⁶⁰ May I know whether this description has any relation to the improvement of the situation in the area or to the worsening of it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no recollection of what I said on the occasion and in what context. It is difficult. I try not to remember all that I have always said; it is too much of a burden on my mind. It depends on the context etc. But what I have said is this that undoubtedly it has been a disturbed region all this time, and

56. Socialist, from Chandauli, UP.

57. See fn 55 in this section.

58. See fn 56 in this section.

59. PSP, from Gauhati, Assam.

60. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 239-263.

the situation is much better now. If one goes into a great deal of details one may do so.

Hem Barua: May I make a reference to the context?

Speaker: Are we having a discussion on it now?

Hem Barua: If I make a reference to the context, that would clarify the situation.

An Hon. Member: For, it has deteriorated.

Speaker: He is under the impression that it is, no doubt, a disturbed region; beyond that, even if he should have said that it was a war region, he only meant that it was only a disturbed region.

19. To K. Ram: Good Work by the Naga Labour Corps⁶¹

I am sending you two notes by Shri Krishna Prasada⁶² about his visit to Manipur. They are both interesting. I should like you to send copies of both to—

(1) Home Minister.

(2) Minister of Works, Housing & Supply.⁶³

(3) Foreign Secretary.

2. In your covering note to the Minister of W.H. & S., you might say that the Prime Minister would like to draw his attention to the good work done by the Naga Labour Corps working for the Bharat Sewak Samaj in road building. This is obviously a great improvement on contractors' work. Apart from being cheaper, it could be done without security people and special protection. Also it gives work to the Nagas.

3. You might point this out to the Foreign Secretary too for possible application in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area.

61. Note to PPS, 17 February 1960.

62. Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

63. K.C. Reddy.

20. In the Lok Sabha: Census in NEFA⁶⁴

Shri Hem Barua: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that investigations in connection with the 1961 All-India census have already started in NEFA;
- (b) if so, whether census in NEFA is likely to have certain features distinct from the All-India census; and
- (c) if so, what are these features?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) In view of the fact that census in the NEFA is being attempted for the first time and due to variety of other reasons such as illiteracy of the people, their natural reserve in answering questions put to them by people from outside NEFA as also the fact that most of the villages are inaccessible requiring many days march on foot to get to them, it has been necessary to modify the procedure being applied to the rest of India. The principal difference is that whereas in the general census, information is being collected in respect of each individual, in the case of NEFA the information will be collected for the house-hold as a whole under the following heads:

1. Name of the head of household.
2. Name of the tribe.
3. Name of the dialect.
4. Duration of residence.
5. Total family members.
6. Population divided into sex and age groups—0-4, 5-14, and over
7. Literates in the age groups—5-14 and 15 and over.
8. Land under permanent crop.
9. Main crop under Jhum cultivation.

It was considered desirable that apart from the periods spent in marching to villages, the enumerators should spend sometime in order to befriend people before putting questions to them. For this reason, the prescribed period of enumerating the people had had to be extended and enumeration has actually already commenced in parts of NEFA. In regard to a few well-established villages in NEFA, which are easily accessible from Divisional or Sub-Divisional headquarters, census will be taken during the period prescribed for the rest of the country namely 10th February, 1961 to 3rd March, 1961 and in those cases the All India Census Schedule will be applied.

64. 22 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 2084-84.

(iii) Bombay

21. To Nath Pai: Maharashtra or Bombay⁶⁵

January 31, 1960

Dear Nath Pai,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 19th January. I have been very busy lately and quite unable to cope with my correspondence.

You say that the new State of Marathi speaking people should be called Maharashtra and not Bombay State. Personally I think that would be a pity from the point of view of the State. Bombay is a name known the world over, and I should have thought that Maharashtrians would like to have the advantage of this name. However, this is a matter which should be decided by the people of the State themselves. They can change the name later if they so wish.

As for the other matters you have referred to, I can hardly enter into any argument. All that the Congress Working Committee did was to accept the report of a committee appointed by it which had gone fully into these subjects.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. To B.D. Jatti: Border Conflicts in Belgaum⁶⁶

February 14, 1960

My dear Jatti,

You will no doubt appreciate that the recent border troubles in Belgaum which resulted in firing and lathi charges, distressed us greatly.⁶⁷ I have received numerous telegrams and letters about it. Very probably, they give one-sided and possibly exaggerated accounts. However that may be, it is most unfortunate that this kind of thing should occur between two States of India, both of which have Congress Governments. I have written to you many times about this matter, and nothing

65. Letter to Nath Pai, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Rajapur, Bombay.

66. Letter to B. D. Jatti, the Chief Minister of Mysore State ; copied to G. B. Pant.

67. *The Hindustan Times* of 9 February carried an 8 February report from Bombay that about 3000 villagers at Yellur, near Belgaum, had attacked the Tahsildar when he attached properties of some of them for refusing to pay taxes. The Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, agitating for transferring Marathi-speaking areas of Mysore to Bombay State, had instigated them to refuse taxes. The police used tear gas and charged them with batons; fifty-two policemen, two revenue officials, and two panches were injured, and five were admitted to hospital.

much has come out of it. Surely, this kind of problem between two Indian States cannot be settled by conflicts. There must be some reasonable and peaceful way to decide it, and this will have to be found. I put it to you that a mere negative attitude does not help at all. I hope you will give urgent consideration to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To Sri Prakasa: Travel Plans for March 1960⁶⁸

February 20, 1960

My dear Prakasa,

I have your two letters of February 19. Thank you for them. One of these is about the Thyagaraja College at Madurai.

My visit to Koyna and Sholapur cannot now take place early in April as I had intended. President Nasser is coming to Delhi on the 29th March and staying here for some days. I cannot obviously leave him here. Probably he will be going to Bombay too later. I shall therefore have to think again as to when I might be able to go to Koyna and Sholapur. It cannot now be in March. April is not an easy month, and about the end of April I shall probably go to England.

I do not myself know about any fixed date for the constitution of two States out of the present Bombay State. I shall certainly not be able to leave Delhi at the end of March or the beginning of April because of President Nasser's visit.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

68. Letter to the Governor of Bombay State.

24. To Govind Ballabh Pant: Dates for Splitting up Bombay State⁶⁹

February 20, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Sri Prakasa writes to me that there is some vague talk about the splitting up of Bombay State into two States taking place on the 1st of April, although Chavan⁷⁰ does not like the 1st April. He wants it on the 28th March or 2nd April. The Auditor-General⁷¹ sticks to April 1 for his own convenience.

Sri Prakasa adds that all this is very vague and rather confusing and nobody quite knows what is going to happen. Indeed, the whole subject is being treated in a rather hush-hush manner.

This seems to be rather an odd way of proceeding about an important matter like this in which the public takes great interest. Is it likely that all our legislation will be passed by then?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) Andhra Pradesh

25. To D. Sanjivayya: Nizam Stoking Shia-Sunni Controversy⁷²

February 1, 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,

I have your letter of the 27th January about the Nizam taking part in Shia-Sunni controversies. I entirely agree with you that it is not desirable for him to do so. But I do not like the idea of writing to the Nizam about this subject. I would suggest that you should yourself go to see him and politely point out to him that this is unbecoming for him and might lead him into difficulties.

I am, however, sending your letter to our Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

69. Letter to the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

70. Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay.

71. Asok K. Chanda.

72. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

26. To Mir Osman Ali: Nizam's Trust Appointments⁷³

February 9, 1960

My dear friend,

I have today received your letter of the 4th February, 1960, for which I thank you.

I am glad to know that you have appointed your grandson, Mukarram Jah, as an additional Trustee of Your Exalted Highness's Charitable Trust. It would be a good thing for Mukarram Jah to be associated with other Trusts also.

You have written about Nawab Zain Yar Jung⁷⁴ and suggested that he should relinquish responsibility of Trusteeship from your Trusts, and further that you might give a lump sum reward of Rs. 50,000/-. This is a matter entirely for Your Exalted Highness and Nawab Zain Yar Jung. It would hardly be proper for me to advise you in such matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Kerala

27. To Govind Ballabh Pant: Kerala in President's Message to Parliament⁷⁵

February 3, 1960

My dear Pantji,

It was decided that we should include a paragraph about Kerala in the President's message to Parliament. I have not got the dates of the President's Proclamation etc. with me, and the language should approximate to that of the Proclamation. I shall be grateful if you could draft a brief paragraph about the Proclamation and recent elections.

I have your message about the note relating to Scheduled Tribes etc. You need not trouble to send this to me early in the morning. If this note as well as the Kerala note could reach me by lunch time, it will be quite adequate.

73. Letter to the Nizam of Hyderabad.

74. Architect and former minister in Hyderabad State.

75. Letter.

I enclose a copy of a telegram I have received from the Communist Party, Kottayam.⁷⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vi) Mysore

28. Murmurings against Jatti⁷⁷

The Maharaja of Mysore⁷⁸ came to see me this afternoon. Among other things he mentioned to me that soon after the Bangalore Congress Session, Hanumanthaiya came to see him and said that the present Government under Jatti was no good at all and should go and give place to another. A day or two later, Nijalingappa and Veeranna Gowda⁷⁹ came to the Maharaja and repeated more or less the same thing. They talked about Governmental inefficiency and vaguely about corruption. Although they added that they did not accuse Jatti personally of this, they thought that Jatti was too small a man for his job. In fact, they hinted that the Bangalore Congress Session was not a great success as they had hoped because the people there were not impressed by the stature of the Chief Minister or his Government. They made it appear that this was the opinion of the Congress High Command.

2. The Maharaja told me that some time ago, probably in September last, a so-called Goodwill Committee of six or seven persons was formed from the Mysore Legislature Party. Jatti was a member of this and so were Nijalingappa, Hanumanthaiya, Veeranna Gowda, Srinivasa Malliah⁸⁰ and one or two others. This Committee had met several times since the Bangalore Congress Session, and it was in a sense on behalf of this committee that people had come to the Maharaja.

3. When Jatti was told about the inefficiency or corruption of Government, he replied that some specific charges should be brought and he would enquire into them. It was impossible to deal with vague allegations. But no specific charges were brought. This so-called Goodwill Committee is continuing to meet.

76. K.T. Jacob, Secretary, Communist Party, Kottayam, cabled, "with announcement of election result terrible attacks against Communist workers and voters. One murdered many stabbed shops attacked and demolished. Lawlessness and terrorism prevail throughout Kottayam district Pray immediate intervention."

77. Note, 5 February 1960.

78. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar, Governor of Mysore.

79. Minister in the Mysore State.

80. Chief Whip of the Congress in the Lok Sabha.

4. I told the Maharaja that I did not know anything about this and I was not aware at all of the Congress High Command putting any blame on Jatti for the Congress Session. The Maharaja said that it was unfortunate that these internal pulls and conflicts should take place as they came in the way of Governmental work. With this I entirely agreed.

(vii) Uttar Pradesh

29. To N. Salivati: Charges Against Kamlapathi Tripathi and S. K. Dey⁸¹

February 1, 1960

Dear Salivati,

I have received your letter of January 29th. It happens that both the instances you have mentioned, came up before me in some form or other.

Instance No. 1

As you might be aware, there have been severe Party squabbles in the U.P. Legislative Assembly.⁸² The Leader of the Socialist Party in the U.P. Assembly (Lohia's Party) made a number of charges against Minister Kamlapati Tripathi.⁸³ Most of these charges were in connection with his son's firm.⁸⁴ This matter became a cause célèbre in the U.P. The Chief Minister promised to enquire into it. Just about that time, the son (I think it was the son, though I am not quite sure) brought a suit for defamation against the Leader of the Socialist Party and some others. So far as I know, this suit is still pending.

Because this suit was brought, the Chief Minister of the U.P. Government said that it was difficult for him to make any kind of an enquiry into this matter. But, because I had been pressing him to make this enquiry, he suggested that I might deal with these charges myself. The person or persons who made the charges, were asked to state them fully. All these papers were sent to me together with the replies to these charges by Shri Kamlapati Tripathi. As this involved rather legal questions, I referred them to our Law Minister, Shri Asoke Sen. He considered them carefully and wrote a long report on them, which he sent me. In

81. Letter to Editor, *Salivati Newsletter*, Bombay.

82. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 233-235.

83. Home Minister. See also SWJN/SS/52/pp. 88-89.

84. Lokpati Tripathi, in connection with the construction of a vast dam and canal project, known as the Sharda Sagar, in central UP.

this report, he came to the conclusion that there was no valid charge against the Minister, who was exonerated by him completely. I sent copies of his report to the Governor⁸⁵ and the Chief Minister of the U.P. as well as to our Home Minister here. At my request, the Chief Minister showed this report to the persons who had made the charges against Shri Kamlapati Tripathi. So far as I know, these persons have not raised this question again. Meanwhile, the case is proceeding in the law courts.

I cannot say whether all the matters you have listed in some detail were included in the charges or not. I have not got the papers by me now. But I well remember that most of the charges were about contracts being given to a firm of which the Minister's son was a member. Further, that the Opposition in the U.P. Government, including even some members of the Congress Party, who were opposed to the Chief Minister, made strenuous efforts to collect every piece of evidence that they could against Shri Kamlapati Tripathi.

I do not know what else I could have done in this matter, or what more I can do now, after the enquiry I had made and when this matter is pending in the law courts.

As for a number of industrial concerns having received advances or loans from the U.P. Government, I cannot say from personal knowledge what advances were given and what the circumstances were. But I know that on several occasions reference was made to our Planning Commission about such advances, and there was much correspondence on the subject. This also has been raised in the U.P. Assembly. There was a fair amount of publicity. No question was raised, to my knowledge, of any mala fide. There were some people who thought that the private sector should not be encouraged in this way and to this extent. The U.P. Government were anxious to start industries in their State and they felt that this was the most feasible way to do it.

Instance No. 2

This refers to Shri S. K. Dey, Minister of Community Development. A small newspaper, appearing I think in Jaipur or Ajmer, mentioned this matter more or less on the lines of the note in your Newsletter. Shri S.K. Dey wrote to this paper immediately giving the facts, and he sent me a copy of his letter. He said in his letter that what was stated in the newspaper was wholly incorrect. He had acquired some years ago, about seventeen acres of sandy waste land in Rajasthan from a private source. There was nothing secret about it. The Rajasthan Government had nothing to do with it. I do not know if this letter of our Minister has been published by that paper or not.

85. V.V. Giri.

You refer to certain transactions that took place in the Reserve Bank of India some years ago. I would suggest to you to put this information at the disposal of the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Shri H.V.R. Iengar. He is a man I personally know well as he used to be my Principal Private Secretary at one time, and I have a high regard for his integrity and ability. In any event, if you send me any particulars, I would have to forward them to him.

It is not quite clear to me how I am to proceed further with these matters. You say that your name should not be disclosed. But if I refer to the *Salivati Newsletter* where the original item of news appeared, this itself would disclose your name.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. To Sampurnanand: Misrule in Meerut⁸⁶

February 7, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

You will remember my writing to you some months ago about disturbing reports I had received from Meerut district as to the state of law and order and corruption. You had some kind of an enquiry made and replied to me that the position was not as bad as had been made out.⁸⁷

Thereafter, I mentioned to you the case of a particular individual there and suggested that an enquiry might be made, into his dealings by our Central Intelligence. My fear, based on some information, was that the local officials were far too partial to him. You were good enough to agree to this. This enquiry by the Central Intelligence has produced some remarkable revelations both in regard to corruption and the close association of officials there with some people who appear to have been playing a very shady role. Presumably as a result of this, the official reports that you may receive from Meerut are likely to be biased and coloured.

We are proceeding with these enquiries and will take action as soon as possible. Meanwhile, I am troubled to learn about frequent dacoities and murders in Meerut and to some extent in Agra also. Recently, there was a case of some military people from Agra being involved in a dacoity. This is a serious state of affairs, which requires urgent remedy.

Many months ago, I had received a complaint about some people in Meerut. The man who sent this complaint was, I think, named Vaikunth Nath. My

86. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

87. See SWJN/SS/52/pp. 89-90.

information is that because this man made a complaint (which we found to be largely true), he has been harassed by the local officials, and a case was started against him for false impersonation or something like it. The Magistrate before whom this case was brought, discharged Vaikunth Nath. Oddly enough, in spite of this discharge, the District Magistrate there proposes to review this case and I think the hearing has been fixed for the 3rd March. This and other matters lead me to think that it would be better for the present District Magistrate there to be transferred elsewhere. He appears to be in too close association with some undesirable people there.

I am merely passing this on to you for you to consider. But stories that reach me from Meerut side, are disturbing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. To K. Ram: No Fasting at Rajghat⁸⁸

Shri Shibbanlal Saxena, M.P.,⁸⁹ has been fasting at Rajghat and I understand that he and a colleague of his have put up a tent there to live in. Quite apart from the merits or otherwise of a fast for political purposes, it seems to me highly improper that any one should choose Rajghat for this purpose and put up a tent there to live in. I should like you to draw the attention of the Home Ministry to this as well as that of the Chief Commissioner.⁹⁰ Exactly what steps should be taken might be considered by them. But it is clear that no one should be allowed to put up tents and stay there. Shri Shibbanlal and his companion will have to be removed.

2. It may be necessary to make some rules about Rajghat. It might be considered whether some kind of an order applying to the Rajghat area should not be passed. I hope that the Home Ministry will give consideration to this matter in consultation with the Chief Commissioner and take some early action. Meanwhile, the Chief Commissioner might inform Shri Shibbanlal that he should not stay there and that if he does, some action may have to be taken. Whatever the action may be, it should be as quiet as possible. In effect it should be removing him elsewhere and leaving him free to continue his fast or do what he likes.

3. Apart from this incident, some permanent arrangement should be made about Rajghat. At present there is no adequate watch and ward arrangement. There used to be two or three policemen about. But, I am told, they have been

88. Note to PPS, 26 February 1960. File No. 2(525)/50-PMS.

89. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Maharajganj, UP.

90. A.D. Pandit.

withdrawn. It would probably be desirable to form a small committee for Rajghat presided over by the Chief Commissioner. This committee may have representatives of the Municipality, Gandhi Memorial Fund and one or two others. A small budget may be provided for it for watch and ward purposes. It seems to me better for this watch and ward to be done not by the Police directly but by a few persons engaged specially for the purpose with proper uniform etc. Anyway all these matters have to be considered and some action taken.

4. This, of course, has nothing to do with any permanent arrangements for a memorial there, which will have to be considered separately.

5. You might inform WM & P⁹¹ about this also.

(viii) Bhutan

32. In the Lok Sabha: Help to Bhutan⁹²

भक्त दर्शन : सुबोध हंसदा : रा. चं. माझी : सं. चं. सामन्त : दी. चं. शर्मा : प्र. के. देव : प्र. गं. देव : वि. दास गुप्त : अरविन्द घोषाल : अ. मु. तारिक : अजित सिंह सरहदी : हेम बरुआ :

क्या प्रधानमंत्री 19 नवम्बर 1959 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 128 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि भूटान को वित्तीय सहायता देने के सम्बन्ध में इस बीच क्या प्रगति हुई है?

[Translation begins:

Bhakt Darshan, Subodh Hansda, R. C. Manjhi, S. C. Samanta, D. C. Sharma, P. K. Deo, B. B. Das Gupta, Arvind Ghosal, A. M. Tariq, Ajit Singh Sarhadi and Hem Barua:

Question: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 128 on 19 November 1960 and state the progress so far made in regard to giving financial assistance to Bhutan?

Translation ends.]

91. Works Mines and Power Department. This was the previous name of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. See SWJN/SS/3/Abbreviations.
92. Reply to questions from Congress and other MPs, 25 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2666-71.

Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan) : Apart from the annual subsidy of Rs. 5 Lakhs, an ad-hoc grant of Rs. 5,74,774/- for development expenditure and Rs. 3 Lakhs for road projects have been sanctioned during the current financial year.

The economic subsidy of Rs. 7 Lakhs mentioned in reply to the earlier question (No. 128) will be given from the financial year 1960-61.

भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि भूटान को जो आर्थिक सहायता दी जा रही है उसको खर्च करने की ज़िम्मेदारी सीधे भूटान सरकार पर है या कि हमारे इंजीनियरों और विशेषज्ञों की माँग की गई है और उनकी देखरेख में उसको खर्च किया जायेगा।

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मंत्री (जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : मैं समझता हूँ कि उसके खर्च की ज़िम्मेदारी भूटान सरकार पर है। हमारे इंजीनियर उनकी मदद भले ही करें, लेकिन ज़िम्मेदारी तो भूटान पर है।

भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान, क्या शासन के ध्यान में यह बात आई है कि भूटान के प्रधानमंत्री एक ओर तो भूटान के लिए अधिक सहायता की माँग करते चले आ रहे हैं और दूसरी ओर कलकत्ते में स्थायी रूप से रहने का प्रबन्ध कर रहे हैं? यह दोनों बातें कहाँ तक मेल खाती हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह तो माननीय सदस्य एक व्यक्तिगत सवाल कर रहे हैं एक व्यक्ति के बारे में। इसकी निस्वतः मैं क्या जानता हूँ और क्या जवाब दे सकता हूँ?

[Translation begins:

Bhakt Darshan: Sir, May I know whether the Government of Bhutan would be wholly responsible for spending the economic aid given to it or have they asked for our engineers and specialists to supervise it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I understand that the responsibility of the expenditure is on the Bhutan Government. Our engineers may help them but the responsibility is upon the Bhutan Government.

Bhakta Darshan: Sir, has it been brought to the notice of the Government that on the one hand the Prime Minister of Bhutan is demanding economic aid for Bhutan, while on the other hand he is making arrangements for permanent residence in Calcutta? How are these two issues to be reconciled?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Honourable member is asking a personal question about an

individual. What do I know about it and what reply can I give?

Translation ends.]

Subodh Hansda : May I know whether it is a fact that Rs. 15 crores have been sanctioned to the Bhutan Government? If so, did the Bhutan Government submit any road plan prior to the sanctioning of this amount?

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I first submit that we do not treat the Bhutan Government in this way and ask them to submit this or that? We come to an agreement with them to supply certain facilities, certain financial aid, for certain purposes. Naturally those purposes are examined. If it is a road plan, naturally it is examined because the ultimate building of the roads will be by Indian engineers. All that has to be examined and passed by them. But we cannot call upon the Bhutan Government to do anything in the way almost suggested by the hon. Member.

रघुनाथ सिंह : क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूँ कि यह जो सहायता दी गई है वह इतनी नाकाफी है कि सहायता का उपहास मात्र है, और क्या भूटान सरकार ने आपसे और अधिक सहायता नहीं माँगी थी? पाँच लाख रुपया कुछ होता है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आप किस सहायता की चर्चा कर रहे हैं?

रघुनाथ सिंह : यह जो पाँच लाख रुपये की सहायता दी गई है और जोकि बहुत थोड़ी है।

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैं नहीं जानता कि माननीय सदस्य किस गज़ से, किस अन्दाज़ से नापते हैं। इस बात को देखना पड़ता है कि कितना काम हो सकता है। जो सहायता देने को हम राजी हुए हैं वह काफी बड़ी रक़म है। उसमें से वक़््तन फवक़््तन दिया जाता है, जितना निश्चय होता है कि काम हो सकेगा।

[Translation begins:

Raghunath Singh: Isn't this aid so inadequate as to be laughable? Did the Bhutan Government not ask for more? Do five lakh rupees amount to anything?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What aid are you talking about?

Raghunath Singh: This economic aid of Rs five lakh, which is so paltry.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know the honourable member's criteria for measuring this. The consideration is how much work can be done. Whatever assistance we have agreed to give, it is a big amount; enough money is released from time to time as required for the work undertaken at that point.

Translation ends.]

Renu Chakravartty : May I know whether the adhoc development grant which has been given to Bhutan is against specific development projects, and whether Indians will be carrying out those projects or the money will be given over to the Bhutan Government for projects to be carried out by their agencies?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The major development projects are in connection with communications, specially roads. There are some others too. The road-building would be done by Indian engineers no doubt; we hope that Bhutanese engineers, where they are available, will also do it. We try to train them too. But the engineering responsibility is that of Indian engineers.

Renu Chakravartty: There are two different allocations indicated—one under communications (building of roads) and the other as ad hoc development grant. That was why I wanted to know what exactly was going to be built out of the ad hoc development grant which has been given.

Speaker: Development inside Bhutan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: All these things are worked out on the basis of projects. It is not given "in the air" for development; it is on the basis of projects which, we think, can be carried out.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the recent statement made by the Prime Minister of Bhutan to the effect: "We have thrown in our lot with India"?

If so, has this been measured in terms of financial assistance and do Government propose to offer greater financial assistance for defence purposes and for construction of roads etc?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are offering them assistance for developmental projects and construction of roads. I do not know what the hon. Member means by Defence. We have, from time to time in the past, supplied them with some Defence equipment, which they needed, from our stocks.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that this is the first motorable

road to be constructed in Bhutan? If so, what will be the commitment of India when this work of road construction is completed?

Speaker: What will be the total expenditure which we are committed to when the construction of roads is completed? That is, probably, what the hon. Member wants.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What is the total expenditure on roads?

Hem Barua: They had a ceremony also where the Engineers were present and the Bhutanese Prime Minister was also present. They have just started the construction of the first motorable road in Bhutan. I just want to know what would be the expenditure on this motorable road when the work is fully completed and what is the commitment made by India for this road?

Speaker: What is the total cost of this road and what is our contribution?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not give separate figures because we have allotted Rs. 15 crores for a number of roads and this is one of them. I could not give separate figures for this road.

भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि चूँकि भारत सरकार काफी बड़ी मात्रा में भूटान सरकार की सहायता कर रही है तो क्या भूटान की सरकार ने उन रुपयों का सदुपयोग करने के लिए और जल्दी से जल्दी उन कामों को पूरा करने के लिए अपने एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सेटअप में कोई परिवर्तन किया है या कोई डेवलपमेंट बोर्ड बनाया है क्योंकि इस बात की अक्सर शिकायत है कि सड़कें बड़ी धीमी चाल से बन रही हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अब बगैर जाँच किये हुए इसका जवाब नहीं दिया जा सकता। ज़ाहिर है कि जब ऐसे काम शुरू होते हैं तो कुछ न कुछ इंतज़ाम उनकी तरफ से हुआ ही होगा लेकिन अंदरूनी क्या हुआ मुझे यह मालूम नहीं है।

[Translation begins:

Bhakt Darshan: Sir, since the Government of India is providing substantial aid to the Government of Bhutan, may I know whether the Government of Bhutan has introduced any administrative changes or appointed a development board to use this money properly and to complete these works quickly and efficiently. Often there are complaints that roads are being laid very slowly.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, this cannot be answered without an enquiry. Obviously, when such works are undertaken, some arrangements must have been made by

them but what has happened internally there, I do not know.

Translation ends.]

(c) Administration

(i) General

33. To Vishnu Sahay: Full Reports and Summary Required⁹³

I agree with Cabinet Secretary. The reports should be circulated to Members of the Cabinet to enable them to have a full idea of the problems and suggestions made by various Ministries.⁹⁴ At the same time, a consolidated note should be prepared by the Cabinet Secretariat after reference to the Home Ministry.⁹⁵

34. To V. K. Krishna Menon: Drafting the President's Address⁹⁶

January 28, 1960

My dear Krishna,

I should be grateful if you could look through the papers I am sending you and help in drafting the President's Address which is to be delivered on the 8th February. I am so heavily over-worked at present that I can find practically no time to prepare this draft.

I am sending you various reports from Ministries and Departments. My PPS has made a separate summary of the points mentioned by these various Ministries. This summary itself is a long one. I do not think it will be necessary for you to read all the reports from the Ministries. Where necessary, a reference may be made to them to give the facts correctly. It will be enough I think if you could read the summary and then select the points for mention.

93. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 27 January 1960. File No. 6/1/CF/60, Part. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat.

94. On 27 January 1960, B. G. Rau asked Nehru whether the recommendations of all the ministries or a single note summarising those recommendations should be placed before Cabinet.

95. See Appendices 8 and 21.

96. Letter to the Union Defence Minister.

The Address should not be too long and yet there are a good many points which deserve mention.

Apart from the record of progress last year, we have to say something about our intentions for the Third Five Year Plan. We cannot go into details or give any figures for this Plan at this stage. But some reference might be made to what the President said on this subject last year about our aim at creating a self-generating economy and the necessity for a bigger Plan, both for agriculture and industry.

We shall of course have to mention the Chinese intrusion on the frontier and the situation that has arisen because of this. This will naturally have to be made carefully. It cannot be too mild as that will not go down to our people. On the other hand, it should not over-step the mark. By the time the Address is read, we will have sent our reply to the latest Chinese note.⁹⁷ No special reference need be made to this except that perhaps we might say that correspondence at diplomatic levels is taking place.

Special mention should be made of the visit of President Eisenhower and also President Voroshilov. I think it will be desirable to mention the coming visit of Mr. Khrushchev. Perhaps you might also mention here that we are expecting a visit from President Nasser as well as the Prime Minister of Finland.⁹⁸

The draft will have to be considered by the Cabinet and by the President. Time is limited. When you send me your draft, we shall go through it carefully and perhaps vary it somewhat. The revised draft will then be circulated to the Cabinet and the President.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To Vishnu Sahay: Discourage this *Wanderlust*⁹⁹

I have had these papers for some time as I could not quite make up my mind as to what we should do about this.¹⁰⁰ I think that on the whole it is not desirable for us to encourage such sponsored visits. Evidently they are not for any particular function, but generally to tour around. I know that these have taken place in the past in West Germany and elsewhere. Of course, so far as the Communist countries are concerned, quite a large number of people manage to go there. It is not quite clear to me how this happens in spite of our broad rules.

97. See Appendix 25.

98. V.J. Sukselainen.

99. Note to the CS, 29 January 1960.

100. Sponsoring visits of Mukul Mukherjee of the Foreign Affairs Cell of the AICC and N.G. Goray, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Poona, Bombay State, by UK High Commission.

2. I think that you might have a talk with the UK High Commissioner¹⁰¹ and point out that we are placed in a difficulty by these requests from various countries and hence we are trying not to encourage such visits unless there is some particular purpose in view. For instance, we agreed to Shri Heda,¹⁰² the Secretary of the Congress Parliamentary Party, going to the United Kingdom at the time of the General Elections. At present there appears to be no special occasion and if we make exceptions, then all manner of people take advantage of this. They even try to get such invitations sent to them.

36. To Morarji Desai: LIC Purchasing Shares¹⁰³

January 31, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I have been so heavily occupied recently that I have not been able to deal with my correspondence as I should have done. I now find that Asoka Mehta¹⁰⁴ wrote to me two weeks ago about some purchase of shares by the LIC. He sent me a report which discloses some serious state of affairs. I am sending these papers to you together with a note by my PPS. I think this deserves an enquiry which should be full but confidential.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

37. To G. B. Pant: The Income Tax Appellate Tribunal¹⁰⁵

January 31, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter from P.C. Malhotra,¹⁰⁶ who was till lately President of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal, With this letter he had sent me other papers, including copies of letters from the Chief Justices of the High Courts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras to him. Also from the Attorney-General. In these letters stress has been laid on the importance of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal and

101. Malcolm MacDonald.

102. H.C. Heda.

103. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance.

104. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

105. Letter.

106. See Appendix 3.

the desirability of raising its status so as to attract a better quality of persons to it. Also on raising the age of retirement to 60.

I am sending copies of this letter to Asoke Sen¹⁰⁷ and Morarjibhai. Also I think the matters referred to in the letter deserve consideration.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

38. To G. B. Pant: Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar's Travel Plans¹⁰⁸

February 5, 1960

My dear Pantji,

The Maharaja of Mysore¹⁰⁹ came to see me today and spoke about his visit to Ghana for his lectures there. He said that he intended going to America for his plastic surgery operation. He could go to the U.S. either just before his lectures in Ghana or just after. That would depend on the convenience of the Ghana people.

This means his absence from India for seven to eight weeks—two weeks or a little more in Ghana and about four or five weeks in the United States. The dates of his absence are likely to be between the 20th April and the third or fourth week of June.

He spoke to me also about Mysore Congress-Government affairs. I am enclosing a separate note of this, a copy of which I am sending to Sanjiva Reddy.¹¹⁰

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

107. Union Law Minister.

108. Letter.

109. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar.

110. Congress President.

39. To B. C. Roy: Appointment Letter for Malati Shrinagesh¹¹¹

February 6, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

I spoke to you tonight about Dr. Miss Malati Shrinagesh. This lady is a qualified doctor, an M.B. of Bombay I think. She served in a medical capacity in Hyderabad for a few years before the State was merged. Later, she went to England and, I think, took some diploma in Public Health. She was employed by some County authorities there as a Public Health Officer. While in England, she decided to take the Bar courses also, and I think became a barrister.

She is 44 years of age now and is General Shrinagesh's¹¹² sister.

She tells me that she applied early last year for some Public Health post under the West Bengal Government. She was informed in November last that she had been selected. Since then, she has not heard anything further. Will you kindly enquire about this?

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To K. L. Shrimali: Coordination Between Ministries¹¹³

February 7, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

The other day I enquired into the delay taking place about the erection of Rabindra Sadan at Santiniketan. It appeared that part of the delay was due to two Ministries having something to do with this matter, namely the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs. I wrote to Humayun Kabir on this subject.

He has now sent me a note which refers to some matters where difficulties occurred because of the subject being dealt with by the two Ministries to some extent. I enclose this note.

It seems to me that some method should be evolved for the closest coordination between the two Ministries in regard to all such matters. In fact, I had said as much at the time of the constitution of the two Ministries. There should be a

111. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

112. S. M. Shrinagesh, the Governor of Assam.

113. Letter to the Union Minister of Education.

special committee for this coordination. This committee would, of course, have representatives of the two Ministries on it. Either Ministry should be able to raise any question before this committee in regard to these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. For the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Khrushchev's Gift¹¹⁴

Some little time ago, a visitor from Moscow (I forget his name but he was, I think, one of their senior officials) came to see me. As he was leaving, he gave me a small dove made out of bone and said that he was presenting this to me on behalf of Mr. Khrushchev. I thanked him.

2. That is all that happened. These small gifts are often made when people come from other countries. There is no significance attached to it, and I am rather surprised that so much be made of it in a question in Parliament.

3. When Mr. Khrushchev comes here next week, some gifts will no doubt be presented to him on behalf of our Government in accordance with custom.

4. The attention of Mr. Speaker might be drawn to this note. It seems to me unnecessary to have a special question in Parliament over this very petty matter. But if he so wishes, I shall answer this question on the lines indicated above.

42. At the All India Police Sports Meet¹¹⁵

आप लोग हिन्दुस्तान के अलग-अलग हिस्सों से, अलग स्टेट्स से यहाँ जमा हुए। और सात-आठ दिन अलग तरह-तरह के खेलों में, गेम्स में आपने एक दोस्ती का मुकाबला एक-दूसरे का किया। और आज आखिरी दिन आपका, आप जमा हुए कि जिन्होंने इस मुकाबले में सबसे अच्छा अपना काम दिखाया। उनको उसकी यादगार इनाम के तौर पर कुछ मिले। यह तो ठीक है। लेकिन इसके पीछे कई बातें हैं। एक तो यह कि अब यहाँ सारे हिन्दुस्तान के पुलिस के प्रतिनिधि, कम से कम एक ढँग के, जो एथेलीट्स हमारे हैं, वो जमा हुए। जिससे ज़ाहिर होता है, कि हमारे देश में अलग-अलग प्रदेश हैं, हर प्रदेश का अलग एक पुलिस फोर्स है। लेकिन असल में सारे हिन्दुस्तान के पुलिस फोर्स की एकता है। आप सब हिन्दुस्तान के पुलिस में हैं। खाली अपने सूबे और प्रदेश की पुलिस में नहीं। यह बात याद रखने की है, हमेशा हमें। चाहे हमारा कोई भी पेशा हो, कोई भी काम हो। और विशेषकर जैसे हमारी फौज है और जैसे हमारी पुलिस है उनको खासतौर से याद रखना है।

114. Note, 7 February 1969.

115. Speech, 7 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

दूसरी बात यह है कि आप यहाँ आए। और ऐसे कामों में लगे, ऐसे खेलकूद में लगे। जिससे आपकी शारीरिक हालत अच्छी हो, तगड़ी हो और ज्यादा आप एक नमूना बनें, अच्छे शरीर और दिमाग का। हमारे देश में इसकी बहुत ज़रूरत है और आमतौर से हमारा स्टैण्डर्ड अच्छा नहीं है। तो खैर, पुलिस का तो अच्छा होना चाहिए। और आप लोगों को देखकर तगड़े जवानों को, मेरा दिल खुश हुआ। (तालियाँ)

कभी-कभी मुझे मौका मिलता है जैसे कि आज किसी सालाना जलसे में पुलिस के मैं शरीक होऊँ, हिस्सा लूँ। और कुछ देर उनको देखूँ। यों तो रोज़ ही देखना होता है, उनके काम में। क्योंकि पुलिस का काम जो है, वो कभी-कभी का नहीं है, वो रोज़-रोज़ का है, प्रतिदिन का है और रोज़ ज़िम्मेदारियाँ उठानी होती हैं। और कभी-कभी कठिन फैसले करने होते हैं। तो हमें जहाँ एक तरफ से इस बात को देखना है कि उनके ऊपर कितनी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ हैं, कितने मुश्किल सवाल होते हैं और जहाँ हमें यह कोशिश करनी है और आशा करनी है कि पूरे तौर से वो अदा करेंगे। उसी के साथ हमें पुलिस को या जो पुलिस जिनकी सेवा करती है। यानी आम लोग, आम जनता, उसको भी याद रखना है कि कितनी बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ और बोझ पुलिस के ऊपर होते हैं।

अक्सर पुलिस की शिकायत होती है और कभी-कभी, ठीक ठीक शिकायत होती है। यह नहीं, कि ग़लत हो। और उस शिकायत को दूर करने की कोशिश हमें हमेशा करनी चाहिए। लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी सब लोगों को याद रखना चाहिए कि पुलिस के जवानों को और अफसरों को कितना मुश्किल उनका काम है। वह काम पूरे तौर से तभी हो सकता है जब आम जनता में और पुलिस में, यानी सभों में एक सहयोग हो, एक दूसरे की कद्र हो, एक दूसरे का आदर करें। और एक-दूसरे की सहायता और मदद करें। अगर यह बात नहीं होती, तब वो काम ठीक नहीं होता। और न पुलिस का नाम ऊँचा होता, न देश का। तो इसलिए यह अव्वल बात याद रखनी है पुलिस के फोर्स को, कि उनका काम दिन और रात जनता के सम्बन्ध का है। इसलिए, उनको आम लोगों का, जनता का, सहयोग लेना है अपने कार्य से, अपनी सेवा से, अपनी भावना से उनको अपनी तरफ खींचना है। और उसी तरह से आम जनता को याद रखना है कि कोई पुलिस के फोर्स उनके मुखालिफ़ नहीं हैं, बल्कि उन्हीं के लोग हैं, उन्हीं के भाई हैं और उन्हीं की सेवा और ख़िदमत करने के लिए हैं। इसलिए उनका भी कर्तव्य है कि वह पूरी मदद उनको दें उस काम करने में। क्योंकि काम न उनका है, न पुलिस का काम है। वो तो देश का काम है, सभों का काम है। तो यह बातें हमें याद रखनी हैं हमेशा। लेकिन विशेषकर जब देश के सामने मुश्किल सवाल आएँ।

जब कोई देश आगे बढ़ता है, तो आगे बढ़ने के माने होते हैं कि नये-नये प्रश्न, नये-नये सवाल उसके सामने आएँ। सिर्फ उन्हीं लोगों के सामने सवाल नहीं आते जिनकी जीवन यात्रा ख़त्म हो गयी, जो मुर्दा से हो गये, उनके सामने सवाल क्या आएँगे? लेकिन जब कोई देश बढ़ता है, जब कोई व्यक्ति बढ़ता है तो उसके सामने सवाल आते हैं। उसके बढ़ने की एक निशानी होती है कि नये-नये कठिन सवाल आएँ और जैसे वो सवालों को हल करता है, उतना ही वो बढ़ता है।

हमारा देश पिछले दस बरसों में बहुत बदला है। हम जो हैं, रहते हैं शायद इस बात को न देखें। लेकिन जो बाहर से आते हैं उनको आश्चर्य होता है कि वो कितना बदल गया। कहीं भी जाएँ चाहे उत्तर में, चाहे दक्षिण में, पूरब या पश्चिम, चाहे हमारे शहरों में और थोड़ा बहुत हमारे देहातों में भी। तो बदला, बहुत बदला। लेकिन जितना हम चाहते हैं उतना नहीं बदला। क्योंकि

हमें इत्मीनान नहीं होता कि थोड़े से, हल्की चाल बढ़ने से। हम चाहते हैं कि देश तेज़ी से बढ़े और जैसे और दुनिया के देश खुशहाल हैं वैसे एक-एक व्यक्ति मर्द-औरत और बच्चा हमारे देश में भी खुशहाल हो। सारा देश आगे बढ़े। क्योंकि हमारे जो सवाल हैं, प्रश्न हैं, वो कुछ लोगों के नौकरी पाने के नहीं। वो सवाल कुछ लोगों की, कुछ हज़ार या लाख लोगों के नहीं, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाने का सारे देश के। वो ज़मी हो सकता है, एक तो यह कि जब पूरी एकता हो हममें, तभी ताक़त आती है, यह आप जानते हैं। दूसरे यह कि हम जो काम करें, उसको सारे भारत को याद रखके करें। कोई अपने गाँव के लिए, शहर के लिए और प्रदेश के लिए ख़ाली नहीं।

और तीसरे यह कि हमारे काम सच्चाई के हों और इमानदारी के हों। यह बहुत आवश्यक बात है और आपको याद होगा कि जो हमारी स्वराज की लड़ाई के सबसे बड़े अफ़सर और नेता थे- महात्मा गांधी, वो कितना इस बात पर ज़ोर देते थे। तो यह तो आवश्यक बात है। ख़ासकर ऐसे लोगों के लिए जो प्रतिदिन जनता से सम्बन्ध रखते हैं कि उनका नाम हो जनता में सच्चाई का और इमानदारी का। तभी उनका भरोसा होगा, तभी उनका असर होगा, तभी उनकी इज़्ज़त बढ़ेगी। और तभी असली सेवा देश की होगी। यह सब बातें हमें करनी हैं और उसके साथ हमें ऐसे रास्ते पर चलना है जिससे रोज़ ब रोज़ देश मज़बूत हो, तग़ड़ा हो, और आगे बढ़े।

हमारे सामने सवाल बहुत बड़े हैं। चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को उठाना, चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को पेट भरके खाना मिले, सबको, कपड़ा मिले अच्छा पहनने का, घर रहने का, उसके स्वास्थ्य का इंतज़ाम हो, उसके बच्चों और बड़ों का इंतज़ाम हो पढ़ाई का सबका। अभी तो नहीं होता, लेकिन होगा और बढ़ता जाता है। और सभी को काम मिले, क्योंकि बेकारी और बेरोज़गारी अच्छी नहीं देश में, न आदमी के लिए, न देश के लिए। यह तो बड़े काम हो गए न। और उसी काम से जनता का देश में धन दौलत पैदा हो। क्योंकि काम से पैदा होता है। कोई चीज़ बग़ैर परिश्रम और काम के नहीं होती। वो पैदा हो और उससे लोगों की हालत अच्छी होती जाये। यह बड़े सवाल हैं जिसमें जब तक कि हम मिलकर ज़ोरों से कोशिश न करें, हम नहीं पूरा कर सकते। और जितनी जल्दी हम पूरा करेंगे उतना ही जल्दी हम और भी बढ़ सकेंगे। तो यह इस माने में एक हमारे लिए बड़ा नाजुक मौक़ा है।

लेकिन दूसरी बात जिसकी भी आपने अभी एक झलक सी देखी, सुनी वो यह कि हर मुल्क का पहला काम यह होता है कि अपने-अपने देश भर के लोगों का, लोगों को हर मुल्क के, कि अपने देश की आज़ादी की रक्षा करें, हिफ़ाज़त करें, देश की रक्षा करें। क्योंकि अगर उसी बात को नहीं कर सकते, तो और बात क्या कर सकते हैं? यह पहला काम होता है और कुछ महीनों से हमारी सरहद पर ख़तरे नज़र आये हैं। हमारी सरहद के अंदर भी कुछ लोग आए हैं ग़ैर मुल्कों के। तो यह तो बहुत ग़लत बात है और हमें चौकन्ना करती है। एक उससे फ़ायदा हुआ कि हम एकदम से होशियार हो गए। ग़फ़लत से निकलें। कोई देश, कोई लोग, अपनी आज़ादी नहीं रख सकते अगर वह हर वक़्त जागते हुए होशियार न रहें, तैयार न रहें। जहाँ भूल हुई, जहाँ ढील हुई, आज़ादी फिसलने लगती है। यह दुनिया ऐसे लोगों के लिए नहीं है आरामतलब लोगों के लिए। बल्कि उनके लिए जो हर वक़्त एक कीमत देने को तैयार हैं अपनी आज़ादी की, और अपनी तरक्की की। न देश की तरक्की होती है बग़ैर कीमत के और न आज़ादी बचती है। वह कीमत क्या है? वो कीमत है हिम्मत और परिश्रम। काम से सब दुनिया में बात होती है। वो ज़माने गये

कि बेकारी, लोग बेकार बैठे हों और दुनिया के आराम से घिरे हों और उनकी इज्जत न हो। आजकल इज्जत होती है। और होनी चाहिए जो काम करते हैं लोग, सबसे ज़्यादा। और किसी का आप नाप चाहते हैं कौन ऊँचा, कौन नीचा तो काम के गज़ से नापिये। और कोई गज़ नहीं रहा है, और देश की सेवा के गज़ से। तो यह ख़तरे हमारे सामने हैं। तो इससे जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा एक फ़ायदा है कि हम लोग चौकन्ने हो गये और जो हमारे आपस के छोटे-मोटे झगड़े थे उनको भूलने लगे देखकर, कि इस वक़्त देश की मुल्क की पुकार है, भला है हम सभी के लिए। लेकिन यह भी न हो कि थोड़े दिन जागके फिर हम ऊँघने लगे। ये तो ग़लत बात है। ख़ैर, जहाँ तक हमारी फ़ौज या पुलिस फ़ोर्स है, वो तो ख़ास उसका काम है हर वक़्त होशियार रहना, जागे रहना, और अपना कर्तव्य पूरा करना। और उसको इस ढँग से करना चाहिए कि और लोग भी उससे सबक सीखें और इस बात को करें।

जिन लोगों को, हमारे ऐथलीट्स को, प्राइजेज़ मिली हैं आज, उनको बधाई और मुबारकबाद। और आप सब लोगों को भी मैं इस मौक़े पर दूर-दूर से आप आए हैं। और एक रूप दिखाया हमें हिन्दुस्तान के पुलिस फ़ोर्स का। तो आप सभी हो बधाई और एक यह आशा की कि आप रोज़ ब रोज़ तरक्की करेंगे और देश की सेवा मज़बूती से करेंगे। जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Officers, and Jawans of the Police Force,

You have gathered together from different parts of the country and taken part in different kinds of sports and games for the last seven to eight days in a friendly spirit. Today is the concluding day and we are assembled here for the prize distribution to those who have done better than the others. That is alright. But there are various things behind it. For one thing, this kind of gathering of athletes from the police force of the various states shows that there is unity in the force. All of you are India's policemen, not merely of your own province. This must always be borne in mind no matter what your profession may be, particularly the armed forces and the police force, etc.

Secondly, you have been taking part in games and sports which improve your physique and make you strong mentally and physically. This is very essential in our country where the general standard of physical stamina is not very good. The police force must be strong and so I was very happy to see you strong young men here [Applause].

Occasionally, I get the opportunity to participate in some annual police function as I have today and have a look at our policemen. Well, I do see them daily at their job because their work involves day-to-day jobs and responsibilities and sometimes tough decisions have to be taken. So, on the one hand we have to realise the difficult jobs that they have to do and the great responsibility they have to shoulder and hope that they will discharge their duties faithfully and well, and at the same time, the people whom the police force serves must remember the tremendous burden that it carries.

Often complaints are made against the police and perhaps they are justified. We must make an effort to remove the causes for such complaints. But at the same time, everyone must remember how difficult the task of police officers and Jawans is. They can discharge their duties fully well only when there is mutual cooperation between the people and the police, and respect for one another. Otherwise, the police cannot function properly. This is one thing to be borne in mind. The police force comes into contact with the people day and night. Therefore, they must seek the cooperation and trust of the people by their spirit of service. Similarly, the people must remember that the police force is not against them but is actually for them and a part of them stationed for their service. Therefore, it is their duty to help them in every possible way. The task is not only theirs or of the police, it is a national task, we must always remember this, but particularly when the country is facing difficult problems.

When a country is on the move, new problems and questions arise all the time. It is only the dead who do not have to face any problems. An individual or a nation which is growing and progressing has to face problems. In fact, that is a symbol of its growth, and the more problems that are solved, the greater becomes its stature.

India has changed a great deal in the last ten years, we who live in the country may not be able to appreciate it; but to outsiders it is a source of great amazement. Whether you go to the urban areas or the rural, in the North, South, East or West, you find tremendous changes. But the pace is not as fast as we would like it to be because it is not reassuring to progress at a slow pace. We want India to progress rapidly so that every single man, woman and child may become well-off as they are in the other countries of the world. We want the whole country to progress. The problem is not of providing jobs to a few thousands but of uplifting forty crores of Indians. That is possible only when there is complete unity in the country. Secondly, whatever we do, we must keep the larger Indian context in mind instead of thinking of one's village, town or state. Thirdly, there should be honesty and integrity among the people. This is very essential. You may remember the great emphasis Mahatma Gandhi, our great general in the freedom movement, used to lay on this. It is extremely important particularly in the case of people who come into daily contact with the masses. Only by honesty and integrity can they earn the trust and respect of the masses and serve the country well. We have to do all these things and at the same time follow a path which will make us stronger day by day.

There are gigantic problems before us, the problem of uplifting forty crores of people, and ensuring that they get enough to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, health-care facilities and education for the children, etc. At the moment, all this is not available to everyone but it will gradually increase. Everyone must get employment because unemployment is not a healthy thing either for an individual or the country. These are big tasks. We have to increase the wealth of

the nation by producing more goods. But nothing can be achieved without hard work. When production increases, the condition of the people will automatically improve. These are the great problems which cannot be solved without the complete cooperation and effort of all the people and the faster we do this, the more rapidly we will advance. So in this sense, this is a very critical juncture for us.

You have just caught a glimpse of another aspect of your duties, which is, that the foremost task of any country is to defend its freedom because if it is unable to do so, it can achieve nothing. Danger has been threatening on our borders for the last few months. There have been some incursions into our territory which is wrong and has alerted us. The advantage of this was that we immediately became vigilant. No country or people can hold on to their freedom without constant vigilance and preparedness. The slightest slackness will lead to freedom slipping away. The world today is not for those who want to relax but for people who are always prepared to pay the price for their freedom as well as progress. What is that price? It is hard work and courage. Hard work is essential for everything in this world. Gone are the days when the idle rich were held in respect. Today only those who are capable of working hard are held in respect. This should be the only yardstick before us. There are dangers threatening us. As I said, one advantage is that we have become vigilant and forgotten our petty problems in the call of the country. But we must not slacken after a little while. Our police force and the armed forces have to be particularly vigilant and discharge their duties well and in such a manner that others may also learn from them.

I congratulate the athletes who have won prizes. I congratulate all of you who are present here from far-off places and have shown us another aspect of the police force of India. I hope you will progress day by day and serve the country well. Jai Hind [Applause].

Translation ends.]

43. To Nityanand Kanungo: Performance Audit¹¹⁶

February 9, 1960

My dear Kanungo,

S.P. Chopra, the Auditor, came to see me today. I learnt from him that he had been appointed some kind of an Advisor to the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. Also, that he was the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Management Accounting.

116. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Commerce.

He told me that he had read a report of my speech delivered a few days ago, in which I had referred to an audit of performance. He was much interested in this subject and he would like the Committee of which he was the Chairman, to be asked to study the question as to how an appraisal of performance could be made and then apply it to one or two projects to begin with.

I rather liked the idea and told him to talk to you about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. To Swaran Singh: Using A. K. Shaha Better¹¹⁷

February 10, 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

The other day, at the Annual Conference of the Institution of Engineers,¹¹⁸ I gave away a prize on behalf of the Institution to A.K. Shaha for some special work he had done. A.K. Shaha has had a strange career. He was working at Bhilai for some time. I do not quite remember why he was pushed out of that place. Anyway, is it not possible to use a man who has a certain ability in this particular line? I enclose some papers he has given me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. To V.N. Kak: Ministers are not Officials¹¹⁹

February 12, 1960

My dear Ramji,¹²⁰

Your letter of the 5th February.

A Minister is not an official and he is not treated as an official. He is more important than an official in many ways. He is, in a sense, a vital authority for the various organisations which may function under him. A number of such cases have arisen before us and we found that it was embarrassing for the person who was often

117. Letter to the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

118. See item 111.

119. Letter to V. N. Kak of Vasundhara Farms, Jaipur, Rajasthan.

120. He was a kinsman of Kamala Nehru's and was known as Ramji by his Nehru relations.
Personal communication from V. N. Kak.

the official authority to be the head of one of the subordinate organisations. If this organisation belongs to another Ministry, then there are further difficulties and two Ministers may disagree.

Therefore, we came to this conclusion as a general principle. A Minister can always help in many ways.

So far as cooperative organisation is concerned, this rule, I think, should be observed although it might be relaxed for a few months if necessity arises.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. In the Rajya Sabha: Forged Passports and Deportations¹²¹

INDIAN REFUSED PERMISSION TO LAND IN LONDON

Nawab Singh Chauhan:¹²² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to State:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news item which appeared in the *Times of India*, Delhi edition, of the 3rd January last to the effect that five Indians who had arrived at Manchester from Zurich by air, were not allowed to get down there and later on they were arrested in London and were sent back to Zurich;
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what are the details of the incident; and
- (c) whether any steps are being taken by Government in this connection and if so, what are those steps?

Lakshmi Menon: (a) and (b) Yes, but as stated in this news item, they were not arrested but only detained till they could be sent back to Zurich. These persons tried to enter the United Kingdom on forged passports and in accordance with the usual practice they were refused permission to enter into that country and were sent back at the expense of the carriers to Zurich, the last port of their embarkation.

(c) Government have authorized their Embassy in Berne to repatriate these persons to India as soon as they approach the Embassy and express their desire to be repatriated.

121. Reply to questions, 18 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1073-78.

122. Congress, MP from UP.

नवाबसिंह चौहान : यह तो कुछ ऐसे केसेज़ हैं जो प्रकाश में आ गये, ज़ाहिर हो गये और उनके ऊपर ऐक्शन ले लिया गया। कुछ ऐसे भी हो सकते हैं जो वहाँ पहले से फोर्ज्ड पासपोर्ट पहुँच गये हों। तो जो वहाँ पासपोर्ट से रह रहे हैं, क्या सरकार ने उनकी कोई स्कूटनी करवाई है और इस बात की जाँच की है कि क्या उनमें भी कुछ ऐसे हैं जो फोर्ज्ड पासपोर्ट से गये हुये हैं?

[Translation begins:

Nawab Singh Chauhan: These are the cases which came to light, therefore action was taken. There may be some people who may have travelled there on forged passports. Has the Government investigated those who may be staying there on forged passports?

Translation ends.]

Lakshmi Menon: A few people have entered the U.K. on forged passports. It is for the U.K. Government to see what should be done.

नवाबसिंह चौहान : भारत के किस हिस्से से यह लोग जाते हैं? क्या सरकार ने इस बात की जाँच कराई है कि ये किस लिये वहाँ जाते हैं और इनको रोकने के लिये सरकार ने क्या-क्या क़दम उठाये हैं?

[Translation begins:

Nawab Singh Chauhan: From which part of India are they? Has the Government inquired into their reasons for going there; what has it done to stop them?

Translation ends.]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह एक पुराना मामला है जिसने काफी परेशानी हमको दी है। और, और मुल्कों को दी है जहाँ यह लोग जाते हैं। चुनाँचे बहुत सारे ऐसे पकड़े गये और हमने हवाई जहाज़ के अड्डों पर बहुत सख्ती की। यह लोग प्लेन्स चार्टर करके जाया करते थे और वहाँ से जाना किसी क़दर बन्द हुआ। फिर यह कहिये कि हमारी यह ग़फ़लत ग़लत हो गई कि हमने यह नहीं सोचा था कि कोचीन से कोई जा सकता है समुद्री जहाज़ से। वहाँ समुद्री जहाज़ चार्टर हुये और इस तरह कोचीन से कई सौ आदमी गये। अब कोचीन में काफी इंतज़ाम हो गया है। सवाल यह है कि जो वहाँ पहुँच गये हैं उनका क्या किया जाये। कुछ लोग वापस आ गये हैं। बाकी वापस तभी लाये जा सकते हैं जब वे कब्ज़े में आयें। वे वहाँ के आबादी में खो जाते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: It's an old matter which has troubled us as well as the countries they go to. Airport security has been tightened and a large number have been caught. They used to take chartered planes; this has been stopped. We were caught unawares when these people boarded ships from Cochin, which we had not considered. Ships were chartered and several hundreds managed to get out through Cochin. Now adequate arrangements have been made at Cochin. The question is what to do about those who have already reached there. Some have returned. The rest can be brought back only if they are caught; but they melt into the population.

Translation ends.]

Maheswar Naik:¹²³ May I know to what extent the Government of India have been successful in unearthing the sources which are responsible for the issue of these forged passports?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This appears to us to be a fairly widespread business, having its main bases in the Punjab and in Delhi and in one or two other places. An enquiry on a wide scale had been going on and we have received some information. We are pursuing that and I cannot give any further information because the matter will go to a court of law.

Jaswant Singh:¹²⁴ It was said that these people were sent back by air to Zurich. I would like to know who paid the fare, whether these people paid the fare or the U.K. Government or somebody else.

Jawaharlal Nehru: When the first lot reached England, they were stopped and the U.K. Government sent them back at their expense. The normal rule is that if a carrier takes any person who is not authorised to travel, it is the carrier that has to bring the person back, whether it is a steamship company or air company or anything. So they came back from England; it was an arrangement by the U.K. Government and I do not know if the carrier paid for it. Anyhow, we did not pay. The difficulty arose in Italy because the Italian Government refused to pay that and the ships had already landed them and gone away. We did not think it right for us to take the liability. It will be a bad precedent and so we did not. And for some time these people were kept in camps by the Italian Government at some place in Italy. After some time the Italian Government told them that they could go away if they wanted to. Some of them left and they went to England. They

123. Congress, MP from Orissa.

124. Independent, MP from Rajasthan.

were apprehended – some of them – in Berne and other places. Ultimately we decided to repatriate them at our expense on some kind of an assurance or undertaking given by them that they will pay that money.

Faridul Haq Ansari:¹²⁵ What will happen to these who refuse to be repatriated in Italy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They simply will have to shift for themselves.

Bhupesh Gupta:¹²⁶ The Prime Minister had also earlier said that it was the responsibility of the carrier to pay. May I know, Sir, what steps the Government had taken to make the carriers here fulfil these obligations, especially in respect of those who had got their offices on our soil and within the jurisdiction of the Government of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The carriers in this particular case were a number of steamship companies, I think Italian companies, and we have very little to do with them, control over them. It was the Italian Government that should have dealt with them.

D. H. Variava:¹²⁷ Is it a fact that there is a rule among the Commonwealth countries that once a person under an invalid passport or forged passport enters, say, Britain or any other commonwealth country, and later on he is found out, there is a convention that he could not be externed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. There is that convention and that created some difficulty for us in so far as England was concerned. The British Government wanted to find out from us whether we could certify all these people as Indian nationals. Well, as a matter of fact, it was not easy for us to certify everybody. When a person has a forged passport we cannot certify even though he may be of Indian descent. Some of them came, I believe, from Singapore, Hong Kong, and odd places via India. So, we told them that while many of them may be Indian nationals, we could not give them certificates. Because we said we could not give that certificate, they sent them back. But we told them: "If you send them to India, we shall deal with them here."

R.B. Gour:¹²⁸ Will the hon. Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the difficulty in repatriation arises from the fact that Government of India is also

125. PSP, MP from UP.

126. CPI, MP from West Bengal.

127. Congress, MP from Bombay State.

128. CPI, MP from Andhra Pradesh.

thinking that they have committed a crime, when really they were victims of a fraud played on them and whether the Government is prepared to take them back to India free? In fact, those who played the fraud on them had given forged passports.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Those persons who are in possession of forged passports are presumably guilty, though it may well be said that those who have passed on those forged passports to them are still more guilty, and they should be apprehended. The enquiries and the cases being instituted and those pending are in relation to those persons.

47. In the Lok Sabha: Report of Organisation and Methods Division¹²⁹

प्रधानमन्त्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मन्त्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, श्री माथुर¹²⁹ को मैं बधाई दूँगा कि वह इस प्रस्ताव को लाए। इसके माने यह नहीं हैं कि जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा है मैं उससे सहमत हूँ बल्कि यह सवाल ऐसा है कि इस पर अक्सर हमारा ध्यान आना चाहिए। सवाल क्या है? अभी मैं श्री ब्रजराज सिंह का भाषण सुन रहा था। उन्होंने कहा कि मूल उद्देश्य क्या है। जहाँ तक मैं समझा हूँ, उन्होंने जो मूल उद्देश्य बयान किया है उससे कोई सम्बन्ध इस सवाल का नहीं है। वह बहुत माकूल बात है अपनी जगह पर। लेकिन इस प्रश्न से उसका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। उन्होंने एक किस्सा बयान किया कि प्रधानमन्त्री को छोड़कर और मंत्रियों की इज़्जत नहीं होती जितनी कि एक एस.डी.ओ. की होती है। मैं नहीं जानता यह बात कहाँ तक सही है। मेरा खयाल था कि ऐसा बिलकुल नहीं होता बल्कि इसका उलटा होता है। इसको सुनकर मुझे एक कहानी याद आयी। एक लड़के पर फौजदारी का एक मुकदमा था। वह मुकदमा अपील में हाई कोर्ट में गया और हाई कोर्ट के जज ने उसको छोड़ दिया। तो उसकी माँ ने कहा कि हुजूर कोतवाल हों। आप ने बड़ा इन्साफ़ किया है। उस बेचारी औरत के सामने तो कोतवाल ही रहता था हर वक़्त, वह उससे परेशान रहती थी, वह क्या समझ सकती थी कि कोतवाल के भी कोई ऊपर हो सकता है। तो हो सकता है कि जिनको रोज़मर्रा छोटे अफ़सरों से काम रहता हो, उन्होंने उनको परेशान किया हो। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि जब हिन्दुस्तान में इस बारे में बहुत कम लोगों को ग़लतफ़हमी रही होगी कि मिनिस्टर की क्या हैसियत है। अब यह और बात है कि कोई मिनिस्टर ही निकम्मा आदमी हो और वह अपने इल्म से और अपने काम से असर न पैदा कर सकता हो, तो यह और बात है। यह तो हर आदमी की क्वालिटी पर होता है कि उसका कितना असर हो। लेकिन मिनिस्टर की जगह क्या है इसको आज सब जानते हैं।

129. Reply to questions, 22 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, XXXIX, cols. 2212-2227.

130. Harish Chandra Mathur, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Pali, Rajasthan.

तो उन्होंने ज़िक्र किया था मूल उद्देश्य का और इस बात पर जोर दिया कि यह स्टील फ्रेम है और यह है, वह है। एक और सदस्य, जैन ने कहा कि यह ब्यूरोक्रेसी है। यह अजीब शब्द हमारे दिमाग में फँस गया है। जिसके आजकल के ज़माने में कोई खास माने नहीं हैं। हर दफ्तरी कार्रवाई ब्यूरोक्रेसी है, हर गवर्नमेंट के दफ्तर में ब्यूरोक्रेसी है। आजकल की गवर्नमेंट बड़ी पेचीदा है और उसमें और भी ज़्यादा ब्यूरोक्रेसी होती है। जितना समाजवाद आयेगा उतनी ही ब्यूरोक्रेसी बढ़ेगी। लेकिन जब हम पुराने ज़माने में ब्यूरोक्रेसी की शिकायत करते थे वह तो इसलिए करते थे कि वह हमारी छाती पर बैठी थी, इसलिए नहीं कि वह ब्यूरोक्रेसी थी। तो इन दोनों बातों में फर्क है। तो आज ब्यूरोक्रेसी शब्द के कोई माने नहीं हैं। यह जो आजकल इसका बार-बार इस्तेमाल किया जाता है यह ग़लत है। आजकल का समाज बहुत पेचीदा है। गवर्नमेंट के मुलाज़िमों के अलावा और भी बहुत से लोग समाज के काम में लगे हैं। आपकी इंडस्ट्रीज़ बढ़ रही हैं और कारख़ाने बढ़ रहे हैं। जिस तरह से आप इन कामों के लिए ट्रेंड इंजीनियरों को भेजते हैं, इसी तरह से इन पेचीदा मामलों में, गवर्नमेंट के एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एपेरेटस में ट्रेंड आदमियों की ज़रूरत है। इसके लिए जब बहुत ट्रेंड आदमी हों, तभी काम चल सकता है। आप अब ऑडिटर जनरल को लीजिए। अगर आप कहें कि इस काम के लिए ट्रेंड आदमी न लीजिए बल्कि जनता के प्रतिनिधि लीजिए तो यह कहाँ तक सही है। जनता का प्रतिनिधि ऑडिटर जनरल का काम किस तरह से कर सकेगा? वह कुछ नहीं कर सकेगा, घबरा जायेगा और परेशान हो जायेगा। आप किसी कारख़ाने में लीजिए यही बात आपके सामने आयेगी। गवर्नमेंट का काम बड़ा पेचीदा है। इसको ट्रेंड आदमी ही कर सकते हैं। हाँ, उसूल की बातों की दूसरी बात है। उनके लिए ट्रेनिंग की ज़रूरत नहीं है। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट के काम के लिए जितने ज़्यादा आदमी ट्रेंड होंगे उतना ही अच्छा होगा। उसमें न ब्यूरोक्रेसी से मतलब है न जनता से मतलब है। जनता तो हुकुम देने वाली है। सही काम करने वाले तो दूसरे ही होंगे। जनता के प्रतिनिधि मिनिस्टर हैं लेकिन आमतौर से मिनिस्टर यह नहीं करते कि बस बैठ के और एक आदमी का ट्रांसफर कर दिया, किसी को मुक़र्रर कर दिया और किसी को निकाल दिया। यह काम मिनिस्टर का नहीं है। यह तो गवर्नमेंट का है। यह तो इतना अदना काम है कि यह तो आपके पब्लिक सर्विस तक के सामने नहीं आता। तो मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि आजकल गवर्नमेंट का काम पेचीदा, है, आप किसी कारख़ाने में जायें, जितनी बड़ी-बड़ी मिनिस्ट्रीज़ हैं सभी में यही हाल है। मिनिस्ट्रीज़ क्या हैं वह तो बड़े-बड़े साम्राज्य हैं। यह मैं उनके फैलाव के लिहाज़ से कहता हूँ। इतना-इतना फैलाव हो गया है कि उसको दिमाग में रखना मुश्किल है। चुनाँचे आपको इस काम के लिए ट्रेंड आदमी चाहिए। आजकल की दुनिया का काम ट्रेंड आदमी ही चला सकते हैं, चाहे वह काम प्राइवेट सेक्टर का हो या पब्लिक सेक्टर का हो। और हमारी दिक्कत यह है कि जिस तेज़ी से हमारा काम बढ़ा है उस तेज़ी से ट्रेनिंग नहीं बढ़ी है। ट्रेनिंग नहीं बढ़ी है इसके क्या माने? हमारे जो ऊपर के लोग हैं ब्यूरोक्रेसी में, वह ज़्यादातर अच्छे हैं और इतने अच्छे हैं कि अपनी तरह के किसी भी मुल्क के आदमियों का मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। ज़ाहिर है कि मैं हर एक के बारे में यह चीज़ नहीं कह सकता। लेकिन इनमें एवरेज लोग काफी अच्छे हैं। उनमें भी कभी-कभी कुछ कसर हो सकती है उसका मैं ज़िक्र करूँगा। लेकिन जो दिक्कत हुई वह यही कि हमारा काम तेज़ी से बढ़ा। और दफ्तर तेज़ी से बढ़े और जो लोग उनमें भर्ती हुए उनकी ट्रेनिंग कोई खास अच्छी नहीं है। सिर्फ़ नक़ल करने को और फॉरवर्ड करने

को उनकी ट्रेनिंग है। तो ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा भर्ती जब हो जाती है और काम ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा हो जाता है तो परचे भी बहुत इधर से उधर जाते हैं। इसके अलावा जो पुराने कायदे कानून थे वह छोटे स्टाफ के लिये तो ठीक थे। पहले छोटा और अच्छा ट्रैंड स्टाफ था, वह एक दूसरे से मशविरा कर लेते थे और नोट भी भेज देते थे। लेकिन जब दो आदमियों की जगह दस आदमी हो जायेंगे तो काम भी दस गुना बढ़ जायेगा और नोट भी ज़्यादा लिखे जायेंगे। तो गरज़ यह है कि जहाँ काम इतना ज़्यादा बढ़ा है तो उसकी क्वालिटी कम हो गयी है। और ऐसा होना ही था। इसके माने यह नहीं हैं कि जो ऊपर के काम करने वाले हैं उनकी क्वालिटी कम है। उनकी क्वालिटी बहुत ऊँची है। लेकिन जब एक चीज़ को फैलाया जाता है तो वह पतली हो जाती है, वह थिन आउट हो जाती है। हज़ारों आदमी हमारे यहाँ काम करते हैं, हर किस्म के लोग हैं। अच्छे दिमाग के हैं, कम दिमाग के हैं, आखिर सब एक से दिमाग के तो हो नहीं सकते। लेकिन सब मिलाकर उनकी क्वालिटी कम होती जा रही है, हालांकि ऊपर की क्वालिटी अच्छी है। उनकी क्वालिटी में जो एक बुराई हो सकती है वह यह कि वह अभी तक एक ढँग के आदी थे। अब दूसरा ढँग आ गया। उसी में एडेप्टेशन में वक़्त लगता है। और यह एडेप्टेशन भी बहुत कुछ हो गया है। उसमें कोई ख़ास दिक्कत नहीं है। तो यह सवाल है और इसके लिए यह कहना ठीक नहीं होगा कि यह स्टील फ्रेम है और इसका जनता से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ यह बात नहीं है। लेकिन जो सवाल हमें परेशान करता है वह यह कि जो काम करने का पुराना ढँग था वह ख़ासा अच्छा था। लेकिन पुराने ज़माने के लिए। लेकिन वह ढँग आजकल के फैलाव के काम में और बड़े टेक्निकल और इंडस्ट्रियल कामों में काफी नहीं है। एक तो देरी होती है। उसके लिये भी हमारी मिनिस्ट्रीज़ काफी होशियार हो गयी हैं। फ़र्ज़ कीजिये कॉमर्स और इंडस्ट्रीज़ मिनिस्ट्री है। मैं सारी मिनिस्ट्री के लिये नहीं कहता, कहीं देरी हो सकती है। लेकिन जो ऊपर के अफ़सर हैं वह काफी होशियार हैं? काफी अच्छा काम करते हैं और दुनिया में उनका किसी से मुकाबला किया जा सकता है। वह नम्बर दो पर नहीं हैं। तो आजकल हमारी मिनिस्ट्रीज़ में अच्छे से अच्छे लोग हैं। इसी तरह से आप फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री को लीजिये।

तो दिक्कत हो रही है दो तरह से। एक तो पुराने काम करने के तरीकों की वजह से। वह तरीके बहुत माकूल थे पुरानी दुनिया के लिये। पुरानी दुनिया से मेरा यह मतलब नहीं है कि मैं ब्यूरोक्रेसी वगैरह की बात लाना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन मेरा मतलब यह है कि जिस दायरे में वह काम करते थे, जो बातें उनके सामने थीं उनको वह अच्छी तरह से करते थे। आसानी से करते थे, बगैर दौड़धूप के करते थे। लेकिन अब उस तरह का काम नहीं है। एक शख्स ने मुझसे कहा था, मैं नहीं जानता कि यह कहाँ तक सही है, मुझसे सिविल सर्विस के एक सीनियर आदमी ने कहा था कि पुराने ज़माने के मुकाबले में आज काम सौ गुना बढ़ गया है। सौ गुना बढ़ा है, खयाल कीजिए कि हन्ड्रेड टाइम्स बढ़ा है। और उसी के सिलसिले में बहुत सारे लोग नये-नये भर्ती हुए, जिनकी ट्रेनिंग नहीं थी और बहुत सारे प्रोमोशंस हुए, वगैरह। तो क्वालिटी काम की कुछ कम हो गई। हल्के-हल्के वह बराबर हो जायेगी और हमारे सामने नये किस्म के काम आये। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि हमारे सामने एक काम है, हमारा पब्लिक सेक्टर बढ़ रहा है और उसमें ऊँचे दर्जे के लोग, जनरल मैनेजर्स और डायरेक्टर्स वगैरह चाहिए। अब आमतौर से वह पेशा तो नहीं था पुराने ज़माने के लोगों का। यह नया पेशा है। यह नहीं कि वे नया पेशा नहीं कर सकते, लेकिन यह नया पेशा है। इस

क्विस्म के सवाल उठते हैं। एक तो महज़ बड़े हो जाने के। लेकिन ये सवाल हिन्दुस्तान के खाली नहीं हैं। हर बड़े मुल्क में, जहाँ पिछले ज़माने में सरकारी काम बढ़ गया है, यह सवाल आ रहे हैं। आप पढ़िए। बड़ी-बड़ी रिपोर्ट्स हैं। हर मुल्क से रिपोर्ट्स निकल रही हैं। अमेरिका से, जहाँ देखो, वहाँ रिपोर्ट निकल रही है कि काम इतना बढ़ गया है कि कैसे उसका सामना करें? मामूली सवाल है। कहीं ज़रा अच्छाई से करते हैं, कहीं दिक्कत से। हमारे यहाँ चूँकि कई बातें साथ हुई इंकलाब हुआ, स्वराज्य आया, नये लोग आये, पार्टिशन हुआ, बहुत सारी बातों ने कुछ गड़बड़ी पैदा की। जिसे हम हल्के-हल्के सम्भाल रहे हैं। लेकिन बुनियादी सवाल यह है कि काम बहुत बढ़ गया है, और उसके लिये लोग काफी ट्रेंड नहीं है। घूमघाम कर बात उस पर आती है। माननीय सदस्य कहते हैं कि कमेटी बनाओ। मुझे कमेटी बनाने में क्या ऐतराज़ है, लेकिन मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि कमेटी इस जंगल से कभी निकल नहीं सकती। चार पाँच कमेटी में बैठकर सवाल करें। मैं दस बारह बरस में अब तक एक्सटर्नल अफेयर्स की छोटी-सी मिनिस्ट्री को नहीं समझा और लम्बी चौड़ी और मिनिस्ट्रीज़ हैं, सब हैं। क्योंकि मेरा दिमाग उधर नहीं जाता है। कुछ दिमाग तो जा सकता है, अगर वक़्त दूँ। मैं वक़्त देने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि छोटी-छोटी एक-एक कार्रवाई को मैं पकड़ूँ और देखूँ कि सेक्शन का हेड क्या करता है? कौन क्या करता है? लेकिन कोई कमेटी इस तरह बैठकर करे, तो वह खो जायेगी। हाँ, कमेटी उसूल ले डाउन कर सकती है। कमेटी बातें माकूल कह सकती है।

Harish Chandra Mathur : I never contended that the committee should go and do the working. It is a committee of direction.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह समझा जाता है कि बहुत बड़े-बड़े उसूल की बातें हैं। उनको तय कर दें, तो सब ठीक हो जायेगा। यह उसूल की बात तो है ही नहीं। इसमें उसूल कहाँ है? एक आदमी एक काम को तेज़ी से, एफिशियन्सी के साथ, किफ़ायत के साथ करे, यह उसूल नहीं है। यह मामूली बात है, जो हर एक दफ़्तर को करनी है, चाहे आपकी कोई नीति हो, कोई पॉलिसी हो, कोई गवर्नमेंट हो। उसको वही लोग कर सकते हैं, जो तफ़्सील में जाएँ, डिटेल् में जाएँ और कोई ज़रिया नहीं है उसको देखने के लिये।

इस बेचारे ओ.एण्ड.एम. डिवीज़न से आप नाराज़ होते हैं। यह ओ.एण्ड.एम. डिवीज़न है क्या चीज़। अव्वल तो, मुझे ताज़्जुब होता है यह जानकर, यह कहकर कि जो चीज़ गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इंडिया में शुरू होती है, वह फैलती जाती है नम्बर में, हर बात में। बेचारे ओ.एण्ड.एम. डिवीज़न में एक अफ़सर है, दो उनके असिस्टेंट और दो मुहर्नर-दो या तीन, जो कुछ हों। बिल्कुल छोटा सा ग्रुप है। जहाँ तक यह शिकायत है कि उस पर रुपया खर्च होता है, बहुत खर्च नहीं होता है कम होता है। और उसका काम यह है कि वह और मिनिस्ट्रीज़ से जाकर मशवरा करे और यह कोशिश करे कि वे किफ़ायत करें। उसके वे बड़े-बड़े काम नहीं हैं, जो कि माननीय सदस्य ने बताये हैं। उसका काम बिल्कुल महदूद है कि जो काम मिनिस्ट्रीज़ में होता है, वह कैसे ज़्यादा एफिशियन्सी के साथ और किफ़ायत के साथ हो। बस। श्री माथुर ने कहा कि इतने डिस्पोजल्स होते हैं, दस हज़ार, बीस हज़ार। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि इस नम्बर के कोई खास मायने नहीं हैं, सिवाय इसके कि इसका भी कुछ न कुछ एवरेज सिखा देता है। एक फिगर नहीं सिखाता, लेकिन अगर आप

दस बारह महीने बाद बरस-बरस का देखें तो उससे आप कुछ जज कर सकते हैं कि काम बढ़ा है या नहीं। ऊँच-नीच बराबर हो जाती है। आप नहीं कह सकते कि किसी औरत को जो बच्चा होने वाला है, वह मेल होगा या फीमेल होगा। कोई नहीं कह सकता है। कोई ज्योतिषी भी नहीं कह सकता है।

स. मो. बनर्जी:¹³¹ हमारे देश में कहते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : लेकिन आप नहीं कह सकते बिलकुल नहीं, लेकिन आप यह डेफेनटली कह सकते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में क्या पर्सन्टेज होगी मेल बच्चों की और क्या फीमेल बच्चों की। काफी एक्युरेसी के साथ आप कह सकते हैं कि 51 पर्सन्ट होगी यह। क्योंकि जब आप लार्ज एरिया को देखते हैं, तो मैथमेटिकल प्रॉवेबिलिटी के लॉज आ जाते हैं। एक केस में नहीं आते हैं। कोई ज़रिया नहीं है। इसलिये डिस्पोजल्स के वे फ़िगर्स भी आप को कुछ न कुछ बताते हैं, हालांकि बहुत अहमियत नहीं रखते हैं। लेकिन ओ.एण्ड.एम. डिवीज़न का मतलब यह है कि उस काम को जो करते हैं उसकी जो बुनियाद है, उसको आप तय कीजिये, उसके उद्देश्य को आप तय कीजिये-जो काम होता है, वह ज़्यादा एफ़िशियन्सी से और ज़्यादा फुर्ती से हो। मेरा खयाल है कि इस काम में उन्होंने कुछ कामयाबी दिखाई है। मुझे कोई शक नहीं है। वह मेरी मिनिस्ट्री में आये। मैंने देखा कि हमारी मिनिस्ट्री से उनके मशवरा करने से, उनकी राय पर चलने से कुछ फ़ायदा हुआ, किफ़ायत हुई। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। यह कागज़ पर है। जितना आप चाहते हैं, उतना न हुआ हो, यह अलग बात है। लेकिन कुछ किफ़ायत हुई और तेज़ी से काम होने लगा। हमने उनके मशवरे से, जो एक-दूसरे को रेफ़रेन्स होते हैं, वे दो-तीन निकाल दिये, ख़त्म कर दिये हैं। अब छल्लांग मारकर एक छोटा अफ़सर दूसरे के पास जाता है। काफी न हुई हो, लेकिन कुछ तरक्की हुई। यह कहना कि वह एक ड्रैग हो गया, छाती पर बैठ गया, दबाता है काम को, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई।?

त्यागी:¹³² वह मिनिस्ट्रियों से जो इत्तला माँगता है, वह तमाम इन्फ़र्मेशन सप्लाई करने से उन पर काम बहुत बढ़ जाता है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : हो सकता है। मैं नहीं जानता। मेरे पास कोई ख़ास शिकायत तो आई नहीं। असल में उसी का एक चचेरा भाई है, जिसका ज़िक्र इन्होंने किया। उसका नाम है। एस.आर.यू. तो वो तो साथ मिलकर काम करते हैं। वह फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री में है और यह होम मिनिस्ट्री में है। लेकिन रिश्ता करीब का है। उसने शुरु किया है, जिसको कहते हैं वर्क्स स्टडी। मैं नहीं जानता कि यह कहाँ शुरु हुई, अमेरिका में या इंग्लैण्ड में। लेकिन शायद ठीक मालूम नहीं यह प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्री में शुरु हुई— अमेरिका में, जहाँ कि बहुत ज़ोरो की एफ़िशियन्सी की ज़रूरत होती है। हाथ इधर से उधर दो दफ़ा न जाये, एक दफ़ा जाये, क्योंकि इससे मास प्रोडक्शन में फ़र्क हो जाता है। उसमें यह आई, होते-होते अब वह गवर्नमेंट में आने लगी। तीन-चार बरस हुए मैं इंग्लैण्ड में था, तो मैं

131. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Kanpur, UP.

132. Mahavir Tyagi.

उस में गया। मैंने देखा कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट में वर्क्स स्टडी का क्या नतीजा है। उसे देखकर मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ कि सरकारी दफ्तरों में उन्होंने कितना किफ़ायत की है, कितने लोग उनके ज़्यादा हो गए, ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा। मैंने ब्रिटिश नेवी में देखा। वैसे आर्मी और नेवी में ये बातें शायद कम देखी जाती हैं। लार्ड माउंटबेटन ने तबज्जो दिलाई। उन्होंने दिखाया कि कैसे उनका नेवी का दफ्तर का काम एक चौथाई हो गया। काम उतना ही हुआ, आदमी कम हो गये, खर्च कम हो गया। वर्क्स स्टडी का मेथड यह है कि क्लोज़ली स्टडी करना, इसमें उसूल की बात नहीं है - कि क्या काम करते हैं, कैसे ज़्यादा आसानी से, कि वक्त बचाकर काम हो सकता है। वह हमने यहाँ स्टडी किया। किसी सदस्य ने बताया कि उसी की वजह से हाई कमीशन, लंदन में काफी किफ़ायत हुई। और जगह में हो रही है ये सब प्रोसेसिज़, एक्सपर्ट प्रोसेसिज़ हैं, जिनका सिद्धान्त से, मूल उद्देश्य से कोई मतलब नहीं है, कि जो कोई काम किया जाये, वह कैसे किया जाये? दफ्तरों स्टेप्स क्या हैं? जिससे वह जल्दी हो और किफ़ायत से हो। उसी तरफ हमने हमेशा ध्यान देना चाहिए और हम दे रहे हैं।

मेरा ख़याल है कि वर्क्स स्टडी और ओ.एण्ड.एम. दोनों मिलकर कुछ न कुछ पेश करेंगे। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि किसी काम को भी आप शुरू करें। पहले वह ज़रा ज़्यादा जान दिखाता है, फिर हल्के-हल्के वह ठंडा होने लगता है, कुछ आम ढर्रे में पड़ जाता है। हो सकता है कि ओ.एण्ड.एम. डिवीज़न भी उसी ढर्रे में पड़ गया हो। हालांकि अब कुछ फिर उसमें ताज़गी आ रही है, कुछ नये लोग वहाँ गये हैं। लेकिन यह समझ लिया जाना चाहिए कि कुछ महदूद सा काम है और दो चार आदमी ही हैं जो यह काम करते हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि किफ़ायत जो हुई है वह लाखों की हुई है, दस गुना और पचास गुना किफ़ायत हुई है और काम तेज़ी से होने लगा है। लेकिन यह काफी नहीं है।

श्री माथुर ने कहा कि शिकायतें हुई हैं और उन्होंने कुछ शिकायतों की भी हैं। जोकि सही हो सकती हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे ऑफिशियल्स को कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि जो नये-नये तरीक़े निकलें उनको वे करें। इस वक्त मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो वर्क स्टडी का सिलसिला हो रहा है, इसको ज़रा पक्के तौर से हम देखें, आजमायें, कहाँ कहाँ क्या हो रहा है? और उसमें अगर कोई तजवीज़ पेश करें, कोई इशारा करें, कोई ख़राबी बतायें तो फ़ौरन ध्यान दिया जायेगा। मुझे कमेटी या कमीशन मुर्करर करने में कोई ख़तरा नहीं है। लेकिन सारे मैदान में कमीशन का मुर्करर करना, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है। अगर एक ख़ास बात को पकड़कर उसकी जाँच करनी है तो कमेटी बैठे। और इसकी जाँच करे। लेकिन सारी गवर्नमेंट की कार्रवाई की जाँच करे, इस जंगल में वह जाँच करे, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है।

यहाँ पर कुछ मिसालें दी गई हैं और स्टेट्स का हवाला दिया गया है। इनसे हमारे ओ.एण्ड.एम. का कोई मतलब नहीं है। गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इंडिया के जो दफ्तर हैं, यहाँ या और जगहों पर, उनसे ही इसका मतलब है। इस वास्ते मैं उन मिसालों की तरफ जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। त्यागी जी ने कहा कि मिनिस्टर अगर हुकुम दे दे और सेक्रेटरी कर दे तो वह हो जायेगा। यह बात हमेशा तो नहीं लेकिन आमतौर से सही है। मगर उसमें कुछ दिक्कत आ गई है। मिनिस्ट्रीज़ जैसे मैंने कहा इतनी बड़ी है—सब तो नहीं लेकिन ज़्यादातर—कि वे साम्राज्य हैं, एम्पायरस की तरह फैली हुई हैं। फिर वे एक-दूसरे को ओवरलैप भी करती हैं, कभी इख़्तियारात के मामलों में, कभी दूसरे मामलों में जिससे कुछ दिक्कत और डिले भी होती है और यह तब होता है जब दो मिनिस्ट्रीज़ का जोड़ हो जाता है

किसी मामले में। उस वक्त एक इधर खींचती है और दूसरी उधर खींचती है। मिनिस्टर के पास तो वह चीज़ देर से आती है, नीचे ही वह खींचतान होती रहती है। बमुश्किल फिर वह मिनिस्टर के पास आती है। तो या तो तय हो जाती है या फिर मैं बीच में आता हूँ या कैबिनेट बीच में आती है। उन बातों को हटाने की ज़रूरत है। इन चीज़ों को हटाने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए। इस वक्त हमेशा हमारी कोशिश एक तो किफ़ायत करने की होनी चाहिए और दूसरे काम को जल्दी करने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए। तो इस वक्त खासतौर से उधर हमारी तक्जो गई और परेशानी हुई। इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना है और दूसरे-दूसरे काम हैं। और उनके बारे में हमने देखा कि काम चलता नहीं है इस तरह से। और खासतौर से हमारा खयाल यह था कि जो बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं, उनके बारे में चीज़ों का यहाँ आना, इजाज़त लेना कि यह हो, यह न हो, दस हजार रुपये खर्च करना चाहते हैं और किसी बात पर मामला एक महीने भर टँगा रहा। तो ये बातें फ़िजूल की हैं देखने में। हमारे जो पुराने कायदे हैं जिनकी त्यागी जी ने बड़ी तारीफ़ की है, उनकी मैं उतनी तारीफ़ करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। पुराने कायदे बहुत माकूल थे उस ज़माने के लिए, जबकि आप महदूद थे। लेकिन जब दस हजार रुपया बचाने के लिए आप दस लाख रुपया खर्च कर देते हैं तो आमतौर से अक्लमंदी की यह बात नहीं गिनी जायेगी। हमारे जो कायदे और कानून थे उनके बारे में हमारी कोशिश थी कि वे परफ़ेक्ट हों और कोशिश थी कि न इधर से और न उधर से कोई ग़लती हो। इतनी ब्रेक्स लगाई, इतने चेक्स लगाए कि काम रुक जाता है। और काम रुक जाता है तो आप जानते हैं कितनी तकलीफ़ होती है। बड़े-बड़े काम हैं, भाखड़ा नांगल है और उसको अगर हम रोक दें तो एक महीने के बाद दिवाला निकल जाए। काम ऐसे हैं जिनको रोका नहीं जा सकता। भाखड़ा नांगल में आठ लाख रुपया रोज़ मज़दूरी में दिया जाता है लोगों को। और खयाल करें कि ज़रा भी अगर वह रुकता है तो उसका नतीजा पैसे में क्या होता है। दूसरा जिन बातों में हो सकता है, उसको आप छोड़ दीजिये। इसलिए ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि जिम्मेदारी को बाँटा जाये, चाहे उसमें कुछ ग़लती की गुंजाइश ही क्यों न हो। अच्छा है उस ग़लती को बाद में देख लिया जायेगा, उसको सम्भाल लिया जायेगा। काम रुके नहीं कहीं, इस पर काफी ग़ौर हो रहा है। खासतौर पर पिछले चंद हफ़्तों से, बिलफेल तो हमारा आपस में हो रहा है, कभी-कभी औरों से भी, फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री से, कुछ अलग और कुछ साथ और कुछ इसमें ग़ौर करने के अलावा क़दम भी उठाये गये हैं कि जल्दी से जल्दी काम हो। नहीं तो, जैसा मैंने आज सुबह एक-दूसरे ही सिलसिले में कहा था कि हमारे अच्छे से अच्छे उद्देश्य हों, काम चलता नहीं है।

अक्सर जो बहस होती है दो मिनिस्ट्रीज़ में वह क्यों होती है? असल में बात यह हो जाती है कि एक तो ओवरलैप कुछ पैसे के खर्च का होता है। और जहाँ पर पैसे के खर्च का सवाल आता है तो फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री जाहिर है, बहुत लगाम लगाती है और लगानी चाहिए उसे यह लगाम। दूसरी तरफ़ से यह कहा जाता है कि साहब हमारी तालीम बिगड़ी जाती है, स्वास्थ्य बिगड़ा जाता है, हमारा कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट का काम बिगड़ जाता है। और बहस होती है कि रुपये नहीं दिये जाते हैं और इसके बारे में बहस होनी चाहिए। लेकिन यह ज़रूर है कि फ़ैसला जल्दी हो जाना चाहिए, उसमें देरी नहीं होनी चाहिए।

घूमघाम के मैं फिर आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम जितनी जल्दी अपने लोगों को ट्रेन्ड कर सकें, अच्छा है। और उसका काम हो रहा है, वह काम कुछ बढ़ता जा रहा है।

त्यागी : इस वक़्त 3 लाख 99 हजार 172 चपरासी और दफ़्तरी गवर्नमेंट ऑफ़ इंडिया में हैं, रेलवेज़ को छोड़ करके। उसके बारे में भी कुछ इकॉनोमी की तरफ़ तवज़्जो की जा रही है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : इकॉनोमी की बात तो नम्बर एक बात है, अव्वल बात है। जो बातें मैंने कहीं उनका उद्देश्य इकॉनोमी करना तो पहला है। अब होता क्या है यह मैं आपको बतलाता हूँ। आप जानते हैं कि कई महीने हुए कि हमने रोक दिया कि आइन्दा कोई भी चपरासी, क्लास फोर भर्ती नहीं किया जाए। थोड़े दिन बाद एक रुआँसी आवाज़ आती है कि बड़ा काम रुक जाता है और दो चार आदमियों की सख़्त ज़रूरत है। ख़ास काम है जिसके लिए चपरासी चाहिए। लम्बे-लम्बे नोट्स होते हैं कि बिना चपरासी के काम नहीं चलता है। दूसरी तरफ़ आप जानते हैं कि चपरासियों की क़ौम यहाँ से हटाने की कोशिश हो रही है। यानी उस पेशे को उस ढँग से हटाने की कोशिश हो रही है और उसके बजाय जिसको मैसन्जर सर्विस कहते हैं, करने की कोशिश हो रही है। चपरासियों का जो सिलसिला है वह बिलकुल ग़लत है। हम किसी को निकालना नहीं चाहते हैं, कहाँ उनको एबज़ार्ब करें? इसमें करें या उसमें करें? यह होगा, और उसको मैसन्जर सर्विस कर देंगे। मैसन्जर होते हैं दफ़्तर के। लेकिन यहाँ जो एक-एक अफ़सर और एक-एक मिनिस्टर के पीछे चपरासी होते हैं, पीछे क़ौम होती है, वह कोई ज़रूरी बात नहीं है, वह बिलकुल ग़लत बात है।

ये जो कोशिशें हो रही हैं, इनमें आप सभी के सहयोग की ज़रूरत है, सभी माननीय सदस्यों की मदद की ज़रूरत है, और आपने अपने तज़ुर्बे से बताया कि कहाँ ख़राबी है और कहाँ नहीं है। कोशिश हम सभी की है कि इन सब चीज़ों को दुरुस्त किया जाए और इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है। किसी ख़ास बात के लिए कमेटी की ज़रूरत हो, तो कमेटी भी बिठाई जा सकती है लेकिन कमेटी इसमें कारामद नहीं होगी।

स. मो. बनर्जी : प्रधानमन्त्री महोदय ने अभी वर्क स्टडी के सिलसिले में कुछ फ़रमाया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह टाइम एण्ड मोशन स्टडी के आधार पर होगा? टाइम एण्ड मोशन स्टडी मैस प्रोडक्शन में सही हो सकती है। लेकिन जो ड्राफ़्ट लिखता है या पेपर डिसपोज़ करता है, उसको आप किस तरह से टाइम एण्ड मोशन स्टडी में अमली जामा पहनायेंगे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : ज़ाहिर है कि जिस गज़ से नापा जायेगा वह दूसरा होगा। यहाँ मैस प्रोडक्शन नहीं हो रहा है।

स. मो. बनर्जी : सिस्टम क्या होगा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : सिस्टम यह कि एक आदमी का काम बहुत आदमी का काम बहुत तफ़सील से देखा जाए, किस ढँग से काम करता है, उसमें डिटेल् से जाया जाए और इस तरह से काम को देखने से बाज़ वक़्त कुछ ऐसी चीज़ें निकल आती हैं जिनको ख़त्म किया जा सकता है।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate Shri Mathur¹³³ for bringing in this motion. That does not mean that I agree with everything that he has said. However, this is an issue which ought to get our full attention. What is the issue? I was listening to Shri Braj Raj Singh's speech. He asked what the main goal is. As far as I can understand, the main goal that he has drawn our attention to has no relation to the issue at hand. It is an excellent point in its own way. But it has no relation to this issue. He has related an episode to say that no Minister, except the Prime Minister, gets the respect which is given even to an S.D.O. I do not know how far this is true. My own thought was that what happens is just the opposite. This brings to mind a story. There was a case against a boy for militancy. It went up in appeal to the High Court and the High Court Judge acquitted him. His mother thanked the Judge and said, Sir, May you be the Kotwal. You have dispensed justice. That poor woman was always being harassed by the Kotwal and could not even imagine that there could be somebody above the Kotwal. So it is possible that those who have to deal with petty officials on a daily basis may have been harassed by them. But I feel that there would be very little doubt in the people of India about the status of a Minister. It is a different matter that some Minister may be a useless individual and may not impress with his work and experience. It depends on the individual's quality and the impact he makes. That is a different matter. But today everyone knows what the status of a Minister is.

So he has talked about the main goal and emphasized that it is a steel frame and this and that. Another member said that this bureaucracy is a strange word which has become embedded in our thinking but it has no relevance in today's world. Every official dealing is bureaucracy. There is bureaucracy in every government office. Governance today is extremely complex and hence bureaucracy is even stronger. But in the olden days, when we used to complain about the bureaucracy, it was because it had a stranglehold on us, and not merely that it was there. So there is a difference between the two. Today the word bureaucracy is meaningless. It is wrong to keep on harping on it. The society today is extremely complex. Many others are involved in serving the society apart from government officials. Industries are coming up, factories too. Just as we send trained engineers for these tasks, so also do we need trained personnel in the government's administrative apparatus. The work can proceed smoothly only when we have trained personnel. Take for instance the Auditor General. Would you be right in saying we should not appoint someone trained for the job but take a representative of the people instead? How can a representative of the people handle the job of

133. See fn 130 in this section.

the Auditor General? He will be confused and panic stricken. This is true of any sector of government. The work is extremely complex and can be handled only by trained personnel. I agree that you don't need trained human beings for dealing with matters of principles. But to handle the complex machinery of government, the more people who are trained the better it would be. It does not concern either the bureaucracy or the people. People are the ones who give the orders. Implementation has to be done by trained personnel. Ministers are the people's representatives but they do not transfer people or make appointments or dismiss. That is the function of the government. These are such unimportant tasks that they do not even come up before the Public Service Commission.

So, what I am trying to say is that the functioning of the government is extremely complex. You will find this in every sector, the big Ministries etc. Ministries are in fact huge empires in terms of how large they are. In fact it is difficult to have a clear picture. So we need trained personnel. In today's world only trained personnel can function, whether it is the private sector or the public sector. Our problem is that the manner in which the functions of the government have expanded is not matched by the speed of training. What does that mean? The bureaucracy at the top rung is by and large good and is comparable in quality to bureaucracies anywhere in the world. It is obvious that I am not saying this about the entire bureaucracy. But on an average there are good people in the bureaucracy. There are shortcomings even among them which I shall come to. But the problem that we are facing is that our work has expanded tremendously, the number of departments are going up, and the people who are being recruited are not being trained properly. They are being trained only to copy what the others are doing.

When people are recruited in large numbers—more than necessary—and the work too expands unnecessarily, then the paper work also expands. Apart from this, the old rules and regulations were alright for a small staff. Earlier we had a small but very well trained staff who used to consult one another or even exchange notes. But when you have ten in the place of two people, naturally the work too expands as also the paper work. In short, when the work increases, the quality decreases, that is bound to happen. That does not mean that the officials at the top are not men of quality, they are of high quality. But when something is too spread out, then the quality gets thinned but we have thousands of people working for the government, people of all kinds, very intelligent and the not so intelligent people, after all, everyone can't be exactly the same. But on the whole, though the quality is good at the top, it is getting diluted. One problem could be that we had one kind of people in the bureaucracy, and now that has changed. Adaptation takes time, though that has been taking place, there is no great problem in that.

So the question is, whether it would be right to call the bureaucracy as the steel frame in which the people are not involved. I do not think that is the case. But what bothers us is that while the old methods of functioning was excellent, it

was good for the olden days. They are no longer sufficient for the expanding sectors of work, technical and industrial work, etc. For one thing, the old methods slow things down. Even there, our ministries have become more adept. I am not talking about all the ministries, there can be delays. But take the Commerce and Industries Ministry, for instance. The top-rung officials are excellent and do good work. They are comparable to bureaucracies anywhere in the world, they are second to none. Similarly, take the Finance Ministry too.

So, as I was saying, we are facing two kinds of difficulties, one is due to the old ways of working—those were excellent for a bygone era. I am not referring to the bureaucracy, etc. What I mean to say is that they worked well when they were functioning in a certain milieu. They worked well and easily without too much running around. But things have changed now. A senior civil servant told me, and I don't know how far it is correct, that the work today has expanded a hundred fold compared to the olden days. Just imagine how it has increased. And more and more people are being recruited, but they are not trained, promotions have taken place, and all this has diluted the quality somewhat. That will be rectified gradually.

And then, we are having to deal with new areas, our public sector is expanding and we need people of high calibre as general managers and directors etc. Now these are not the areas which were handled in the olden days by the bureaucracy. These are all new professions. Not that they cannot handle it, but these are questions which come up just due to the sheer size. But this is not something we are facing alone in India. In every country of the world, the work load of the bureaucracy has increased. You can see the huge reports being published in the United States and elsewhere about the expanding work load and how it is to be handled. This is an ordinary matter which is being handled well in some countries and with difficulty in others. In India we had a revolution leading to Independence, then Partition, all of which created chaos and we are only now gradually recovering from that upheaval.

However, the fundamental question is that our work load has increased manifold and we do not have sufficient trained manpower. We come round to that again and again. The Honourable Member says we should set up a committee. What objection can I have to set up a committee? But let me tell you that that is not the solution. You can set up half a dozen committees, it will not help us out of this maze. I have been External Affairs Minister for more than ten years and not been able to understand the workings of such a small Ministry. The other ministries are huge, I cannot even begin to think of all of them. I am not prepared to take on what is going on in every section and see what the heads of each section are doing. And if we set up committees to do this, they will be lost. Yes, committees can outline principles.

Harish Chandra Mathur: I never contended that the committee should go and

do the work. It is a committee of direction.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is often felt that these are all matters of principles and once the guidelines are laid out, everything will become alright. But where is the question of principles in all this? There is no principle involved in expecting an individual to work quickly and efficiently. That is something which every officer has to do, whatever our principles may be or the government's policy is. They can be implemented only by those who can go into everything in detail. There is no other way of looking at it.

You get annoyed with the O & M Division. What is this Division? First of all I am amazed to learn that it starts with the Government of India and percolates down and expands. In fact there is one officer in the O&M Division with two assistants and two clerks. It is a very small group. As for the complaint that there is too much expenditure on this, that is not true. The main task of the Division is to go to different Ministries and hold consultations and advise them to keep expenditure under control. The Division is not entrusted with all the major tasks that the Honourable Member has talked about. It has the basic function of ensuring that the Ministries should function with efficiency and expeditiously. Shri Mathur says that there are a large number of disposals. I agree that these numbers have no meaning except perhaps that it can show what the average is. If you were to look at the figures in twelve months' time, you can judge whether the work has expanded or not. It balances matters. When a woman is expecting a baby, you cannot say whether it will be a male child or female—nobody can predict this, not even astrologers.

S.M. Banerjee:¹³⁴ In our country they do.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But we cannot predict, absolutely not. But you can definitely say what percentage there will be of male and female children. You can say that with great accuracy that it will be 51%, because when one is looking at a large area, mathematical probability comes into play which does not happen with isolated cases. Similarly, the figures of disposals also tell us something, though that may not be very important. But the O & M Division is meant to promote efficiency and expediency. In my view, they have shown some success. I have no doubt about it. They visited my Ministry and I found that by holding consultations with them and getting their views has certainly benefitted us, there has been some streamlining. There is no doubt about it. It is all on paper. The result may not be all that you expected which is a different matter. But there has been some saving and great efficiency has been ensured. On their suggestion, we have done away with various stages of references within the department. Now quick personal

134. See fn 131 in this section.

consultations are taking place. It may not have become the norm but there has been some progress. I cannot understand why it is being said that they are sitting on one or preventing work from taking place etc.

Tyagi:¹³⁵ In supplying the information that [O&M] seek from the Ministries increases their workload enormously.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is possible. I don't know. I have not received any complaints. In fact it is one of his cousins whom he has mentioned. His name is S.R.U.¹³⁶ They work together—one is in the Finance Ministry and the other in the Home Ministry—they are closely related. They have started working on what is called Works Study. I do not know where this was first started, in England or America, I do not know for sure. It probably began in the private industry in America where great efficiency is needed. They have to ensure that there is not a single wasted movement because that affects mass production. So this was started then. Gradually it has found its way into government also. I was in England three or four years ago and I went into what result the work study had in the British Government. I was amazed to see how they have succeeded in curbing expenditure, how the departments have expanded. I saw this in the British Navy—normally these things are not commonly seen in the Army and Navy. Lord Mountbatten has drawn attention to the fact that with the Navy the paper work in the offices has been reduced to one-fourth. The work has been done but the number of employees has been reduced as also the expenditure. Work Study follows the method of a close study—this is nothing to do with principles—of the way a department functions, how things can be done more efficiently and in less time. This is the study which we undertook here. A Member told us that this has led to much efficiency in our High Commission in London. The same thing is happening elsewhere too. These are all expert processes which have nothing to do with basic principles and policy. They are merely guidelines as to how the work that needs to be done should be done with efficiency, and the steps that need to be followed. That is what we should aim at always which we are doing.

I feel that Work Studies and O&M together will present something. I agree that whenever something new is started, it is done with gusto initially and gradually it becomes just a routine. It is possible that the O&M Division too may have fallen into a rut, though there has been new infusion of energy in the Division with some new people joining. But it must be understood that it is a very low-key project with just three or four officers. And there is no doubt about it that their work has led to the savings in lakhs, about ten to fifty percent, and things are moving speedily. But all this is not enough.

135. See fn 132 in this section.

136. Special Reorganisation Unit.

Shri Mathur has referred to complaints that have been made, he too has made some complaints, and I agree that they are justified. Our officials should devise new methods of functioning. At the moment I want the Work Study Project to be put on a sure footing, to test the results in various departments, and that immediate attention should be paid to their suggestions and rectify the defects that they may point out. I have no problem in appointing a committee or commission, but I cannot understand filling the place with numerous commissions. A Committee can be appointed if some matter has to be examined thoroughly. But I cannot understand the demand that committees be appointed to examine the entire working of the government.

Some examples have been given here and reference has been made to the states. All this has nothing to do with our O&M which is concerned only with the offices in the Government of India or elsewhere. Therefore, I do not wish to take up those examples. Tyagiji has said that it will be done if the Minister orders and the Secretary implements it. This may be generally speaking true. But some problems have cropped up. As I said just now, most of the Ministries, even if not all, have expanded to such an extent that they have become empires in themselves. Then there is a great deal of overlapping too in the matter of jurisdiction and others which causes delays and problems crop up. All this happens when two Ministries are linked in some areas. Each one pulls in a different direction. The whole thing comes to the Minister only much later, the tug-of-war goes on in the lower rungs. Then after much delay when it comes to the Minister's desk, either the matter is settled or either I or the Cabinet comes in between. So all these stages have to be removed and an effort has to be made in that direction. At the moment our effort should be, one, to ensure frugality and two, greater speed and efficiency.

So our attention has been drawn in that direction and has caused some worry. The reason is that there is the Five Year Plan and other projects and we have observed that we cannot afford delays. We have felt that especially in the matter of huge projects, we cannot afford delays in matters of procurements and permissions etc. It is absurd that thousands of rupees should be squandered in debating if something should be done or not and the matter is held up for a month. Shri Tyagiji has heaped praise on the old methods of functioning which I am not prepared to do. The old ways were excellent for those times. But to spend ten lakhs in order to save ten thousand, this would not be normally considered a very intelligent thing to do. Our effort has been to frame rules and regulations which are perfect, and also that there is no room for mistakes on either side. So many brakes and checks have been applied that everything gets held up and that you know is extremely painful. There are huge projects like the Bhakra-Nangal and even if the work halts for a month, we will go bankrupt. All these projects are such that they cannot be halted midway. In Bhakra Nangal, the daily wages paid are eight lakhs of rupees. Just imagine, if the work is halted even for a short

while, how much we lose financially, let alone how it would affect other things. Therefore it is imperative that responsibility be shared even if there is scope for a margin of error. It is alright because the mistakes can be rectified later and the situation will be handled. We are paying full attention to make sure that the work does not come to a halt. Especially in the last few weeks, we are holding consultations internally but also with the Finance Ministry and others, and taking steps to ensure speedy implementation. Otherwise, as I mentioned this morning in a different context, even with the best of intentions, work cannot progress.

Why are there frequent debates and arguments between two Ministries? The fact of the matter is, for one thing there is overlapping which leads to additional expenditure. The moment it is a question of expenditure, it is obvious that the Finance Ministry exercises strict control which it should. On the other hand, questions are raised if funds are not released for education, health and community development etc. These matters should be taken up for debate but at the same time decisions should be arrived at speedily without delays.

I come round again and again to the same thing that the sooner we can train our personnel the better it will be. Anyhow, that is going on.

Tyagi: At the moment there are three lakhs ninety-nine thousand and hundred and seventy-two peons and clerks in the Government of India apart from the Railways. Is attention being paid to economising in this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Economy is the key word and on top of our agenda. Whatever I have talked about just now has economy as its primary goal. Let me tell you what happens. As you are aware in the last few months, we have put a ban on recruiting peons or Class IV employees. Very soon we hear complaints that work is held up and a few peons need to be appointed. There are long notes written about why we cannot do without chaprasis (peons). On the other hand, as you know, there is a move to get rid of the entire breed of peons, meaning as a profession. Instead, there is a move to employ Messenger Service. Appointing peons is absolutely pernicious. We do not wish to throw out our employees and hence, one will have to see how and where they can be absorbed or perhaps convert them as part of the Messenger Service. Offices do need messengers but we do not need to have a breed of peons behind every officer and Minister. That is absolutely wrong.

We need the cooperation of all of you in the efforts that are being made. You must point out the defects based on your own experience. There are no two opinions about the fact that these have to be rectified. We can also set up committees if a special matter has to be deliberated upon. But no committee can succeed in what we are trying to do.

S.M. Banerjee: The Honourable Prime Minister mentioned something about

Work Study. I would like to be informed if this would be done on the basis of Time and Motion Study? Time and Motion Study can be applied to mass production but how will you fit things like drafting or paper disposal personnel into Time and Motion Study garb?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious that a different yardstick will be used. There is no mass production here.

S.M. Banerjee: What would be the system?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The system is that a large number of personnel will be monitored in detail about their methods of functioning, etc., and very often, defects come to light which can be rectified.

Translation ends.]

48. To Zakir Husain: Insecure Employees at Raj Bhavan¹³⁷

February 24, 1960

My dear Zakir Husain,

Dr. Syed Mahmud¹³⁸ spoke to me about the employees of Raj Bhavan, Patna and told me some facts about their insecure tenure and questions of pay and pension, etc. From what he told me it seems their case deserve consideration. Apparently, there are large numbers of temporary employees there. I think that something should be done about them. Will you be good enough to let me know what the position is?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

137. Letter to the Governor of Bihar.

138. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gopalganj, Bihar.

49. To Florence Eldridge March: Harrassment of Tourists¹³⁹

February 25, 1960

Dear Mrs. March,

Thank you for your letter of February 21.

I had read in the newspapers about the unfortunate incident to which you refer. I received information about it also from other sources. I was deeply distressed that you and your husband¹⁴⁰ and those who were with you were harassed by some of our petty officials. In fact, the moment I heard of it, I asked for an immediate enquiry to be made, and we have addressed the Madras Government on the subject.

Please accept my apologies for the trouble and harassment caused to you and Mr. March. There is nothing in our rules or instructions to warrant such an intrusion, but sometimes our petty officials exceed the limits of their authority. One possible good result from this unfortunate episode is that we can pull up our tourist officers and others so that they might behave better in future.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. To D. P. Karmarkar: Why V. K. B. Pillai as Health Secretary?¹⁴¹

February 25, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

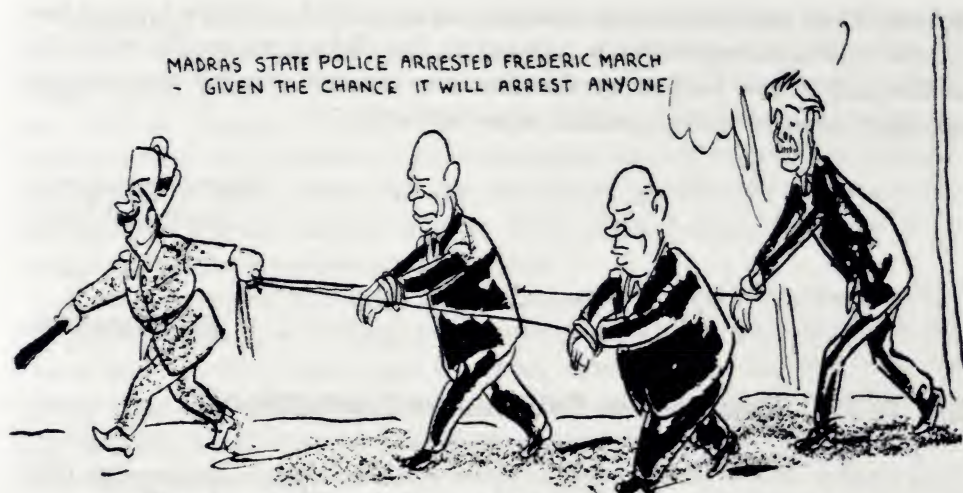
The Cabinet Secretary put up before me the attached paper. I must say that I feel rather embarrassed about it. Here we are for many months past pressing the Cabinet Secretary to make a change in the Health Ministry so far as the Secretary is concerned. I have discussed this matter with him several times and have pressed him to deal with this expeditiously. We have even discussed the personnel and come to some decisions. Now at the last moment you say that on giving further consideration to the matter, you find that you have very important work in hand in connection with the Third Five Year Plan etc. and, therefore, you would like the present Secretary's¹⁴² experience.

139. Letter to an American actress (1901-88).

140. Fredric March, American actor (1897-1975).

141. Letter to Union Health Minister.

142. V.K.B. Pillai.



(Eisenhower, Khrushchev, and Macmillan being led away)

(FROM *SHANKAR'S WEEKLY*, 28 FEBRUARY 1960)

I presume you had the Third Five Year Plan before you all this time as well as the various programmes you have mentioned, such as small-pox eradication and Mudaliar Committee.¹⁴³ There is nothing new. What then has happened to change a decision which we had taken with some care and after much thought?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

51. To G. B. Pant: Bureaucratic Red-tape¹⁴⁴

February 29, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I received a letter from Shri V. Kalyanam who was working as Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This letter impressed me. I do not know this man, but it is evident that he is a rather unusual type. He has been sending me a good part of his salary for relief work etc. regularly.

143. Health Survey and Planning Committee under A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar was set up on 12 June 1959 to review everything after the Joseph Bhore Committee (1943-1946) to formulate health programmes for the Third and subsequent Five Year Plans; it reported in 1961. See Virendra Kumar, *Committees and Commissions in India 1947-73*, Vol. III (Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1977), p. 358.

144. Letter.

Shrikant¹⁴⁵ was satisfied with his work and yet the U.P.S.C. decided to reject him and not confirm his appointment. In doing so, they did not apparently even send for Shrikant. It does seem to me that this is an example of some pure red tape procedure regardless of the qualities of an individual.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Corruption

52. To C.D. Deshmukh: Tribunal on Corruption¹⁴⁶

January 26, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 17th January.¹⁴⁷ As you know, I have been very heavily occupied with visits of eminent foreign dignitaries, apart from other work.

Ever since this question of appointing a tribunal was referred to by you, I have been avoiding saying anything about it except when I was asked at a press conference or elsewhere.¹⁴⁸ At Bangalore there was a non-official resolution in this connection, and it was for this reason that I dealt with it in my speech.¹⁴⁹

It seems to me that it will not be desirable to have our confidential correspondence published in the press or otherwise given publicity. While it is completely right for you or me to write to each other in regard to such matters, for us to function in the public would hardly be proper.

You are concerned with keeping up high standards in public life. So am I. I entirely agree with you that we should take all feasible steps to this end, I had written to you, however, that the appointment of some kind of a permanent tribunal for this purpose would not, in my opinion, be the right thing to do, and this might well lead to all kinds of accusations being made by large numbers of people, whether they are justified or not. That will open the way to every species

145. L.M. Shrikant was the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

146. Letter to the Chairman of the UGC. File No. 81, C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

147. Deshmukh wrote, "I presume you will have no objection to my treating my second letter to you as no longer confidential. It is possible that arising out of your observations, I might be asked what exactly are the types of cases that I wrote to you about and it is only fair that I should be in a position to enlighten anybody interested in the subject who might ask."

148. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 216-218.

149. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 209-220.

of slander and defamation. The persons who make them would do so with impunity and even if they were proved to be untrue they would have done much harm to the individuals concerned as well as to public life generally. I have had to do with many of these charges. Wherever any *prima facie* case has come up before me, I have enquired into the matter myself or through our Special Police Establishment. In a number of cases, where this was considered justified, further action has been taken or a fuller enquiry ordered. Most of these cases turned out to be completely without foundation and malicious.

Some newspapers have made the most astounding charges against me. Only recently my attention was drawn to statements made against me to the effect that I have been receiving large sums of money monthly from the Birla's for the upkeep of the Prime Minister's household. Also that Indira received Rs. 5 lakhs from the Mundhras for some Trust fund with which she was connected. Both these charges, of course, have absolutely no basis. Even worse charges have been made against me in some odd newspapers of no repute. It has been a problem for me as to how to deal with them. I did not like to go to court as this gives publicity to unknown or disreputable newspapers who stand to lose nothing, I have, therefore, not taken any formal action. Sometimes I have had some kind of a denial sent.

You will, I am sure, agree with me that while it is necessary to enquire into every serious charge, it is equally necessary for steps to be taken when entirely false charges are made.

Any kind of a charge made by you must necessarily be given full attention and enquired into as you would not make it without some belief that it might be true. That is why I had requested you to let me have some particulars so that I can have private enquiries made and then decide what further steps might be taken. I was not anxious to know what the sources of your information were.

As you did not approve of this proposal, I have been thinking of how else to deal with this matter. It seems to me that perhaps a suitable way of considering these charges would be for me to request the ex-Chief Justice of India, Shri S.R. Das, to consider them with such material as might be given to him and to advise us later what further steps he considers necessary. This, I would suggest, should be done informally and without any publicity at this stage. If you agree with this proposal, I will write to Shri S.R. Das and request him to undertake this task. I might mention that I have not yet approached Shri S.R. Das in this connection and he knows nothing about it. I shall only write to him if you agree. Thereafter, if he is agreeable, you could supply him with such information as you think right directly. I do not wish to come into the picture.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. To C. D. Deshmukh: Dealing with Corruption¹⁵⁰

February 7, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th February¹⁵¹ which I have received today. I am glad you agree with my suggestion about Shri S.R. Das. I shall now write to him and request him to undertake this rather troublesome work. I hope he will agree. I might not be able to write to him for some days, as Parliament is meeting tomorrow and I am very heavily occupied. I shall keep you in touch with this matter.

You are right in saying that the question of some Special Tribunal was raised during the seminar at Ooty.¹⁵² The idea, as far as I remember, was some summary procedure to deal with such cases. Personally I was attracted to this idea broadly as one of our chief difficulties has been to get such complaints dealt with some speed. With the best efforts possible, we have found that they drag on for months and sometimes years. Also, that very often there is some minor legal flaw discovered by the Judge, and the case fails. Therefore, I was attracted to some speedier method of dealing with these questions, though I am not yet clear in my mind what kind of procedure should be adopted.

Some two or three years ago or more, we established a Special Police Section of Intelligence etc. to deal with such cases, and on the whole this has done good work. I receive reports from this Section every month, and I find that they have dealt with a large number of cases' first stage of enquiry. This may lead to departmental action or a case in the law courts. The latter then drags on. A fair number have been convicted, including highly placed officers. A summary of these monthly reports is sent to the Press, but they do not give it any adequate publicity.

You refer to certain Press reports about discussions at Bangalore. I have not seen these reports. I am afraid I find less and less time to read newspapers fully, and I have to miss long reports. I was not aware of any report about you of the kind you have suggested. So far as I remember, there was no discussion of these matters. Some casual remark might perhaps have been made by someone to a Pressman. Many of these Press reports are partly imaginative and partly exaggeration of something said without any context being given. You need not

150. Letter. File No. 81, C. D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

151. See Appendix 18.

152. Held from 30 May to 4 June 1959. For details see SWJN/SS/49/pp. 413-422.

trouble about these matters. Our public life has become an arena of charges and counter-charges. This is most distressing, and I really do not know what to do about it.

You refer to a particular case about which you had furnished me some particulars. This was about the acquisition of land for the Thiagaraja College at Madurai in the Madras State. I must confess that I was negligent in this matter. I quite forgot about it. Much later, this matter was mentioned to me, and I found that some kind of an enquiry had been made by me a long time ago. I have no recollection of the facts. But, as far as I can remember, this was an old case, probably at the time when Shri C. Rajagopalachari was Chief Minister,¹⁵³ though I am not sure of this now. I felt a little hesitation in raising this old case, more especially as Rajaji was probably Chief Minister then. Now that you have reminded me of this again, I am enquiring into it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. To K. Kamaraj: Madurai Thiagaraja College¹⁵⁴

February 7, 1960

My dear Kamaraj,

Some time ago, C.D. Deshmukh drew my attention to the case of the acquisition of land for the Thiagaraja College at Madurai. According to his information, this was a very improper acquisition and he wanted me to enquire into it. Unfortunately, I forgot to deal with it then. I shall be grateful if you will find out what the facts are and let me know. My impression is that this is an old matter. Probably it took place at the time when Shri Rajagopalachari was Chief Minister of Madras, though I am not quite sure.¹⁵⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

153. 1952-54.

154. Letter to K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras State.

155. The same day Nehru made the same inquiry of A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of Madras University, Sri Prakasa, and V. V. Giri.

55. In the Rajya Sabha: Deshmukh's Tribunal Proposal¹⁵⁶

V. K. Dhage:¹⁵⁷

N. C. Sekhar.¹⁵⁸

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether he has written any letter to Shri C. D. Deshmukh with regard to Shri Deshmukh's proposal for the establishment of a high-power tribunal to inquire into the charges of corruption against persons in high authority including the Ministers and

(b) if so, whether he has received any reply from Shri Deshmukh?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b) The Prime Minister has had some correspondence with Shri C.D. Deshmukh on this subject.

The Prime Minister is of opinion that the formation of a special tribunal would not be feasible, but that every effort should be made to enquire into any charges of substance and, further, to expedite disposal of such matters.

V. K. Dhage: May I know, Sir, whether Mr. Deshmukh has given any special reason for the appointment of a tribunal for this purpose?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I do not see any special reason, except perhaps—it might be stated—that the persons who give that information should be protected. That is the only thing mentioned, as far as I remember.

V.K. Dhage: May I know, Sir, whether the Prime Minister, in his correspondence with Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, has made any alternative proposal to him?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had suggested to Mr. Deshmukh that I would be very glad if he could supply me with the information about these cases which he might have heard of. When he wrote to me that he would not like to disclose the names of his informants, I said that I did not want the names of his informants—only the case itself. Thereafter he said that he was unable to supply me with the particulars of the case as such, but he mentioned the types of cases—not the case itself but the types of cases—that he had in mind. That was not any information about any particular case or any particular individual. And it was difficult for me to get hold

156. Oral answers to questions, 15 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXVIII, pp. 639-42.

157. Independent, from Andhra Pradesh.

158. Congress, from Kerala.

of it. Thereafter I suggested to him that it might be possible for someone of repute to look into this matter informally and advise me as to what should be done. That is the present position.

P.D. Himatsingka:¹⁵⁹ Has not Mr. Deshmukh given any information about a number of cases and the nature of the complaints received by him and asked for it to be screened before it is passed on for enquiry?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that he mentioned only the types of cases he had in mind; that is to say, the place, name, individual, etc. were not mentioned, and that was not enough to trace any case—except perhaps particulars regarding one or two cases, but I find it difficult to trace anything. There was one particular case, as far as I remember, about which he had given some particulars which escaped my mind—some old case from South India¹⁶⁰—and I am at present making enquiries into that case.

Jaswant Singh:¹⁶¹ Sir, in addition to what Mr. C.D. Deshmukh has mentioned, Mr. V. P. Menon, a former Secretary, has also mentioned certain cases in regard to corruption. Would those cases also be investigated and considered along with these cases?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If hon. Members are interested, I can either make a statement on the subject or lay certain papers, but briefly I would like to say that every case that he mentioned took place when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was Minister and Mr. V.P. Menon was Secretary of the Ministry concerned. Those cases were examined fairly, thoroughly by the Attorney-General and, I think, the Solicitor-General, and they sent some advice to us that they did not advise any steps to be taken, after examining them, and that it was not feasible for any steps to be taken. This was examined then by a Committee consisting, I think, of Mr. Rajagopalachari and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. They accepted the advice of the Attorney-General and sent on the papers to me, I accepted their recommendation that there was not enough substance to those cases. Of course, I speak from memory broadly about this. In regard to one particular case—I think it was about Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh—he was actually proceeded against in connection with another major matter, some insurance matter and thereafter he absconded. As far as I remember, after some time he was apprehended and he served a fairly heavy sentence.

159. Congress, from West Bengal.

160. See item 54.

161. Independent, from Rajasthan.

N.C. Sekhar: May I know whether the Prime Minister is aware of the I.P.A. despatch in which it has been stated that Mr. Deshmukh expressed willingness to disclose in confidence more facts about instances of corruption in high quarters to some eminent personalities in order to convince them that he was levelling those charges with a full sense of responsibility?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of that particular thing which the hon. Member has perhaps read somewhere. I do not know what that is. But I have already stated what I indicated to Mr. Deshmukh in regard to this matter.¹⁶²

Mr. Chairman: Next question.¹⁶³

56. To K. D. Malaviya: Corruption Charges¹⁶⁴

February 16, 1960

My dear Keshava,

I am passing on to you what a newspaperman has written to me.

He says that your wife owns some acres of land in Gola Gokaran in U.P., which is said to be a fairly large area. This land is cultivated by the Manager of the Hindustan Sugar Mills in Gola Gokaran on her behalf. Sugarcane is grown in that farm and the cost of cultivation is said to be met by the mills. Your wife gets priority for fertilisers and other facilities from Government and, because of this, she gets more fertilisers than are required for her own piece of land. The Sugar Mills pay for the fertilisers thus used, as also for the fertilizers used for neighbouring lands. The Manager of the Sugar Mills also markets the sugarcane and sells it to the Hindustan Sugar Mills. The entire sale proceeds of the sugarcane are remitted to your wife without deducting the cost of cultivation.

Thus, he says, that the land belonging to Mrs Malaviya is being managed, cultivated, produce marketed, etc. by the Manager of the Hindustan Sugar Mills.

162. See items 52-53.

163. In the Lok Sabha, Asoka Mehta, PSP, returned to the subject of corruption and the proposed measures to control it. He was vociferous in pointing out that there was "corruption at all levels in the administration." Nehru complained that his voice was "loud", Mehta retorted, "I cannot help my voice", to which Nehru conceded, "Not at all, we all put up with it." After such banter, Nehru agreed that corruption was a serious matter and had to be dealt with, but he needed facts to make inquiries. "But it is an extraordinary position that everybody talks about without saying what it is."

164. Letter to the Union Minister of Mines and Oil.

I have thought it best to send this on to you. The man who has reported it is thoroughly irresponsible and he might give publicity to this in his own way. Perhaps you would be good enough to send me facts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

57. To Takhtmal Jain: Corruption Charges¹⁶⁵

February 17, 1960

My dear Takhtmalji,
Your letter of the 14th February.

When I saw the article in the *Blitz*,¹⁶⁶ I asked for this matter to be enquired into. It was referred to the Special Police Establishment. I was told that the story relates to some allegations in regard to some purchases made for the Madhya Pradesh Roadways. Apparently the General Manager of these Roadways was connected with these allegations. It is reported to me that after enquiry no criminal liability was revealed on the part of this officer. Further enquiries are being made.

I do not quite know how this applies to you except that you were distantly concerned as a Minister.¹⁶⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

58. To S. R. Das: Investigating Corruption Charges¹⁶⁸

February 19, 1960

My dear Mr. Das,

I am writing to you about a delicate and troublesome matter. It is with some reluctance that, I am suggesting something which will add to your burdens. But after much thought I have felt that I should request you to do something which no one else can do better than you. I hope that you will be good enough to accept the suggestion I make below.

165. Letter to the General Secretary, AICC. File No. 7(209)/60-66-PMS.

166. Of 30 January 1960.

167. Takhtmal Jain was the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture in Madhya Pradesh, 1956-58.

168. Letter to S. R. Das, the Vice- Chancellor of Visva- Bharati, Santiniketan.

You may have read in the newspapers of a speech delivered by Shri C.D. Deshmukh in Madras some months ago. This was one of his V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Memorial lectures.¹⁶⁹ In the course of this speech, he referred to various types of corruption which are prevalent in the Government and administration of the country. He added that the informants are nearly in every case timid and fearful lest they should come into trouble by testifying to alleged facts. In order to deal with such a situation, he suggested the formation of "a high level impartial standing judicial tribunal to investigate and report on complaints or information." He added that "if such a commission is established, I shall be happy to make a beginning by lodging half a dozen 'informations' myself."

Some time afterwards, I wrote to him on this subject¹⁷⁰ and said that if he would be good enough to supply me with such information as he possessed, I would look into it immediately and take such steps for further enquiries as might be considered necessary. To this he replied that he regretted he could not let me have such information as he had in his possession or any particulars that have come to his notice.¹⁷¹ He felt that the course of stray official investigation could be erratic and might recoil on the well-meaning informing officers themselves. Unless a tribunal or commission is appointed, notifies its procedures and extends some kind of protection to complainants, apart from giving proof of their capacity to pursue investigations energetically and bring offenders to justice without sparing the influential, it will not be possible for anyone to lay information.

This is the substance of what he wrote to me. He added, in his letter to me, the types of cases of corruption etc. that he had in mind, without giving any particulars of places or individuals.

I sent a reply to him saying that I quite understood his wish to protect or not to jeopardise the security of any officer. All that I wanted was information about the actual cases he might have in mind, with such details as he could give, to enable me to try to trace these cases. I added that I receive frequently letters of complaint. Whenever such a complaint had come to me, I had tried to find out confidentially from such sources as were open to me, what the facts were. Some of these cases had also been discussed thoroughly in State Assemblies and otherwise gone into. Action followed in some cases. But, generally, I had found on enquiry that very vague charges were made, often without any substance, and I further said that I had great doubts about the advisability of having a tribunal or a commission with wide terms of reference to enquire into every odd charge that might reach me. I did not know if such a thing was being done in any country. Of

169. July 1959. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 328 and SWJN/SS/55/pp. 111-115.

170. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 328

171. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 437-439.

course, any specific charge, if it appeared to have any substance, should certainly be enquired into.

I requested him, therefore, to let me know, confidentially, any cases that he had in mind without telling me the sources of his information.

In his reply to this letter, Deshmukh regretted his inability to supply me with any information about any cases.

I gave a good deal of thought to this matter both because it was important and because it was being publicly agitated. I wanted to discover some way of getting out of this deadlock. Ultimately I suggested to Deshmukh that I might request you to agree to look into any information that he might submit to you in a preliminary way and advise us how we should proceed in this matter. The idea was that Deshmukh should directly communicate with you and send you such material as he might have. You would thereupon look through it and give your advice.

This was, of course, subject to your agreeing to do so. Deshmukh has agreed with my proposal. There the matter stands now.

May I now beg of you to agree to what I have suggested above? The matter is no doubt a delicate one, but it should not, I hope, involve any heavy burden on you. Any advice that you give will be of great help to us to decide what further steps might be taken. I hope, therefore, that you will agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

59. To C. D. Deshmukh: Shanker Lall's Charges¹⁷²

February 22, 1960

My dear Deshmukh,

Please refer to your letter of February 15th, 1960, forwarding me a communication addressed to you by Shanker Lall. I am enclosing a note by my Principal Private Secretary on this subject.¹⁷³ I am asking him to inform the Special Police Establishment that these charges must be fully investigated.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

172. Letter. File No. 81. C. D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.

173. See Appendix 36.

(iii) M. T. Joseph's Suicide

60. To K. Ram¹⁷⁴

I see from the newspapers that the enquiry being made into the suicide of Dr Joseph has been apparently completed.¹⁷⁵ The enquiry was made by some officer of the Food & Agriculture Ministry. It appears that he has suggested some relaxation of rules or a more liberal interpretation of them.

2. I have not seen the report of the enquiry. But it seems to me that this is a much more serious matter than a question of a more liberal interpretation. However, so far as the rules are concerned, the matter should come up before the Cabinet.

3. But what I particularly want to know is the responsibility of people concerned, both in the Food & Agriculture Ministry and the Finance Ministry. I hope that the enquiring officer has dealt with this question.

61. To D. P. Karmarkar¹⁷⁶

February 5, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

I spoke to you about Khanolkar¹⁷⁷ on the telephone. I was surprised to learn from you that perhaps Khanolkar might not be quite up to the mark now. Such information as I have received is that he is doing excellent work. In fact, Dr. Homi Bhabha speaks very highly of him, as do others. I spoke to Homi Bhabha today about him.

I have long been of opinion that our scientists must be treated differently from the way we have done in the past. The recent suicide of Dr. Joseph¹⁷⁸ has made this matter very urgent. I do not like our high scientific personnel being placed under various grades of Secretaries and the like who know nothing about science. I propose to raise this matter in Cabinet one day so that our scientific institutions should be autonomous in many ways.

Again, in these scientific institutions the proper course should be for a person to be trained to take the place of the head. By this training he gets to know that institution thoroughly and can then step into the higher place when necessary. This business of advertising and bringing a new man in is not very satisfactory.

174. Note to the PPS, 1 February 1960.

175. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 291-293 and items 61-64 in this volume.

176. Letter to the Union Health Minister.

177. V. R. Khanolkar, Director, Indian Cancer Research Centre.

178. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 291-293 and items 60, 62-64 in this volume.

In fact, I want our scientific institutions to run in the manner such institutions are run in other countries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. To Vishnu Sahay¹⁷⁹

I mentioned to you today that I had received the report of the Inquiry Officer regarding the case of Dr. Joseph who committed suicide.¹⁸⁰ My P.P.S. has put up a note on it. As you are dealing with this matter, I should like to have your comments also before I suggest what further action we might take. I am, therefore, sending you the report and my PPS's note. Please return these with your note when it is ready.

2. There are at least two aspects of this case:

- (1) The responsibility of individual officers, and
- (2) how far the rules are bad and require revision.

3. The fact that there was probably no malafides of an officer is not enough. If that officer has been slack or negligent in his work, that has to be stated.

4. The recommendations made by the Inquiry Officer do not seem to me to be adequate. But I shall not say anything further on this subject at present. The important thing is that we must speedily and thoroughly revise rules etc.

5. Dr. Bhabha told me two days ago that scientific institutions, even when they are attached to Ministries, should be given a very large measure of autonomy in their internal work. Appointments, promotions, etc. should be the responsibility of the institution itself, that is, of scientists there. The idea of the competence of the scientist being judged by some junior officer in any Ministry seems to me on the face of it wrong. Thus, for someone in the Finance Ministry to say that an increment of Rs. 30-00 could not be given to Dr. Joseph because this was not in accordance with the rules, is a wholly wrong approach.

6. I might mention that adequate provision has been made for Mrs. Joseph and her children.



M.T. Joseph 1916-1960
(Courtesy *Malayala Manorama*)

179. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 6 February 1960.

180. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 291-293 and items 60-61, 63-64 in this volume.

63. To B. V. Keskar¹⁸¹

February 6, 1960

My dear Balkrishna,

I had a visit today from a young woman, Dr. Miss Gargi Gupta, She told me her story, and as she is employed in the Publications Division, I am writing to you.

She told me that she was employed in your Ministry, in the Publications Division, as Sub-Editor at Rs.250/- a month. Thereafter, she asked for some kind of study leave, having got a scholarship in Columbia, New York, got a degree there of M.S. in Journalism and returned after about a year. Meanwhile, she had also taken a Ph.D. degree of Delhi. She has been working in the Publications Division since her return. Naturally, she wanted to better her prospects and, therefore, asked for permission to apply for some post in the Education Ministry and in the Railway Board. Both these posts had something to do with Hindi. She was told by your Ministry that she would not be permitted to apply. It was pointed out to her that, under the terms and conditions for the grant of extraordinary leave to her in excess of the normal limit of three months, her application for higher jobs elsewhere cannot be forwarded for a period of at least three years after coming back to her post.

This case is perilously near in some respects to the case of Dr. Joseph, who committed suicide recently,¹⁸² partly because his applications to other Ministries etc. were not forwarded. Of course, there is much difference between the two cases. But this fact as well as some other facts are common to them.

I presume that your Ministry considers itself bound by some rule. I rather doubt if a rule like that applies, or should apply, to applications for service under Government. The whole point is that Government having paid some money, or given certain facilities for study abroad, should have some guarantee of service afterwards. To that extent, the rule might be legitimate. But to apply the rule between Departments seems to me to stretch it too far.

Apart from this interpretation of the rule, I think the rule itself is not fair or proper except in certain limited circumstances, and we are going to consider a complete overhaul of similar rules as a result of the enquiry into Joseph's case, which as you know has created a sensation. As interpreted, the rule is in favour of mediocrity and of discouraging any initiative or ability.

181. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

182. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 291-293 and items 60-62, 64 in this volume.

I should like you to look into this matter yourself, and I think you should permit her to apply to any Government Ministry or Department to better her prospects.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. In the Rajya Sabha¹⁸³

Bhupesh Gupta:¹⁸⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to states:

- (a) whether he has recently made any public appeal to the Indian scientists and technicians now residing in foreign countries to return to India; and
- (b) if so, whether in this connection Government have contacted such scientists and technicians through Indian Missions abroad with any concrete proposal?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The Prime Minister did not make any particular public appeal, but he did refer to this matter in the course of a speech he delivered at a meeting of the Association of Scientific Workers of India in Bombay on January 4, 1960.¹⁸⁵

(b) Government has been taking special steps to get full particulars of Indian scientists abroad through our Embassies and other sources. A National Register of scientific and technical personnel is maintained by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. This Register contains a Special Section for Indian scientists abroad. Out of 3,500 scientific and technical registrants in this Special Section of the National Register, over 1100 have reported their return to India.

Information about scientists abroad is circulated to various Departments of the Central Government and to State Governments, as well as to other employing agencies in the country, further, a Pool of Scientists has been created, and the persons enrolled in its "Abroad Section" are considered for employment even without their applying for the posts.

The Union Public Service Commission and the C.S.I.R. have somewhat relaxed their rules in regard to the employment of persons in this Special Section.

183. Reply to questions, 10 February 1960, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIX, pp. 212-216.

184. CPI from West Bengal.

185. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 348-351.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to the fact that pay, conditions of service and security of service are among the main reasons why these Indian scientists and technical experts residing abroad are not very keen on coming back to our country to take part in national reconstruction?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. There has been some improvement in the pay of scientists and technicians in India but it is obvious that we in India cannot compete with rich countries like, say, the United States of America in this regard.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the Prime Minister thinks that the tragic suicide by Dr. M. Joseph who was a scientist may have created adverse impact on the minds of our scientists residing abroad and, if so, what steps have the Government taken with a view to offsetting such effect on the minds of scientists abroad by way of concrete proposals?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The case of Dr. Joseph, Sir, is a very tragic affair which has been a matter of grave concern to Government and I believe, as the hon. Member says, that case may have produced some reactions in the minds of people abroad or here. That is natural. So far as that particular case is concerned, it is a separate matter which we are dealing with to the best of our ability. In that connection, apart from the individual case, we are revising most of our rules concerning such matters so as to prevent delays and so as to see that fair treatment is accorded. As for creating impressions abroad, it is our general policy.

Jaswant Singh:¹⁸⁶ I would like to know whether, after the so-called appeal of the Prime Minister or the reference in his speech, any favourable response has been made by the scientists abroad.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said in my reply that out of the number listed in our Special Section for Indian Scientists abroad over 1100 have come back and reported to us.

Sonusing Dhansing Patil:¹⁸⁷ Has it come to the notice of the Prime Minister that we have got palatial laboratories and ill-fed scientists and, if it is so may I know whether that criticism is justified?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a matter of facts and figures. We do want our scientists to be well paid. As for palatial laboratories, If broadly speaking they are meant for

186. Independent from Rajasthan

187. Congress, from Bombay State.

the work that is to be done, we have to supply in such scientific laboratories all kinds of things on a rather generous scale, such as air-conditioning and all that. Otherwise the experiments cannot be conducted. I do not think myself that there has been any marked wastage in the erection of these buildings.

N. M. Lingam:¹⁸⁸ Is it a fact that apart from unattractive scales of pay, the main reason for the flight of scientific talent from India has been the suppression and discouragement of junior scientists by the seniors in our laboratories and other institution and occasionally the stealing of results by the seniors?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is an educational matter—what senior professor does to his assistance or others.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru:¹⁸⁹ Have the 1100 scientists, who have returned to India from abroad, been suitably employed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give an answer to that question. Sir, but, as I have said, apart from actual employment, we have created a pool where we put in these scientists and even if there is no employment available at that time we pay them a salary. At present I think there are a little over 200 persons placed for the first time in this pool and a second lot is going to be taken soon.

पं. ना. राजभोज : क्या प्रधानमन्त्री जी बता सकते हैं कि इस अपील के बाद 'टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया' तथा अन्य अखबारों में भारत लौट आये हुये शास्त्रज्ञों को दुःस्थिति का वर्णन करने वाले 'लेटर्स टू दी एडिटर' पर उनका ध्यान खींचा गया है? दूसरे ऐसे कितने शास्त्रज्ञ और टेक्निशियंस भारत के बाहर हैं?

[Translation begins:

P.N. Rajabhoj:¹⁹⁰ Has the Prime Minister's attention been drawn to the "Letters to the Editor" in *The Times of India* and other Indian newspapers, describing the difficulties faced by scientists who have returned to India following his appeal to them. How many such scientists and technical personnel are now abroad?

Translation ends.]

188. Congress, from Madras State.

189. Independent, from UP.

190. Congress, from Bombay State.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आपने आयुर्वेदिक के बारे में पूछा है शायद दूसरे खाने में आते हैं वे। अगर वे साइंटिस्ट के खाने में आते हैं तो ज़रूर उनको इससे लाभ होगा। अगर नहीं आते हैं तो कोई दूसरा तरीका ढूँढा जायेगा।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Perhaps you have asked about Ayurvedic specialists. They are in a different category. If they are classified as scientists, they would definitely benefit. If not, some other way will have to be found.

Translation ends.]

D. A. Mirza:¹⁹¹ Is it a fact that an eminent scientist, Dr. Chandrasekhar¹⁹² by name, is serving in the United States and may I know why every effort is not made to get him back to India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Dr. Chandrasekhar is now an American citizen—has been for some years—and he has been invited on some occasions to come here. I hope he may be able to come in the future. He is a very eminent man; there is no doubt about it.

राम सहाय : क्या माननीय प्रधानमन्त्री महोदय यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि इस बात का कोई सर्वे किया गया है कि जो लोग बाहर हैं और जिन्होंने यहाँ एप्लाई कर रखा है, उनको यहाँ कोई चांस ठीक तरीके पर नहीं मिल रहा है या उनकी एप्लीकेशंस पर बाकायदा गौर नहीं किया जा रहा है?

[Translation begins:

Ram Sahay:¹⁹³ Will the honourable Prime Minister please let us know whether any survey has been carried out about those who are abroad and have applied to return to India, and about their applications not being treated properly.

Translation ends.]

191. Congress, from Madras State.

192. Subrahmanyan Chandrasekhar (1910–1995); an astrophysicist who, with William A. Fowler, won the 1983 Nobel Prize for Physics; on the University of Chicago faculty from 1937 until his death in 1995 at the age of 84. He became a citizen of the United States in 1953.

193. Congress, from Madhya Pradesh.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आमतौर से यह सवाल उठता है कि वे लोग जो यहाँ चाहते हैं वह, जो हम दे सकते हैं, उस से ज़्यादा है। इसमें कोई एक आदमी का सवाल नहीं है। उन्हीं की क्वालिफिकेशंस के लोग यहाँ हैं जो एक तनख्वाह पर रहे हैं अक्सर उनसे ज़्यादा क्वालिफिकेशंस के भी वहीं पर रहे हैं। मैं एक बात और अर्ज करूँ कि आप याद रखें कि बाहर की क्वालिफिकेशंस अच्छी होती हैं, इसमें मुझे कोई शक नहीं है। लेकिन कुछ जो यह खयाल हो गया है कि जो आदमी बाहर जाये वह ज़्यादा लायक हो जाता है, यह कुछ दुरुस्त खयाल नहीं है।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: The general problem is that the salary they expect is more than what we can pay. This is not a question of a particular individual. Persons with the same qualifications, work here on such salaries, and often with higher qualifications. Let me tell you one thing, the foreign degree may no doubt be better, but the general perception that those who abroad are invariably better is not very proper.

Translation ends.]

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether, in view of the fact that it is sometimes very difficult for the scientists to directly contact the authorities by coming here, Government have given any instructions to the State Governments or they have any machinery there to contact the scientists and experts who come back from abroad for their absorption or employment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said that all that is circulated to the State Governments.

(d) Social Groups

65. To Mir Mushtaq Ahmed: The Haj¹⁹⁴

January 30, 1960

Dear Mushtaq Ahmed,

I have your letter of the 29th January about the Haj pilgrims. I am having the matter examined by our Haj Committee.

I am somewhat surprised to read the criticism of our Ambassador in Saudi Arabia, Shri Kidwai.¹⁹⁵ To say that he has no work to do on the political level is

194. Letter to Mushtaq Ahmed of PSP (Delhi State Branch). Mir Mushtaq Ahmed papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

195. M.K. Kidwai.

not correct. I have met many pilgrims after their return from the Haj and everyone of them has spoken highly of Kidwai and how he has helped them. It would not be right for him to have his headquarters at Mecca. So far as I know, no diplomatic personnel live there. Jedda is fixed for this purpose by the Saudi Arabian Government, and I think it is rightly so fixed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. To Sampurnanand: Evacuee Property¹⁹⁶

February 8, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have received a letter from Raj Narain who I presume is Leader of the Socialist Party in the U.P. Assembly. With his letter, he has sent me a copy of another letter. I am sending you these two papers.

You will see that in this it is stated that a member of the Socialist Party, Jhansi, named Ansari had some landed property in Jhansi. This property was at first declared evacuee property and later Ansari's share in it was released. It is stated that R.B.Dhulekar, Chairman, U.P. Council, went with some police officials and took forcible possession of this property. The police did nothing to prevent this and, in fact, pushed away Ansari's wife and children.

Here is a definite complaint which deserves enquiry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

67. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Pilgrims in Saudi Arabia¹⁹⁷

M.B. Thakore:¹⁹⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a large number of pilgrims from India experience hardships in Saudi Arabia in getting their passage to India, and accommodation and for want of furniture in "*Musafirghanas*" etc.; and

196. Letter to the Chief Minister of UP. File No. 3(177)/60-H. Also available in JN Collection.

197. Reply to questions, 9 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 65-68.

198. MJP, MP from Patan, Bombay State.

(b) if so, what steps have been taken by Government to remove such inconveniences to them?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan): (a) and (b). No hardship was experienced by the Indian pilgrims in the past. Last year, however, some instances of hardships were brought to the notice of the Government of India. They were mainly due to (i) excessive heat in 1959 in Saudi Arabia and (ii) big gaps in between the inward sailings.

There were no complaints about lack of facilities in the *Musafirkhana* in Jedda which is the responsibility of the Government of Saudi Arabia. They always try to provide maximum amenities to the pilgrims.

The hardships experienced by the Indian pilgrims in respect of return passages were brought to the notice of the Government of Saudi Arabia with a view to remedy them. The matter is being actively pursued by our Ambassador in Jeddah.¹⁹⁹

M.B. Thakore: May I know from the hon. Prime Minister whether any representation was made to the Government of India to remove inconveniences to the pilgrims at Jeddah; if so, the nature of the representation and the steps taken by the Government regarding this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of any such representation. I cannot say off-hand that no papers reached us, but I am not aware of it, and my own information is, and I have personally received letters from many pilgrims praising the arrangements made by the Government of India there and the part our Ambassador in Jedda took in helping them.

अ.मु. तारिक : मैं प्रधानमंत्री से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि चूँकि हज के मौके पर हिन्दुस्तान से बहुत से ज़ायरीन वहाँ जाते हैं और उन्हें रहने की बहुत तकलीफ़ होती है, क्या हमारे लिये यह मुमकिन नहीं है कि हम हुकुमत सऊदी अरब से मशवरा करके हिन्दुस्तान के ज़ायरीन के लिये खुद वहाँ कोई मुसाफिरखाना बनाये ताकि उन्हें परेशानी न हो।

[Translation begins:

A.M. Tariq: I would like to know from the Prime Minister, considering the hardships faced by Indian pilgrims in Saudi Arabia, is it not possible for India, in consultation with the Saudi Government, to propose building its own Musafirkhana.

Translation ends.]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू: यह कुछ मुनासिब नहीं मालूम होता। अब्बल तो सऊदी अरब की हुकुमत ने काफी इन्तज़ामात किये हैं और वह बढ़ते जाते हैं। पुराने ज़माने में, यानी दस, बारह या पंद्रह वर्ष पहले बहुत काफी परेशानी मुसाफ़िरों को होती थी। लेकिन पिछले वर्षों से उन के इन्तज़ामात काफी बढ़ते जाते हैं और जहाँ तक हमें मालूम है वहाँ ऐसे इन्तज़ामात करने के लिये कोई पैसे की कमी नहीं है। चुनाँचे यह सवाल कि हम वहाँ जाकर खासतौर पर मुसाफ़िरखाने बनायें नहीं उठता। हमारी तरफ से वहाँ डॉक्टरी इन्तज़ाम है, अस्पताल हैं, और जितने मुसाफ़िर वहाँ जाते हैं वह कहते हैं कि पहले के मुकाबले बहुत आराम है? लेकिन वाक़्या यह है कि कोई आदमी वहाँ के मौसम की गर्मी को तेज़ी को, नहीं बदल सकता। और अकसर वहाँ लोग जाते हैं जैसे कि यहाँ काशी में जाते हैं, आख़िरी दम लेने वहाँ जाते हैं। यह मुश्किल हो जाती है।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not seem appropriate. First, the Saudi Government makes many arrangements and it keeps on increasing. In old days, say ten, twelve or fifteen years back pilgrims used to face a lot of difficulties. Of late these arrangements have increased manifold as the Saudi Government is not short of resources. Therefore, the question of building a *Musafirkhana* does not arise. We manage hospitals and doctors there and pilgrims returning from there say that in comparison to earlier days the condition now is very comfortable. However, no one can change the climate or the heat of Saudi Arabia. More often, like in the case of Kashi in India, people go on the Haj Pilgrimage at the fag end of their life. This creates difficulties.

Translation ends.]

अ.मु. तारिक : मैं प्रधानमन्त्री से यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह हकीकत नहीं है कि इस साल नामुनासिब इन्तज़ाम होने की वजह से हिन्दुस्तानी ज़ायरीन की बहुत काफी तादाद में मौतें हुई? और क्या यह भी हकीकत नहीं है कि सऊदी अरब में इस वक़्त कुछ प्राइवेट हिन्दुस्तानी मुसाफ़िरखाने के लिये क्या अपने सफ़ीर के ज़रिये, जो वहाँ रहते हैं, ऐसा नहीं किया जा सकता?

[Translation begins:

A. M. Tariq: I would also like to know from the Prime Minister whether it is not a fact that this year due to inadequate arrangements many Indian pilgrims died? And is it also not a fact that there are certain private Indian *Musafirkhanas* there? Is it not be possible for similar *Musafirkhanas* to be put up there in consultation with the Indian Ambassador in Jeddah?

Translation ends.]

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैं नहीं समझता कि यह बात सही है। यह बात ज़रूर है कि कई लोगों का इन्तकाल हो गया, लेकिन गर्मी की वजह से, परेशानी की वजह से। सिवा आफ़ताब की गर्मी के इस के लिये कौन ज़िम्मेदार है, मैं नहीं कह सकता।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think that this is true. Yes, pilgrims died owing to hot weather. Who else is responsible for their death other than the heat of the sun? I cannot say much.

Translation ends.]

M.B. Thakore: May I know whether it is a fact that our Embassy at Jeddah is at an inconvenient place?

Mr. Speaker: Inconvenient to whom?

M. B. Thakore: Our pilgrims are not able to go there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: If some people abroad say that Delhi is an inconvenient place for their Missions to stay, I am afraid we are not likely to change it. Jeddah is the diplomatic centre of the Saudi Arabian Government. All the Ambassadors in Saudi Arabia have their Missions, Offices and Chanceries in Jeddah; so do ours. Mecca is—I forget the exact distance—within a couple of hours' motor drive from there; it is about thirty or forty or fifty miles, I forget exactly how much. That is a proper place. Now, some people have suggested that it should be in Mecca itself. That, I think, would not be feasible, convenient or to the liking of the Saudi Arabian Government.

68. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Zohra Ansari²⁰⁰

February 18, 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,

On the 8th of January I sent you some papers which Zohra Ansari²⁰¹ had given me. I think these papers consisted of a petition from some Muslims of Allahabad. You replied that you were making enquiries from the U.P. Government. What has been the result of your enquiries?

200. Letter to the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

201. Daughter of M. A. Ansari.

Zohra Ansari is here now. She wants to go to Lucknow to see Sampurnanandji, probably about this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

69. To K. Kamaraj: Nilgiri Tribals²⁰²

February 18, 1960

My dear Kamaraj,

I wonder if you remember that last year, when I went to Ooty, I also visited Kotagiri in the Nilgiris.²⁰³ There was one widespread complaint there. This was about lack of water. This troubled them greatly and they had to go long distances to fetch a little water. Even some wells dried up during the dry season.

I have received today another pathetic appeal on behalf of the people round about Kotagiri. Could not something be done for them? They are very poor tribal folk who deserve help and sympathy. I hope you will be able to do something.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Representative Institutions

70. To G. B. Pant: Rajya Sabha Nominations²⁰⁴

February 10, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Early in April, four of the President's nominees to the Rajya Sabha will finish their term and retire. We shall have to consider what recommendations we should send to the President about these seats. I shall speak to you about this matter later.

The four Members of the Rajya Sabha who are retiring are:

Shri M. Satyanarayana

Shri Prithviraj Kapoor

202. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras State.

203. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 49-52 & 293-294.

204. Letter.

Professor A.R. Wadia
Sardar K.M. Panikkar

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

71. To D. Sanjiviah: Panchayats to run Social Welfare²⁰⁵

February 16, 1960

My dear Sanjiviah,

Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh²⁰⁶ came to see me today and told me that she was greatly distressed by some orders passed by the Andhra Pradesh Government. These were about the Panchayats taking over the social welfare work programmes in the State. I do not know all the facts, but I think any change that is going to be made should allow for a sufficient period of time. A sudden change will upset the work being done and create difficulties about the numerous persons employed as social workers. These are specially women.

From any point of view, there should be no sudden change. Let the Panchayats see what is being done and gradually they can adapt themselves to new conditions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) Media

72. To G. B. Pant: Current Criticises B. M. Kaul²⁰⁷

January 31, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Some time ago, my attention was drawn to a series of articles in *Current*, the weekly appearing in Bombay. In these articles, scurrilous attacks were made on Lt.-General B.M. Kaul.²⁰⁸ To my knowledge, some of the statements made were completely without foundation, and the general tone of the articles was malicious. I enquired further into this matter and I was convinced that the charges made

205. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. File No. 17(19)57-60-PMS.

206. Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board.

207. Letter.

208. General Officer Commanding, Fourth Division of the Indian Army.

were absolutely untrue. In a public speech I delivered in Bombay early in January,²⁰⁹ I referred to malicious charges being made against our senior officers and said that this kind of thing could not be tolerated. I did not mention by name either *Current* or General B.M. Kaul.

On my return from Bombay, I asked the Defence Ministry to go into these matters thoroughly and report to me the facts and what action they suggest might be taken. This has been done and I have been supplied with various notes. One of these notes is by the Defence Minister, another by his Ministry, and there are other papers. Also, there is a statement by Lt.-General B.M. Kaul.

I am sending all these papers, including the articles from *Current*, to you. When you have looked through them, I should like to discuss the matter with you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

73. To B. V. Keskar: No Foreign Control of Media²¹⁰

February 28, 1960

My dear Balkrishna,

I am forwarding a letter to you from A.D. Mani.²¹¹ I do not like the idea of our internal news agencies being controlled by foreign people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

209. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 271-274.

210. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

211. Points raised by A. D. Mani of PTI were about the recognition of certain Indian news agencies and AIR's subscription to PTI.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

74. To Vishnu Sahay: Mahalanobis for the Planning Commission¹

The whole idea of appointing Professor Mahalanobis as a de facto Member of the Planning Commission was in effect for him to function as a full Member. At that time, however, he preferred not to become a full Member. I was even then prepared to appoint him as such.²

2. The suggestion that the Honorary Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet should be an ex-officio Member of the Planning Commission is, I think, on the whole not desirable, because membership is thus conferred not to an individual, but to a post.

3. I am prepared now for Professor Mahalanobis to be made a full Member of the Planning Commission. But, before this is done, you might have a talk with Professor Mahalanobis about it and how far this will fit in with his being Head of the Indian Statistical Institute. Probably, though I am not sure, he will not care to accept any salary. You can clear these matters up and then we can consider what we should do.

75. Minutes of Cabinet Meeting: Third Plan³

Physical Targets and Financial Resources for the Third Plan

Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister (in chair)

Cabinet considered the paper dated February 2, 1960, from the Planning Commission on "Physical Targets and Financial Resources for the Third Plan," and generally reviewed the estimates given in the paper.

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 28 January 1960. File No. 17(189)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Mahalanobis himself had proposed his own ex-officio membership of the Planning Commission in lieu of his current "de facto" status, and Vishnu Sahay had concurred; but V. T. Krishnamachari protested that this, according to Vishnu Sahay's note of 28 January 1960, "would imply an unintended nexus between the post of Honorary Statistical Adviser and membership of the Planning Commission."
3. 3 February 1960. File No. 65/2/CF/60, Part I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers. Also available in File (Cabinet) 1959-60, Confidential Section.

2. During the discussion, Prime Minister observed that, while agriculture was basic to rapid development, in the long run it was industry which counted, industrialisation meant, above everything else, steel, machine-building capacity and trained manpower. The sooner the country was able to make its own machines, the quicker would be the progress towards a self-generating economy. Large plants took several years to put up; and, while there had to be adequate preparation, the implementation should be speedy. Prime Minister also referred to the importance of the price factor.

3. In relation to the possibility of increasing the small savings collections, Prime Minister referred to the results which a bank, with its headquarters at a town called Udipi on the west coast, had achieved through what it called its—"pigmy savings scheme." Small savings, even amounts as small as two annas, four annas, etc., were collected by the members of the bank staff daily after office hours by making house to house visits. In this manner something like Rs. 7 crores had apparently been collected over a period of six to seven years. Prime Minister observed that it ought to be possible to collect even larger amounts from the richer parts of the country, such as the sugar cane growing areas, for example.

4. Prime Minister referred to some papers from the Planning Commission which he had seen; and suggested their circulation to Members of the Cabinet. The papers under reference were: (1) report of a special study of investment-output-employment relationships, phasing of investment and time lags in organised manufacturing industry in India (1959); (2) a paper on the perspective for steel; (3) statistical statements prepared in the Perspective Planning Division for the period 1955-56 to 1970-71; and (4) a paper on demand projections.

5. In the course of further discussions, it was suggested that the estimate of Rs. 200 crores as balance from current revenues, while it might be accepted for the time being, should be looked into further to make more certain that the amount would really be available. In regard to the estimate of surpluses from the public enterprises, it was agreed that the amounts indicated by the Working Group on Resources might be provisionally accepted at this stage, but the figures could be considered further with reference to possible increases in the cost of production of coal, the policy regarding steel prices and the tax burden on industry. It was suggested that, as regards the likely effects of future policy in respect of steel prices, the Planning Commission might prepare a paper in consultation with the Department of Iron & Steel.

6. The importance of obtaining larger returns from the investments which had already been made during the First and Second Plans was specially emphasised.

7. Further consideration of the paper was postponed to 4.30 p.m. on February 4, 1960.

76. To the All-Party Parliamentary Committee on Planning⁴

PLANNING COMMISSION

Present

Prime Minister

Initiating the discussion the Prime Minister stressed the need to have a broad plan extending up to the Fourth or Fifth Plan period. As preliminaries took a considerable time, in thinking of the Third Plan, one had to keep in view also the Fourth Plan.

2. In the course of preliminary discussion, observations were made on the following subjects:

- (1) lags and shortcomings in implementing and obtaining results from the Second Plan;
- (2) reasons for the rate of savings during the Second Plan having been about 8% in place of 10 to 11% which had been anticipated;
- (3) extent to which public enterprises were bringing satisfactory returns;
- (4) desirability of providing for large expansion of training facilities in public enterprises;
- (5) extent to which cultivable lands were being brought into cultivation;
- (6) the size of the problem of rural water supply and the administrative or financial difficulties on account of which a sufficient impact might not have been made in solving this problem; and
- (7) need for changing procedures and regulations to enable block panchayat samitis to function with greater initiative.

Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, agreed to have papers prepared for the information of the Committee on (i) shortcomings in the implementation of the Second Plan and (ii) financial results of public enterprises.

3. The Committee next took up for consideration the conclusions and recommendations regarding the Third Five-Year Plan reached by the National Development Council at its meeting in April 1959.

(1) Increase in national income

The Prime Minister said that the proposed rate of increase in national income of 5 to 6% per annum was to some extent a matter of compulsion. If population increased at nearly 2% per annum, to make any progress at all there had to be

4. Summary record of the second meeting of the Informal Committee of Members of Parliament for Planning, 6 February 1960. Planning Commission (Coordination Branch), Papers Circulated in 1960, Vol. I.

further growth in national income of at least 2 to 3 per cent. The rate of growth in national income to be achieved in the Third Plan could, therefore, be hardly less than 5%.

It was pointed out that in the Second Plan, the increase likely to be achieved in national income would be about 20%. Taking the ten years of the First and Second Plans, the average increase in national income was about 3.5%. Increase in national income at the rate of 5 to 6% per annum would require a step-up in domestic savings of about 4%. The marginal rate of savings, which has been about 15% during the Second Plan, would have to go up to about 30%.

(2) Agricultural production

The Prime Minister stated that while the target for food production during the Third Plan had not yet been determined, discussion had centred around two figures, namely, 100 million tons and 110 million tons. It was necessary to set out the precise measures through which the food targets would be achieved.

In connection with the food production target, Shri Asoka Mehta enquired as to what new factors were being taken into account, e.g. greater awareness on the part of farmers, better administrative arrangements and improvement in rural organisation, which could provide the necessary confidence that it would be possible to secure effort in the Third Plan on a scale greatly exceeding that realised during the first two Plans. The Prime Minister referred to certain deficiencies which had existed in the past. There had been a tendency to depend heavily on the Centre and on imports from foreign countries. One could sense that there was greater awareness and ferment in the countryside and from the experience of individual farmers there were indications that the yield per acre could rise substantially.

It was pointed out on behalf of the Planning Commission that a final view in regard to the food production target had not yet been reached and that at a later stage a paper on the subject would be presented to the committee.

4. Shri Indulal Yajnik thought that State Governments might set up informal committees for planning composed of members of major parties in the State Legislatures on the same lines as the Committee at the Centre.

77. To P. S. Lokanathan: Report on Steel⁵

February 6, 1960

My dear Lokanathan,

Thank you for your letter of February 6th and the report on steel which you have sent me.⁶ I am glad that you have made this thorough report on this important question. As a matter of fact, our Perspective Division of the Planning Commission had arrived at the same conclusion some time ago, and I agree with it. Your report confirms this conclusion with authority.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

78. To Babubhai M. Chinai: Tax Inquiry Committee⁷

February 15, 1960

Dear Shri Chinai,

I have your letter of February 13th. Long before the Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee was appointed,⁸ we considered this question and came to the conclusion that it would be desirable to make income-tax assessment available to the public. This would have been done probably much earlier, but, when the Enquiry Committee was appointed, it was decided to await its report. Now that the Committee has reported, there is no longer any reason for the delay. At the present moment I have not before me what the Enquiry Committee has said.

This was not merely a question of reaching tax evaders, but had a broader basis. You have mentioned some countries, like the U.K., U.S.A., etc., where these assessments are not publicised. There are other countries where these are made available to the public, notably in Sweden where this was done a long time ago and, it is reported, that it had excellent effects.

I cannot for the present say exactly what the Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee has recommended and how far that particular recommendation will be accepted.

5. Letter to the Director-General, National Council of Applied Economic Research. File No. 17(318)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
6. See Appendix 19.
7. Industrialist and Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.
8. Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee, headed by Mahavir Tyagi, to propose measures to reduce problems for assesses and to control tax evasion; reported in 1959.

I am sure the Finance Minister⁹ is giving full consideration to this matter. But the broad principle I have mentioned above has been accepted by us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

79. To P.C. Mahalanobis: Economic Development Conferences¹⁰

February 17, 1960

My dear Mahalanobis,

Your letter of the 17th February about the conferences on economic development. You had told me about these previously and I agreed with your proposals. There should be no difficulty about your holding these meetings in India.

I do not know if you expect any financial contribution from Government. I have a vague recollection that you did not want to ask Government for any such help.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

80. To N. R. Pillai: Economic Development Conferences¹¹

I am sending you a letter and other papers which I have received from Professor Mahalanobis. I have sent him a brief reply, copy of which is enclosed.¹² I think this idea of holding these conferences on economic development in under-developed countries a good one. We often hold big conferences. But a relatively small and select gathering from various countries is likely to do much good.

There can of course be no objection at all to holding these meetings here in India. The only question that might arise is that of finances. So far as the travel expenditure of people attending it is concerned, the members coming will have to make some arrangements for it themselves. But, as for local expenditure here, perhaps we could help.

9. Morarji Desai.

10. Letter to the Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta and Member, Planning Commission.

11. Note to the Secretary General, MEA, 17 February 1960.

12. See item 79.

81. On Launching a Floating Fair¹³

Shri Morarji Veda and friends,

I am glad to be associated with this function for a variety of reasons. One of them being, that it struck me as a somewhat novel idea and I like new ideas. We are apt to function far too much in the old ruts all the time.

It is obvious, that at any time and more especially at present, the question of our exports is of high importance. A developing country inevitably has to have imports of capital goods, chiefly, and unless it can balance them, great difficulties arise as we have had to face in the past. We are passing through this difficult and yet very fascinating period of our industrial growth. We are, you might say, on the verge of becoming a much more industrialised community than we have been. That of course does not mean that agriculture, the principal function of most people in India, in a sense our principal industry, can have second place; it is bound to have first place and it is on that basis that really we even industrialise the country. But the fact remains that however prosperous our agriculture might become—and I hope it will become prosperous—and its production will increase greatly, there is no solution to the basic problem of India's poverty without industrial increase, without industrialisation.

Industrialisation meaning of course, in the modern age, the application of modern methods, modern technology and science, to the production of the goods that we need or that other people need and which we can exchange with them, because industry is not, however it may grow, a one-sided affair. We talk sometimes about becoming self-sufficient in various matters, that is a desirable goal. But in fact there is and there need be no self-sufficiency. Trade, if every country was completely self-sufficient by itself, there hardly be any need for trade. But obviously, trade comes in, because some countries can produce some type of goods, other countries, other types. The colder climates produce one type of thing, the warmer another, the tropical, the equatorial, another, and there has to be some kind of an exchange. Nevertheless, in a country like India, which covers quite a variety of climates and which has industrious and capable people, there is great room for us, not to become self-sufficient in the final sense, but nevertheless to supply most of our needs and more. In industry undoubtedly, we are so situated geographically and otherwise, that we can approach that objective and even succeed in largely achieving it. Anyhow, the problem is that in order to meet the basic demand of the time, that is, social and economic progress, industrialisation becomes essential; in order to have employment, more and more employment, till there is I hope one day when we have full employment,

13. Speech at the inauguration of the Floating Fair on the *S. S. Jyoti*, New Delhi, 27 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

industrialisation is necessary and essential. That is not a question which needs argument.

Problems arise about the best way of doing it, the quickest way of doing it. Some people think, that if matters are left to chance, somehow or other this will be done, with help of course. Other people think that and this or any matter which is of vital importance cannot be left to chance, it should be thought about. Now, one would imagine that for anything, any major work that we undertake, thinking is essential. Not only thinking, but a proper approach to it, a well thought out planned approach is essential. Planning comes in. It is quite inevitable it seems to me. One may again differ as to the nature of planning, although even there, there is not too much room for difference, As we approach this question in a scientific way, the choices become relatively limited, of course, there is always a choice what I mean an organised thought out scientific approach leads to certain almost inevitable conclusions.

There are a number of obviously uncertain factors. The major uncertain factor is the quality and the quantity of work which a community can do. Because it is out of that work that things are produced and surpluses are created. This is the uncertain factor, even more so in agriculture. The rains or the monsoon may be good or bad. One can control them or rather allow for them by irrigation, by various things, as we are trying to do. But an element of uncertainty remains in agriculture. The uncertainty in industry is really much less and it ought to be less. The only limiting factor of that is the quality of the people who work and I say people who work, of every grade.

I think, it is recognised not only in India, but elsewhere, that the quality of the Indian people both intellectually considered and considered from the point of view of manual labour, if you like or technical labour, this quality is high of our people, given the opportunity, they make good.

Then again, there is one other thing, that is, the kind of raw materials you might possess in the country. On the whole, we have a fairly good supply whether it is iron or coal or whatever else it might be. So that all the factors for industrial development or nearly all of them are here. The essential factors always being the human factors. The quality of the people if you like to put it in that way. And all that we have to do is, to so organise, to so train, to so give opportunities to our people, so that this potential can become actual. That is the business of planning. And our Five Year Plans are supposed to achieve that objective, naturally depending always on the quantum and quality of the work done in the country by all grades of people. Therefore, industrialisation becomes essential and I believe it is recognised that we are making fairly good progress. But nevertheless, we are not wholly satisfied. We wanted to be faster, speedier, more effective, more far reaching.

Now, one of the effects of all this is one of the resultants is that we must export, we must produce, that is the first thing of course, production is the

essential thing, and we must export so as to be able to increase our own production and so as really to arrive at the stage of what is often referred to now as the "take off stage". All that I am saying to you is elementary knowledge, it is nothing new, what I said. That is the importance of exports, the importance of production, importance of exports. But this particular venture, what is called a floating fair seems to me happily conceived. We have exhibitions here, and we have had very good exhibitions here, industrial, agricultural and the like. People who come to these exhibitions, they have been duly impressed, whether they come from foreign countries or from different parts of our own country, and adequately surprised that the variety of goods that India is producing today; and this is increasing all the time, even producing some capital goods and certainly many varieties of consumer goods, even the recent exhibition that is the Agricultural Fair that is in its last days now¹⁴ has been to many people almost a revelation of what is being done in India. That is the domain of agriculture; especially also in other domains, the pavilion of India's exports is a very revealing one as to what India is doing and that I'm sure even so, I don't think it is by any means a complete pavilion. There are many, many things which might have been included, which are not there. So that we are on this verge of a jump forward in this domain and we should utilise every effort to encourage it.

And this idea of sending a ship with a floating fair with India's goods will reach people who have no chance of coming here to see our exhibitions, reach the vast number of people and therefore I said a very happy idea. Apart from the trade part of it, which is important, such a floating fair on a ship will also help, I am sure as it is intended to help, to create feelings of friendship and co-operation between India and the countries it visits. And I hope that factor will always be borne in mind because whether we export or whatever we do, it is not our policy to exploit any other country to our own advantage. As a matter of fact, that kind of thing cannot easily be done in the world today. Countries are not quite so, no country is so simple-minded that it will allow itself to be exploited and certainly we do not want to exploit it.

So, our approach has to be a friendly approach, a co-operative approach and approach with mutual advantage in its train and others should realise it and the more other people realise it, the more this kind of advantageous trade to both parties will be advanced.

During the past, our exports have been very largely what are called conventional exports, tea, jute, etc. Well, tea and jute are very important factors and they should certainly be encouraged in every way, their export. Nevertheless, to depend on the conventional articles in a changing world, is not a good thing, apart from the fact that other countries can also grow tea and jute and are growing them.

14. Concluded on 29 February 1960.

Therefore, it becomes all the more important that the range and the variety of our exports should increase and take the form of not the raw materials only but the manufactured goods, consumer goods, capital goods, all these things. So this ship, I think steamship *Jyoti* it is called, will carry these evidences of India's manufactures, handicrafts etc., to distant countries and thus in a way carry a bit of India, because the work that people do represents those people, more than their productive apparatus, than what they consume. Because that consumption is an easy thing. It's production that shows the ability of the country and its quality. So, this will be a small part of India going abroad with a message of goodwill from us, and with a message of our co-operating to our mutual advantage, and I wish it all success. Now, I am supposed to pull a string and inaugurate this adventure.

Well as you see, I have pulled the string and displayed a model of this good ship which will carry India's handicrafts and manufactures across the seas and so inaugurate this adventure and wish it success. [Applause]

82. To Harekrushna Mahtab: Poor Performance in Puri District¹⁵

February 28, 1960

My dear Mahtab,

I have received a letter from an M.P., Shri G.C. Misra,¹⁶ with which he has sent his study report about Nayagarh Block in Puri District. I am afraid this report presents a gloomy picture of the work that is being done in this Block. I suppose that conditions in other blocks are more or less similar. I am enclosing the report he has sent me. I hope you will do something to put some life in this work in the blocks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Letter to the Chief Minister of Orissa.

16. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa,

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare**83. To S. K. Dey: Panchayati Raj and Village Cooperatives¹⁷**

February 1, 1960

My dear Dey,

I am glad to have your letters¹⁸ telling me of the new awareness that you are finding in the countryside and the promise that is visible now because of panchayati raj etc. That, of course, is good. I should like to know, however, what exactly your appraisal is of the near future in concrete terms. This means in terms of agricultural production, especially that of foodgrains. This question becomes more and more vital for us and comes up at every stage when we consider the Third Five Year Plan.

Also I should like to know what you think of the growth of cooperatives? What are the figures and, more important still, what is the inner content of these cooperatives? There is always a tendency to start cooperatives which look beautiful on paper and do little.

One of the essential functions of cooperatives should be distribution of foodgrains etc. Is this making any progress? I understand that the city of Madras is fairly good at this but not so the cities of Calcutta and Bombay. Of course, your cooperatives deal with the rural areas, not so much with the cities.

Wherever there is water available through irrigation, the new patterns of agriculture should grow up, such as double cropping. In Madras, this has succeeded to some extent but not so elsewhere. Are any efforts being made in our Community Development movement to encourage double cropping?

I am convinced that the essence of higher production lies in an effective district organisation which would enable supplies for the farmer to reach him in time and otherwise which would utilise available resources. Is it your impression that this district administration is pulling itself up?

From the large number of farmers that have been visiting me, I have generally gathered the impression that there is a new awareness and recognition of the needs today and that they are prepared to profit by new methods whenever an opportunity is given to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Letter. File No. 17 (263)/60-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

18. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 307.

84. To M. A. Rauf: Panchayati Raj and Village Cooperatives¹⁹

February 1, 1960

My dear Rauf,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th January 1960. I agree with a great deal that you say in your letter. In fact it is on this basis that we are trying to approach our agricultural problems. One of the biggest changes that we are making is the transfer of a great deal of authority as well as resources to the panchayats. Some people were afraid of this and thought it involved too great a risk. But I am convinced that this is the right move. This has been done completely in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh and in other States this is bound to follow.²⁰

The general structure is Village Panchayat, Panchayat Samitis comprising 40 or 50 villages and lastly the Zila Parishad. All these are fully elected bodies and no officials are members of them, though they may attend in an advisory capacity. In the main, powers have been transferred to the Panchayats and the Panchayat Samitis. All this is called Panchayati raj.

Although there is broad uniformity, each State has introduced its own variations. A great part of the land revenue and sometimes the whole of it has been transferred to these Panchayat Samitis, etc. They are entitled to tax themselves more if they want to for their own purposes. The result of all this is a growing feeling of self-reliance. The Panchayats do not run up to Government officials with demands and realise that they have to justify themselves. Of course, mistakes will occur and internal quarrels will, no doubt, take place. But this is the only way to teach them how to govern themselves.

The second move is Village Cooperatives. We are particularly anxious that officials should not run them, but should only be available for advice.

My own impression is that there is a new awareness among our farmers. We are now having a big Agriculture Fair in Delhi which is most interesting. Vast numbers of farmers from all over India have come here to see it and have been encouraged to do so by Government. They have been fascinated and have put very intelligent questions which show their personal interest.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. Letter to India's ambassador to Belgium.

20. See SWJN/SS/53/p. 14.

(c) Food and Agriculture

85. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Foodgrain Output in Bihar²¹

January 29, 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th December. It has only just reached me. I wonder if the date is really 27th January instead of 27th December.

I am glad you have drawn my attention to the comparative figures of foodgrains production in Bihar and some other States. East UP is of course in line with Bihar in most of these matters.

It is perfectly true that the irrigated areas in the South and elsewhere have an advantage. But I have a feeling from my knowledge of East UP that the peasantry is very backward even in regard to things which they can do. The element of good husbandry is lacking.

I notice from your figures that Bihar has made considerable advance in rice yields during the past few years.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

86. To S. M. Wahi: Taxes and Beggars²²

January 30, 1960

Dear Shri Wahi,

I have your letter of January 22nd.²³

Your suggestion that some kind of tax might be levied on bills for parties, dinners, lunches, etc., is, I think, worthy of consideration. I am not quite sure about its feasibility. Perhaps, some small beginning could be made. Anyhow, I shall have this matter examined.

The question of rehabilitation of beggars, however, is a much more complicated question. This does not merely mean trying to give some employment to those who are capable of it, but raises other issues. Many of these beggars are no good at employment and would not even like it. Essentially, this would be the work of voluntary organisations.

21. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

22. Letter to the Vice-President of International Federation of Agricultural Producers.

23. See Appendix 4.

I hope to go to the World Agriculture Fair again and when I do so I shall try to visit the IFAP Pavilion. I cannot give any long notice for it because I shall have to decide almost at the last moment. I do not think it is necessary for you to invite representatives of farm organisations to meet me at the time.²⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

87. To S. K. Patil: Scientific Agriculture and Management²⁵

February 1, 1960

My dear SK,

We are considering in the Planning Commission tomorrow the broad approach to the Third Plan, the physical targets, our resources and the financial allocations involved. Day after tomorrow, this will come up before the Cabinet. The subject is obviously of vast importance and the Cabinet will have to consider it very carefully at more than one meeting. Everyone realises that from now onwards till the end of the Third Five Year Plan, we shall be passing through a crucial period which will powerfully affect our future growth and economy and consequently most other problems that face us.

The key to this planning, it is well recognised now, is agricultural production and, more especially, production of foodgrains. The second vital element, which indeed flows from the first, is the stability of prices. No amount of advance on other fronts will make good a lack of advance on the agricultural front.

I have been meeting large numbers of farmers, both in Delhi and in some other places that I have been to and it has seemed to me that there is among them a new awareness and appreciation of the situation and a desire to make good. That is certainly a welcome development because everything depends on improving our methods of agriculture. Scientific agriculture is the root of our problem. This scientific agriculture has to be applied to Indian conditions and there is plenty of scope for that without our going in on a large-scale mechanization. Where our people are trained a little and show to them what is easily possible, they take to it. We have to evolve new patterns, more especially where water is available for

24. This letter along with the letter under reply was sent to Morarji Desai on the same date. Nehru wrote: "I would like to draw your attention to the sidelined part of it in which it is suggested that some kind of tax might be put on bills for parties, dinners, lunches, etc. for rehabilitation of beggars. It is not clear to me how this can be made to work. Still I think that it is worthy of examination. I suppose that this should really go to the Corporation or the Municipality and the money realised should be earmarked for social work. Perhaps, we could start it on a small scale in Delhi itself."

25. Letter. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

irrigation purposes. There can be double cropping, perhaps occasionally even three crops. The progress made in Madras in this respect is substantial and I am told that a farmer using some electric power in his well increases this production very considerably. He pays the rent of the electric power and has substantial surplus left over.

Then there is the question of administration. We are considering in various ways the removal of obstructions involving delays and I hope that we shall succeed in this. In addition to this, however, there is the actual effectiveness and speed of the administrative apparatus in the district. Supplies such as seeds, fertilizers, etc., must reach the farmer in time which they do not at present, owing to delays in the administrative apparatus. The occasion appears to me to be propitious for a great push forward in all these matters.

While all this is of course important anyhow, the present consideration of our Third Plan has brought this aspect to the forefront even more than previously. The more we look at this Plan, the more we realise how much it turns round agricultural production and stability of prices. Prices have tended to go up. Even now when prices should be fairly low, they are I believe on the high side. All kinds of consequences flow from this high level of prices and demands are made on us for higher salaries etc. The more we look at this thing, the more we find that we go round and round this question of agricultural production and prices.

I suppose that we might have to face some rise in prices in April, especially in rice. The time factor, therefore, becomes important. I do not know what the production prospects are this year. Vaguely I imagine that they are fairly good and that we might have a somewhat higher production this year than the last. What steps can we take to control this trend of prices to go up in the future? The time factor is important.

You often said that you were building up stocks. That, of course, is very necessary. But I take it that this will take some time and meanwhile if prices go up too far, it will be difficult to lower them.

All these questions come up in considering our future planning. They might be referred to in the course of our discussions in the Cabinet. It will be helpful to have some brief information about prices. How the prices have been affected in Bengal and Orissa after the new arrangements between those two States?

While we shall no doubt generally consider these matters in the Cabinet, it seems to me that it would be helpful to have a smaller meeting a little later to give special consideration to this question of agricultural production, reserve stocks and prices. This special meeting will consist of, in addition to you and me, the Home Minister and the Finance Minister and one or two representatives of the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

88. To B. P. Chaliha: Relief for Mizo Hills²⁶

February 2, 1960

My dear Chaliha,

I enclose a copy of a telegram I have received.²⁷ This subject was discussed by us when I was in Shillong last.²⁸

I do not quite know what I can do in the matter. One thing rather surprises me. When I questioned the people who had come from this tribal area, they told me that there was plenty of fruit there. If so, I do not understand the necessity to eat forest leaves. Of course, I realise their need for rice, and efforts should be made to supply this to them. The idea of sending them by air, as I pointed out, is not feasible except to a small extent. Even a simple calculation made then showed that it would require thousands of air sorties to send them the quantity required. This cannot be done physically even if we tried our utmost. As it happens, we have had very severe losses in our Air Force in recent months, and some of them have been due to flying in the Assam hills. It is not fair to our pilots or to our aircraft to endanger them in this way.

I am seeing your Tribal Minister²⁹ here tomorrow morning and will discuss this matter with him. Meanwhile, I am sending you a cheque for Rs.10,000/- from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund for any relief work that you may consider necessary in this area in the Mizo District.

I might inform you that our Defence Minister is arranging to have some sorties flown out from Jorhat to carry rice to this area in Mizo District.³⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam.

27. President of the Adhog Congress, Dimagiri, Mizo District thus cabled on 28 January 1960: "Hjum paddy totally destroyed by rats. Dimagiri under Mizo District, Assam Area. Tribals all passing days on starvation hardship eating forest leaves facing death. No money for purchasing paddy. Approached Chief Minister, Shilliong, Deputy Commissioner, Mizo District for help, but no action. We tribals feeling helpless. Pray your intervention and sanction cash dole and free paddy rice distribution. Big loan money rupees one lakh specially for Chakma tribes of Lungleh Sub-Division. Save tribals. Solicit your kind intimation immediately by wire."

28. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 310.

29. Williamson A. Sangma.

30. See *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 956-962, 15 February 1960, on starvation deaths in the Mizo Hills.

89. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Khrushchev's Visit to Suratgarh³¹

February 6, 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

Your letter of February 5th about mechanized farms in Rajasthan.³²

I am sorry to say that I shall not accompany Khrushchev to Suratgarh on the 13th February.³³ I very much wanted to do so but I have some important meetings on that day in Delhi. You should, of course, go to Suratgarh on the day Khrushchev goes there. As you perhaps know, he will now go there for a few hours only and not spend the night there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. To The Bharat Krishak Samaj: Agriculture and Growth³⁴

डॉक्टर पंजाबराव देशमुख,³⁵ बहिनो और भाइयो,
इतने सारे आप सभी को यहाँ देखकर और यह पारितोषिक अभी आपको मिले। और यह सुनकर कि जिन लोगों ने पारितोषिक पाया उन्होंने अपनी ज़मीन पर कितना-कितना पैदा किया, इसके बाद एक बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती और वो बात यह है कि हमारे देश में फिर कहीं-कहीं अन्न पैदा करने में कमी कैसे हो जाती है। जब आप लोग इतना पैदा कर सकते हैं, इतनी जानकारी रखते हैं, सारे देश के हिस्सों से चाहे दक्खिन, चाहे उत्तर, पूर्व, पश्चिम, इतने लोग जानने वाले हैं। एक्सपर्ट हैं सीखे हुए, अभ्यास है आपको उसका। तो फिर हमारे देश के इस मामले में, इस बात में कठिनाई क्या है? जब इतने सीखे हुए आदमी हैं और सिखाने वाले आदमी हैं क्योंकि आपसे कहने की ज़रूरत तो नहीं है। लेकिन फिर भी यह बात समझने की है देश भर को कि सबसे बड़ा प्रश्न देश के सामने इस समय और एक माने में हमेशा यह रहेगा कि हम भूमि से क्या पैदा करते हैं? यह बात सही है कि आजकल के समय में, ज़माने में, बहुत नयी-नयी चीज़ें निकली हैं, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने हैं, जिससे बहुत कुछ पैदा होता है और यह भी बात सही है कि जो देश दरिद्रता से निकले हैं और खुशहाल हो गए हैं वो तभी हुए हैं जिन्होंने आजकल की दुनिया में नये-नये तरीकों का प्रयोग किया है। यह मोटी बात है, देखने की है। आप देख लें जो देश में इस वक़्त, जो दुनिया में इस समय,

31. Letter. File No. 31(23)/56-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

32. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 428-430.

33. Nehru visited Suratgarh on 26 February 1960. He was accompanied by Morarji Desai, Mehr Chand Khanna, M. V. Krishnappa, the Deputy Minister for Food, and the Swedish Ambassador. See *The Hindu*, 27 February 1960.

34. Speech, New Delhi, 14 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

35. Union Minister of State for Agriculture.

जो देश खुशहाल धनी गिने जाते हैं आम जनता में। कुछ लोगों का नहीं कहता, वो ऐसे देश हैं जिन्होंने यह नये ढंग समझे हैं, जो विज्ञान से निकले हैं, जो मशीन से निकले हैं, जो उनको समझे हैं वो देश धनी हो गये हैं। उन्होंने अधिक पैदा किया।

धनी होने के माने क्या हैं? वो अधिक पैदा करते हैं धन। तो यह बात तो सही है, लेकिन उसको भी आप दूसरी तरह से देखें। तो पहला प्रश्न यह होता है कि ज़मीन से, भूमि से क्या पैदा करते हैं। कितनी ही तरक्की हो दुनिया में, उन्नति हो, बड़े बड़े कारखानों की और एटम बम की। आखिर में आप ज़मीन पर भूमि पर पहुँच जाते हैं। अगर उसकी सेवा ठीक न हो और उससे पैदा न हो खासतौर से बहुत सारे सब बड़े-बड़े कारखाने ठंडे हो जायें दुनिया में, जो मशीन एज गिनी जाती है। तो यह एक मूल बात है, बुनियादी बात है हमारे सामने। तो खैर है ही कि हम काफी अन्न पैदा करें। और चीज़ें ज़मीन से पैदा करें तभी हमारी गाड़ी ठीक चल सकती है, तभी हमारी देश की जनता की उन्नति होगी।

तो मुझे खुशी हुई कि इस साल यहाँ एक प्रदर्शनी हुई जो आप जानते हैं बहुत सफल हुई। और उसकी सफलता के खास माने, विशेष माने, यह है। यह नहीं कि वहाँ भीड़ गयी, बल्कि कुछ अगर भीड़ कम कर दी जाती तो अच्छा होता। लोग देख तो सकते ठीक-ठीक, भीड़ भड़क्के में देखना कठिन हो गया। लेकिन जो उसमें अच्छी बातें हुई वो यह कि हमारे किसान भाई और बहिन दूर-दूर से भारत के, उसको देखने आये। देखने एक तो यह कि विदेश के लोग क्या कर रहे हैं? बड़े विदेशों के मंडप थे बाज़ू देशों के। और उससे भी अधिक आवश्यकता यह थी कि हमारे प्रदेशों में हमारे लोग क्या कर रहे हैं? क्योंकि उससे हम देख सकते थे कि जो हमारे भाई कर रहे हैं हमारे देश में वो हम भी कर सकते हैं। अब जो अमेरिका में, रूस में कर रहे हैं हो सकता है हम कर सकें, न कर सकें। उनके देश में अलग अजीब हालत हो। लेकिन जो हमारे यहाँ हमारे किसान भाई कर रहे हैं वो सब किसान कर सके हैं।

अब आप देखें- मैं अभी तक, मुझे इस बात का खेद है पूरे तौर से प्रदर्शनी में जा नहीं सका, गया तो तीन चार दफ़े हूँ लेकिन सब मंडप देख नहीं सका। लेकिन अक्सर मैं हमारे प्रान्तों के, प्रदेशों के मंडपों में, मैं गया। और देखकर मुझे कुछ खुशी हुई और कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ यह देखकर कि वहाँ चुनी हुई जगहों पर कितनी तरक्की हुई है, कितने आगे बढ़े हैं। तो प्रश्न यह नहीं होता हमारे सामने कि हम क्या करें? बल्कि कैसे, जो किया है थोड़ी जगह, उसको फैलायें सब जगह? यह प्रश्न हो जाता है। क्योंकि करने वाले हैं— यहाँ कर रहे हैं बहुत अच्छा काम, उसको आप देख सकते हैं। देखकर आपको उससे विश्वास हो, उससे आप सीख सकते हैं और लाभ उठा सकते हैं। तो यह बहुत अच्छी बात यह हुई है कि इतने सारे लोग देश भर से यहाँ आये और उन्होंने देखा, समझे और यहाँ से कुछ नये विचार लेकर वो वापस जाएँगे। जिससे और भी उन्नति कर सकें बाद को।

डॉक्टर पंजाब राव ने कहा कि इस प्रदर्शनी के कारण मुझे बड़ी कठिनाई उठानी पड़ी। इसलिए कि बहुत सारे लोग जो प्रदर्शनी के लिए बाहर से आते थे वो मुझसे भी मिलने आ जाते थे। यह बात तो सही नहीं है कि मुझे उससे कठिनाई हुई। मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई कि आप लोगों में से वहाँ आते थे और मुझे रोज़ प्रतिदिन इस बात का भी कुछ दुःख होता था कि मैं काफी समय आपके साथ नहीं रह सका। लेकिन थोड़ी देर भी मैं रहता था और कुछ आपसे बातचीत करता था तो मैं कुछ उससे सीखता था आपसे, कुछ आपसे कहता भी था। लेकिन कुछ सीखता भी था। और

विशेषकर कहने सुनने की बात नहीं थी आपके वहाँ आने से आपके चेहरे को देखकर और आपकी बातें सुनकर मैं। मुझे यह मालूम होता था कि कैसे हमारे देश में किसानों में और जो भूमि पर काम करते हैं एक नयी हवा फैल रही है, नया वायुमंडल बन रहा है हमारे देहातों में, इससे मुझे खुशी होती थी। क्योंकि यह बात एक दो तीन आदमी की नहीं है कि उनको इनाम मिल जाये बड़ी कोशिश करके। बल्कि बात यह है कि इसी तरह से एक नयी हवा देश भर में फैली जिससे हमारे करोड़ों किसान उठे, उनको लाभ हो और देश उठे। और क्योंकि आखिर देश में आप जानते हैं सौ में पचहत्तर-अस्सी लोग देहात में रहते हैं और देश की उन्नति के माने हैं आखिर में कि उन लोगों की उन्नति हो। दिल्ली और बम्बई शहर की और मद्रास और कलकत्ता की बात नहीं है। जिस वक़्त हमारे गाँव उठने लगे, हमारे ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो गाँव की, वहाँ की जनता उठे तब आप समझिए कि यह बड़ा देश उठा। और जो बातें हों इधर-उधर उससे भी लाभ होता है, आवश्यक है।

लेकिन आवश्यक इसी तरह से उसको भी नापना चाहिए कि उससे आम ग्रामीण जनता को कितना फ़ायदा हो रहा है। एकदम से फ़ायदा आपको शायद दिखे नहीं। फर्ज़ करो कि हम सिन्दरी में बड़ा कारख़ाना बनायें फर्टिलाइज़र का, वो तो एक बड़ा शहर का शहर सिन्दरी का हो जाता है बनाने से। जो हम वहाँ बना रहे हैं राउरकेला में, भिलाई में, और दुर्गापुर में- लोहे के बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने। वो इतने बड़े हैं कि आप जाकर देखें तो एक-एक जगह एक बड़ा नगर बन गया है। एक लाख आदमी, डेढ़ लाख आदमी कारख़ाने के, इधर घर बन गए। यह बड़ी चीज़ है। कोई देहाती चीज़ तो नहीं है। लेकिन लोहा देहाती चीज़ है। और लोहे की कमी से देहात में आपकी हानि होती है। नये, नये या पुराने जो कुछ औज़ार आपके पास हों, लोहे से बनते हैं, लोहे की कमी से कठिनाई होती है। इसलिए हम जो वहाँ लोहे के कारख़ाने बनायें तो उससे औरों को तो ख़ैर लाभ हो बहुत बातों में, लेकिन हमारी ग्रामीण जनता को भी लाभ होता है। इस तरह से दोनों चीज़ें मिली हैं, कोई अलग नहीं हैं। गाँव का काम करना या शहर में। लेकिन असल आप नापना चाहते हैं, तराजू में तोलें कि भारत आगे बढ़ रहा है कि नहीं। तो उस तराजू में देखना होता है कि भारत की ग्रामीण जनता कितनी बढ़ रही है। प्रश्न बड़ा है। इसलिए कि हमारे देश में चालीस करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं। उससे ऊपर हो गये हैं सुना है, बढ़ते जाते हैं। अब पिछले पिछले गिनती में मर्दुमशुमारी में मुझे याद नहीं सैंतीस थे कितने थे, सैंतीस करोड़ थे, अब चालीस के ऊपर हो गये। अब थोड़े दिन बाद होने वाली है तो उससे मालूम हो कितने और बढ़े।

अब आप देखें उसमें कई कठिनाई होती हैं। जो कुछ हम देश भर में धन पैदा करें और धन के माने हैं नई चीज़, यह नहीं कि धन के माने सोना, चांदी, रुपया, नहीं वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं। वो भी आवश्यक हैं, व्यापार के लिए। क्योंकि आपके पास नहीं तो कठिनाइयाँ हो जायें व्यापार में। लेकिन असल धन जो पैदा होता है देश भर में वो तो है नयी चीज़ कोई बने। भूमि से आप नयी चीज़ पैदा करें- वो धन है, नयी है, किसी और के जेब से आपने नहीं ली। अपने परिश्रम से और ज़मीन की सेवा करके आपने कुछ पैदा किया। तो वो नया धन है देश के लिए, आपके लिए। कारख़ाने में हम कोई चीज़ बनायें तो नया धन है पुराना नहीं। कारीगर कोई चीज़ बनाये तो नयी चीज़ बनाई उसने।

अब दूसरा धन है। देखो, फर्ज़ करो कोई साहूकार रुपया बनाता है तो साहूकार नया धन नहीं बनाता। वो एक जेब से दूसरी जेब में वो ही धन जाता है? तो नया धन देश के लिए नहीं हुआ।

वो तो हेराफेरी हो गयी, इधर से उधर चला गया। तो उससे देश का लाभ नहीं होता। तो इसलिए नये धन हमें पैदा करना है। विशेषकर नया धन होता है ज़मीन से पैदा या कारख़ाने से और कारख़ाने से भी जो पैदा होता है उसमें ज़मीन की चीज़ें जाती हैं, तब कारख़ाने से पैदा होता है। उसके पीछे भी भूमि है। बहुत कुछ या तो भूमि के नीचे की चीज़ें, जैसे नीचे लोहा, आयरन। और, और जाके उससे निकालिए। तो यह सब देश में हम जो धन पैदा करें। और हम हिसाब लगाते हैं अक्सर कि हरेक व्यक्ति की आमदनी देश में क्या है? पर-केपिटा इन्कम क्या है? अब और बहुत थोड़ी है हमारे देश की, वो होता क्या है? जो कुछ धन देश भर में पैदा हुआ उसके हिसाब में बाँटते हैं हम चालीस करोड़ आदमियों में। तो चालीस करोड़ के हिस्से कम पड़ जाती हैं और पर-केपिटा इन्कम हर व्यक्ति की आमदनी क्या है औसत? वो बहुत कम पड़ जाती है क्योंकि चालीस करोड़ में बाँट गयी वो। और ठीक है इसी तरह से लगाया जाता है। तो अब हम जो बढ़ायें पर-केपिटा इन्कम जनता की, तो हमेशा याद रखिये चालीस करोड़ आदमियों की आमदनी बढ़ानी है। तो काफी बढ़ानी पड़ती है कि वो घटे नहीं एक तरह से। तो एक तरह से बड़ा कठिन सवाल है। यह चालीस करोड़ आदमियों में बाँटा तो कितना है? दूसरी तरह से देखें चालीस करोड़ आदमी परिश्रम से बढ़ायें तो उतने काम करने वाले बढ़ाने वाले हो गये तो तेज़ी से बढ़नी चाहिए।

दो इसके रूप हैं। अब आप देखेंगे जो देश तरक्की करते हैं उनमें दो बातें होती हैं। एक तो यह कि आजकल के नये ढँग से वो आगे बढ़ते हैं। जो नया तरीका है अच्छे हल चलाने के, अच्छी ज़मीन में बीज डालने के जो-जो तरीके हैं। जो आप जानते हैं एक तो वो बात है। दूसरी यह बात है कि, कितना परिश्रम होता है नयी बातों की समझ और परिश्रम। और दुनिया में जहाँ यह दोनों बातें हैं वहाँ कोई संदेह नहीं कि बड़ी तरक्की होती है। जहाँ कमी है वहाँ रह जाते हैं, क्योंकि दुनिया में, सारे संसार में, परिश्रम से तरक्की होती है। आप बड़ी बहस सुनें बड़ी-बड़ी। यह नीति हो, वो नीति हो और नीति की बहस कभी-कभी ठीक होती है। क्योंकि सही नीति होनी चाहिए। लेकिन कोई भी नीति हो उसके पीछे परिश्रम करना पड़ता है। बग़ैर परिश्रम के नहीं बढ़ते, यह तो आप जानते हैं।

अब बहस हो कि अमेरिका में एक नीति है, रूस में दूसरी है, जर्मनी में कुछ है, जापान में कुछ है। यह देश हैं जिन्होंने उन्नति की है। लेकिन आप इन देशों में जायें, जो बातें आप देखें। एक तो यह कि परिश्रम सब जगह होता है। जिस देश ने तरक्की की— उसके पीछे मेहनत है, परिश्रम है। बैठे-बैठे व्याख्यान देकर नहीं तरक्की होती, परिश्रम से होती है। और दूसरे यह कि मैंने आपसे कहा कि वो एक जो कुछ विज्ञान से नयी बातें सीख सकते हैं उससे लाभ उठाना, नयी बात। आख़िर अगर एक ही तरह से आप काम करते जायें, कोई नयी बात नहीं सीखें तो उन्नति इतनी नहीं होगी। आप वहीं के वहीं रहेंगे, जहाँ हैं। अब दुनिया में आजकल इतना सामान पैदा होता है अमेरिका, यूरोप और दुनिया में वो कैसे? इसलिए कि नये-नये तरीके निकले हैं करने के।

मैं, एक-दूसरी आपके सामने एक बात रखूँ जिससे पैदा करने से सम्बन्ध नहीं है। लेकिन जिससे आप समझें कि कैसे दुनिया बदलती है। अब सौ बरस हुए हैं, नहीं, डेढ़ सौ बरस समझ लो। और सारी दुनिया को ले लो चाहे डेढ़ सौ-दो सौ कर लो। तो डेढ़ सौ बरस पहले कोई यात्रा करे कहीं, तो कैसे जाते हैं? सौ बरस हुए भी कहीं कैसे जाते हैं आप? या तो पैदल जाते थे या गाड़ी पर, घोड़े पर, रथ पर उससे कोई तेज़ नहीं जा सकता था। चाहे वो कोई सम्राट हो, बादशाह हो, वो, वहीं उसकी तेज़ी उतनी ही थी जो घोड़े की तेज़ी है। उससे कोई अधिक तेज़ नहीं जा सकता

था। और वो इस समय नहीं यह बात हजार बरस हुए पहले से आ रही है, दो हजार बरस। तेज़ से तेज़ चलने का, यात्रा का तरीका घोड़े पर जाना था। उससे अधिक तेज़ कोई नहीं जा सकता था? अब यह पता नहीं कहानियों में तो पढ़ते हैं उड़नखटोले और क्या-क्या? वो तो और बात है कि उड़ गये यहाँ से वहाँ। लेकिन जहाँ तक मालूम है कि तेज़ से तेज़ जाने का तरीका घोड़े पर था सारी दुनिया में। और शुरु से, आरम्भ से, हजारों बरस से, दो तीन चार, पाँच, जब से मनुष्य में बुद्धि आयी वो घोड़े पर तेज़ जा सकता था या पैदल जाए।

अब आप देखें कैसे एकदम से परिवर्तन शुरु हुआ दुनिया में? कैसे शुरु हुआ पहले कैसे छोटी सी बात से? एक अंग्रेज़ ने एक रोज़ सोचा कि देखो भाई पानी गरम करने से भाप निकलती है। बड़ी मामूली चीज़ है, भाप सब जानते हैं, आप सब जानते हैं, उसने कहा भाप में बड़ी शक्ति है। उसको दबाओ तो फिर भी निकलती है जोर से। तो उसने कहा उस शक्ति को पकड़ कर उससे पहिया चलायें। कोई बहुत कठिन बात नहीं थी। तो उसने किया। उससे रेल का इंजन बन गया भाप से, वो मामूली चीज़ जो आपके सबके रसोई में है उसने उसको पकड़कर रेल का इंजन बन गया, रेलगाड़ी बन गयी। उसके बाद और फिर लोग कहीं तेज़ी से चलने लगे। तो यह तो एक क्रान्तिकारी बात हुई न? जो कि हजार बरस से नहीं हुई थी। वह छोटी सी बात से, भाप को देखकर उसने निकाला। और, और दुनिया में एक और बड़ा परिवर्तन हुआ जो हजारों बरस से नहीं हुआ था और रेलगाड़ी फैलने लगी सब जगह।

उसके बाद कितनी और बातें हुई। रेलगाड़ी के बाद आप जानते हैं फिर यह क्या कहते हैं बिजली आयी। अब बिजली भी क्या चीज़ है। आप सब जानते हैं कि आसमान पर बिजली कड़कती है, कभी-कभी गिर जाती है हानि भी होती है। तो लोगों ने सोचा यह क्या चीज़ है? यह हमेशा से है। कई लोग उससे डर जाते हैं, कोई लोग उसकी पूजा करते हैं। लेकिन कुछ लोगों ने सोचा यह है क्या चीज़। उसको ढूँढ़ें, समझें और अजीब-अजीब तरीके निकालें उन्होंने उसको समझने को।

एक महापुरुष थे उन्होंने कहा कि बादल में बिजली होती है तो उन्होंने पतंग उड़ायी। जब बादल गरजते थे तो पतंग वहाँ थी, देखने से उसको उसमें तार बाँध दिया तो उन्होंने देखा बिजली के पास वो पहुँचा। उस तार से बिजली आयी तो चौंक उठे वो देखा कोई चीज़ है जो तार से चलती है। इस तरह से ढूँढ़ते-ढूँढ़ते उन्होंने बिजली को पहचाना। और उन्होंने देखा कि बिजली ख़ाली आकाश में नहीं होती, बिजली को कुछ चीज़ों को रगड़ के पैदा कर सकते हैं। कुछ वस्तुएँ उनको रगड़िए पहियों से जोर से तो बिजली पैदा हो जाती है। और ऐसी चीज़ है कि बच्चा भी कर सकता है। कोई जादू नहीं है। एक प्रकृति की एक शक्ति थी बिजली। अब उसको पकड़ कर, अब उसको हम पैदा करते हैं बड़े-बड़े कारख़ानों में शक्ति से।

एक तो हम पैदा करते हैं। आप जानते हैं जहाँ नदियों के वेग से या कोई नदी के पास पानी बहुत जोर से गिरे। तो उसमें पहिया लगा देते हैं तो पानी उसे घुमाने लगता है बड़े जोर से। तो उस बड़ी तेज़ी से घूमने से, दो पहिए लगाकर बिजली पैदा हो जाती है। वो चाहे आप अपने घर में थोड़ा सा करके देख सकते हैं। बहुत चाहिए तो हमने भाखड़ा-नांगल में यह और वो चारों तरफ आप देखें आश्चर्य हो आपको। बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बन जाते हैं। लेकिन है बिल्कुल सीधी। सीधी बात है कि गिरते हुए पानी के जोर से पहिया चलाना और जब पहिए की रगड़ से बाज़ ख़ास चीज़ों के बिजली पैदा होती है। उसको फिर जमा करना और तार द्वारा भेजना। और तार द्वारा शक्ति आ

जाती है बिजली की। और फिर जहाँ दो तारों को जोड़िये वहाँ पहिया फिर चलेगा वैसे ही उस शक्ति से। क्योंकि वो शक्ति आ गयी। अब उस शक्ति से जो चाहे करें। यह तो छोटी बात है कि आप रोशनी करें, पंखा चलायें, कारखाना चलायें। जो चाहे करो उससे- शक्ति है, एक शक्ति से जो चाहे आप करें। तो दुनिया में एक नयी शक्ति आयी बिजली की।

फिर देखिए एक और ढँग बिजली द्वारा, और, और बातों से तार जाने लगे। उसी तार पर ख़बर के तार आप भेजने लगे। यह तार एक अजीब बात थी कि एकदम से थोड़ी सी देर में ख़बर भेज सकें कहीं और दूसरे देश। यह एक बिजली का काम। फिर बढ़ते-बढ़ते बेतार के तार हो गए, देखिए न? जैसे रेडियो है उसमें तो कोई तार नहीं है। एक अजीब आश्चर्य की बात है कि इतना सा बक्सा आप अपने पास रखें और उसके बटन दबायें तो कोई कहीं गा रहा है, उसको आप सुन सकते हैं कोई कहीं व्याख्यान दे रहा है, कोई ख़बर आती है हज़ार मील, दस हज़ार मील। यहाँ बैठे-बैठे आप लंदन की ख़बर सुनें उसी समय। समय नहीं लगता एक सेकिंड भी नहीं लगता। यह सब बिजली के ज़्यादा समझने से बातें निकलती हैं। और याद रखो यह सब बातें ऐसी हैं जो कोई उसमें कोई जादू नहीं वो आपका बच्चा सीख सकता है। बच्चा जाये सीखे, वो कर सकता है। कोई इसमें कठिनाई नहीं, ख़ाली परिश्रम करना है, मेहनत करनी है और अच्छी तरह से पढ़ना लिखना है।

तो मैंने तो आपको दो चार बातें बताईं। कितनी और बता सकता हूँ कि जब से यह बड़ी क्रान्ति दुनिया में हुई वो क्रान्ति का एक बड़ा क़दम था जो भाप का। छोटी सी बात एक घरेलू बात का, बिजली का। और कितनी और बातें हुईं। तो उससे और देशों में अंग्रेज़ों के देश में और यूरोप के देशों ने उससे पूरा लाभ उठाया। यानी उनके हाथ में एक महाशक्ति आ गयी थी। और उस शक्ति से उन्होंने बड़े-बड़े काम किए। जो अलग-अलग लोग नहीं कर सकते थे। और उससे उन्होंने इन दौलत बहुत पैदा की एक तरफ़। और उससे उन्होंने अपनी लड़ने की शक्ति भी बढ़ा ली। बड़े-बड़े हथियार उनके पास आ गये। उन्होंने फिर आकर एशिया में और अफ्रीका में और देशों पर कब्ज़ा किया। वहाँ अपना राज्य जमाया। क्योंकि उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गई थी और दौलत बढ़ गई थी। और राज जमाकर और उन्होंने एक और बात की। फिर शुरु-शुरु में यहाँ से जो कुछ धन था इन देशों में वो हल्के-हल्के बटोर के यहाँ से अपने यहाँ ले गये अपने देशों में। और उस धन से जो, जो यहाँ से अपने देशों में जो यहाँ से ले गये। उन्होंने और अपने देशों में ये नयी क्रान्ति की, तरक्की की, कारखाने बनाये, क्या-क्या किया अंग्रेज़ी राज्य में? आपको, शुरु में जब अंग्रेज़ आये। यानी आप समझो एक 200 बरस हुए। यों तो देश के हिस्से में कहीं आये कहीं आए, लेकिन बंगाल में जब से समझो इनका राज्य गिना जाता है। 1757 से, तो क्लाइव आये थे और प्लासी की लड़ाई। प्लासी की लड़ाई क्या थी बंगाल में, चालबाज़ी, धोखेबाज़ी और फ़रेब था कोई लड़ाई नहीं थी। यह हमारा कसूर कि हम लोग चाल में आ जायें, हम धोखे में आये, वे फ़रेब करें, और बात है। लेकिन उसके बाद से इतना घर, अंग्रेज़ आये क्यों थे यहाँ? इसलिए आए थे कि हमारे यहाँ, उनको पहले लालच था। हमारे देश में जो बहुत सुंदर कपड़ा बुना जाता था उसको और चीज़ें भी विशेषकर कपड़ा बनता था बहुत बारीक, वो मुर्शिदाबाद के और कहाँ-कहाँ? उनको ले जाने का उनके यहाँ बड़े दाम मिलते थे, व्यापार, उनके लिए आये। फिर उन्होंने अपना राज्य जमाया। फिर यहाँ का धन ले जाके बहुत कुछ उन्होंने अपने देश में, उस धन से इस उद्योग की क्रान्ति की, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन किया अपने देश में। इससे उनकी शक्ति और बढ़ती गयी। तो ख़ैर, यह बात आपको बता रहा था। वो यही है कि यह यूरोप के देशों में इन क्रान्तियों से विज्ञान की औद्योगिक क्रान्ति हुई, ज़मीन पर भी नये

नये ढँग बनाये। उससे उनकी धन दौलत बढ़ गयी, उससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी और सारे संसार में फैल गयी।

अब हल्के-हल्के वो बातें और जगह भी आने लगीं। क्योंकि पर्दे के पीछे तो कोई ये बातें रहती नहीं। नया ज्ञान, नया इल्म, कोई छिपा तो रहता नहीं, हल्के-हल्के फैला। अब आजकल आप देख रहे हैं जिन बातों ने यूरोप को और अमेरिका को धनी बना दिया है- यानी विज्ञान, मशीन और टेक्नॉलोजी। वो चीज़ एशिया में फैल रही है और जगह भी दुनिया में फैल रही है। और जिन देशों में फैल रही है यूरोप के देशों के अलावा। दो तीन उनमें देश ऐसे हैं जहाँ तेज़ी से फैल रही है उन दो तीन देशों में हमारा देश भारत एक है। तेज़ी से हमारे यहाँ यह क्रान्ति उद्योग की आ रही है मशीन की। और है। और उसका असर ज़मीन पर होता है दूसरे ढँग से। तो हम क्रान्ति के समय में आजकल जीवित हैं हमारे देश में असली क्रान्ति, क्रान्ति के माने लड़ाई लड़ना, लाठी चलाना नहीं, बंदूक चलाना नहीं। असली क्रान्ति होती है जिससे आप अपने काम का तरीका बदलें, वो क्रान्ति है। देहली से कोई आगरे जाये तो उसको कितने दिन लगते थे, पता नहीं, कितने दिन लगते थे? क्योंकि पैदल, घोड़े पर जायें, गाड़ी पर जायें। अब वो एक घंटे भर में पहुँच सकता है, या तो तीन घंटे में रेल पर। आप तो क्रान्ति में फँसे हैं।

तो उस क्रान्ति का एक बड़ा भाग है कि हम ज़मीन पर कैसे काम करें। यह बहुत पुरानी बातें तो करनी ही हैं। लेकिन जो नये ढँग हैं उससे लाभ हुआ है बहुत बातों में, ज़मीन में, ज़मीन में हम कैसे चलायें? मैं इस समय वो नहीं कह रहा हूँ बड़े बड़े ट्रैक्टर, इत्यादि। जहाँ ट्रैक्टर चल सकते हैं चलें, हम कोई उनका विरोध तो नहीं करते। लेकिन बात तो यह है कि हमारे देश में बहुत कम लोग हैं जो ट्रैक्टर इस समय चला सकते हैं। और अगर चला भी सकें, क्योंकि छोटे-छोटे उनके पास थोड़ी ज़मीन है, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, उसमें कौन बड़े ट्रैक्टर, वो जभी जब सहकारी संघ हो उनका। तब उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है। खाली ट्रैक्टर चलाने की नहीं लेकिन और बहुत काम करने की। यह तो मोटी बात है कि अकेला आदमी अलग काम करे, उसकी शक्ति बँधी हुई है, और खासकर जब जिसके पास थोड़ी भूमि हो, अधिक हो तो कर सकता है। अधिक किसी के पास रहती नहीं आजकल, हल्के-हल्के कम होता जाता है वो। तो उनकी शक्ति जमी होती है जब बजाय एक आदमी अलग काम करने के वो सहकारी संघ में सौ आदमी, 200 आदमी जो कुछ हैं, 300 आदमी, या पचास आदमी मिलकर करें तो उनकी शक्ति बहुत हो जाती है उससे लाभ होता है सभी को, देश को भी।

इसलिए हम चाहते हैं सहकारी संघ सब जगह हो। इस ढँग से आप यह नई दुनिया की बातें समझ सकते हैं। उसके साथ और बातें भी हैं। क्योंकि आजकल की नई दुनिया में समझने के लिए बच्चों को पढ़ा लिखा होना चाहिए- बहुत आवश्यक है सब बच्चों को। कोई हमारे देश का बच्चा लड़का या लड़की ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए जिसको बढ़ने का मौका नहीं मिलता। हल्के-हल्के होता जाता है। वो सब पढ़े लिखें, इसलिए नहीं जैसे आजकल होता है। कोई ग्रामीण पढ़ता लिखता है पढ़कर फिर शहर में आकर बाबू होना चाहते हैं वो काम-धाम करते नहीं, एक मेज़ पर बैठकर कलम दवात चलाना चाहते हैं। बजाय इसके कि हाथ-पैर से काम करें। इससे ग्रामीण जनता की हानि होती है और शहर में एक बेकारी बढ़ जाती है। न इधर के, न उधर के। तो यों तो शहर में आना-जाना, ग्राम से शहर में होता ही है, होगा ही। लेकिन हमें ग्राम को उठाना है तो ग्राम में जो अच्छे लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं उनको वहीं रहकर अपने परिश्रम से उठाना है उसको सुंदर

कर देना है।

तो गर्ज कि हमें, हमारे सामने यह एक बड़ी क्रान्ति आयी है। हम चाहते हैं आये जिससे हमारी ग्रामीण जनता आजकल की दुनिया में कदम रख सके। वो तरीके से सीखें, बहुत सारे तरीके हैं। मैंने आपसे कहा ट्रैक्टर का। ट्रैक्टर छोड़िये, आप मामूली, आपके हल अच्छे हों। मैं नहीं जानता बहुतों के पास होंगे नये हल। अब हल तो बहुत एक सीधी सी चीज़ है, बहुत महँगी भी नहीं हैं। चालीस, पचास, साठ, सत्तर रुपये के हल मिलते हैं अच्छे हल आजकल। पुराने हमारे हल हैं वो कई-कई देखें जैसे कोई दो हजार बरस हुए हल चलाते थे वैसे ही हैं। दुनिया बदल गयी लेकिन हल वैसे ही हैं जिससे भूमि को ज़रा खुरच देते हैं ऊपर से जैसे नाखून से किसी ने खुरचा है। अब उससे क्या लाभ है? नये हल हैं, बहुत महँगे नहीं हैं आपके। एक में उसका दस गुना कमा लें, अगर हल अच्छा हो। तो हल अच्छा हो और भी छोटे-छोटे औज़ार हैं इम्प्लीमेन्ट्स हैं, सस्ते हैं। कोई दस बीस पचास रुपये के, ज़्यादा कीमत के नहीं हैं। सबसे आपका काम आसान हो जाता है अधिक काम कर सकते हैं।

मशीन के माने क्या हैं? मशीन के माने ये हैं कि चाहे बड़ी मशीन हो, चाहे छोटी हो कि जिससे एक आदमी कई आदमी का काम करे। मशीनें यही करती हैं न। मामूली बात है। सारी दुनिया की तरक्की यही कि किस तरह से एक आदमी की कार्यशक्ति बढ़े। मशीन बढ़ाती है, मशीन एक तरह से एक आपको एक नया हाथ मिल जाता है। एक हाथ नहीं 100 हाथ मिल जाते हैं, हजार हाथ। आपने हमारी पुरानी कहानियों में पढ़ा है न, कोई-कोई लोग सहस्रबाहु थे। तो मशीन तो आपका सभों को सहस्रबाहु कर देती है। इस तरह से अगर हम उसको समझें, समझ के चलायें और उसको अपना सेवक बनायें मशीन को। तो इस ढँग से हमें सीखना है, हमारे बच्चों को सीखना है, आपको सीखना है। और इस तरह से ज़मीन की ठीक सेवा हो। कोई ज़मीन से हमें लड़ना तो नहीं है, भूमि से। उसकी सेवा करके उससे अधिक हमें मिल सकता है। जिससे हमारा लाभ हो, देश का लाभ हो।

और लीजिए। अब आपका कितना सामान, हमारे कुछ रिवाज़ हैं, कस्टम्स हैं जो बड़े हानिकारक हैं। कितना सामान आप पैदा करते हैं, वो जाने किस-किस तरह के जानवर खा जाते हैं- छोटे-बड़े, चूहा, चिड़िया, क्या-क्या पता नहीं कौन-कौन खाता है उसको। जितनी वो हानि होती है उसको आप रोक दें। तब भी कितना लाभ है आपको। यह देखिए आप। अब उसमें बड़ी रुकावटें आती हैं। यह हमारे रिवाज़ हैं, यह न करो, वो न करो। अब चीन में आप सुनते हैं अधिक पैदा किया। लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात उन्होंने यह की है कि जो जानवर नाश कर देते हैं उसको रोक दिया उन्होंने। तो एकदम से बढ़ गया उनका, नाश रुक जाने से बहुत बढ़ गया। अब यह गोदाम वेयरहाउस से वगैरह बहुत कुछ बन रहे हैं। उससे आपको पूरा लाभ उठाना चाहिए वहाँ रखकर। क्योंकि उसमें हानि नहीं होती। गरज़ की यह बातें आप जानते हैं। बहुत सारे आपको कहने वाले हैं, बताने वाले हैं। किस तरह से यह हो और नये तरीके आप समझें। और समझें, इस तरह से कोई नहीं समझता है कि मैंने आपसे कहा और आप समझ गये या किसी ने कहा वो तो जभी समझते हैं जब आँख से देखते हैं, जब इसका अभ्यास करते हैं, तभी सीखते हैं। और पहले-पहले ग़लती भी हो तो हो। तो इसका प्रबन्ध होना चाहिए कि सब लोग उसको देख सकें कि कैसे होता है। और एक उसका प्रबन्ध यह था कि यहाँ यह प्रदर्शनी हुई और उससे बहुत कुछ आपने देखा। इतनी बड़ी प्रदर्शनी, तो ख़ैर, रोज़ नहीं हो सकती, लेकिन छोटी-मोटी खेती के लिए प्रदर्शनी तो हर ज़िले में होनी चाहिए।

उससे देखें और उससे आप लोग सब सीखें। क्योंकि बात यह है कि आजकल के हम जो समय में जीवित हैं, यह अजीब समय है।

मैंने आपको भाप बताया, बिजली भी, कैसे बदल दिया? लेकिन यह तो समय दूसरा हो गया। यह तो एटम बम का समय हो गया। एटम बम का आपने सुना कि इससे जब वो फेंका गया तो दो बड़े-बड़े नगर भस्म हो गये और लाखों आदमी मरे। तो लेकिन उसका दूसरा रूप यह है कि वो महान शक्ति है, अणुशक्ति। वो महान जैसे बिजली की शक्ति थी, भाप की थी, अब ये एक महान शक्ति है। वो भी पृथ्वी की शक्ति है, प्रकृति की शक्ति है, कोई जादू नहीं है। उसको भी ढूँढते-ढूँढते लोगों ने वैज्ञानिक लोगों ने ढूँढा। और पहला काम उससे दुर्भाग्य से लिया लोगों को मारने का। लेकिन वो शक्ति है जिससे भले काम हो सकते हैं बहुत। यानी सारा हमारे देश और संसार का रूप बदलने वाला है। अगर बड़े-बड़े जो देश हैं वे ऐसे धोखे में पड़े कि आपस में लड़े उस शक्ति को लेकर। तो संसार को तबाह कर देंगे। इतनी बड़ी शक्ति है उसमें हार जीत कोई नहीं रहती। वो एक-दूसरे को सब भस्म कर दें। लेकिन अगर दुनिया में शान्ति रही जैसेकि हम आशा करते हैं और इस नयी शक्ति को लगाया दुनिया के भले कामों में। तब इतना लाभ हो सकता है कि सारी दुनिया का रूप बदल जाये। तो इसलिए यह भी एक बड़ी क्रान्ति हुई न? बहुत बड़ी। ऐसे क्रान्तिकारी समय में हम जीवित हैं तो हमें हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम ज़रा जगे हुए रहें, होशियार रहें, महज़ एक पुराने गड्ढे में न पड़े रहें, पड़े हैं। और हर बात को देखें कि अरे ये तो नयी चीज़ है जाने क्या है? अरे नयी चीज़, एक नया ख़तरा आये तो उससे हमें बचना पड़ता है नये तरीकों से हम कहें कि नया ख़तरा वो हमें गिरा दे तो उससे हम कैसे बचें? और नये लाभ की बात है तो उसको भी हमें सीखना है। नहीं सीखें तो हम पिछड़ें उसमें और देश आगे बढ़ जायें।

क्योंकि संसार में जो लोग परिश्रम नहीं करते। और जो लोग जागृत नहीं रहते वो पिछड़ जाते हैं, वो देश पिछड़ जाता है। और फिर उसमें बहुत एक-दूसरे पर दया देश नहीं किया करते हैं। जो तगड़े हो जाते हैं, वो तगड़े हो जाते हैं। तो इसलिए हमारे लिए आवश्यक है, हम इस पिछड़े ज़माने में हम पिछड़े गये। अब हम तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रहे हैं और मेरा विचार है जबसे हमें स्वराज मिला काफी हमने एक बुनियाद मज़बूत डाली है बढ़ने की, उससे हमें लाभ हो। लेकिन जिधर से आप देखें तो बात आ जाती है परिश्रम की, एकता की और परिश्रम की, कि हमारी शक्ति नष्ट न हो लड़ाई-झगड़ों में। और सारे हम जानते हैं भारत बढ़ेगा तो भारत के अलग-अलग हिस्से बढ़ेंगे। चाहे वो पंजाब हो उत्तर में, चाहे मद्रास हो, महाराष्ट्र हो, चाहे बंगाल हो, चाहे आंध्र हो, मैसूर हो, हम सब लोग एक नौका पर हैं। देश बढ़ता है तो हम सब बढ़ते हैं, देश नहीं बढ़ता तो हम सब गोता खा जाते हैं। इसलिए हममें एकता हो, परिश्रम हो। और आजकल की दुनिया को समझें वो एक परिवर्तन करने वाली दुनिया है, एक क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया है। और हमें नयी बातें सीखनी हैं और सामना करना है बग़ैर डरे, बग़ैर घबराये और परिश्रम करना है।

तो सारी यह तो बातें लें, लेकिन विशेषकर हमारे लिए आजकल खेतों के सम्बन्ध में इसको हमें करना है। तो इस तस्वीर को अपने सामने रखिए। और इस तरह से रखिए कि आप जो अपने खेत में काम करते हैं तो आप अपने लिए काम करते हैं। ठीक है, अपने परिवार के लिए अपने ग्राम के लिए। लेकिन उसी के साथ आप एक सारे इस महान क्रान्ति का हिस्सा हो जाते हैं देश में और सारी जनता को बढ़ाने के। आप एक बड़ी फ़ौज में समझो करोड़ों आदमियों की फ़ौज हमारे देश में जो काम करने वाले हैं उसके एक सिपाही हो जाते हैं, झंडा लेकर आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। जो अदि

एक अच्छा काम करता है, जिन लोगों को पारितोषिक मिले वो तो आगे हैं। वो अफसर हैं इस काम के, बड़े अफसर हैं, निकल रहे हैं, औरों को रास्ता दिखाते हैं। लेकिन उस पर तो हम चाहते हैं सब लोग चलें। खाली अफसर थोड़े ही जाता है जीत जाता है लड़ाई में, जब तक फौज उसके साथ न चले। इसलिए यह इस काम को देखें— अपने काम, खाली एक पारितोषिक की निगाह से नहीं, बल्कि इस महान क्रान्ति जो देश में आ रही है, जो देश को बढ़ाएगी। जो हमारे देहातों को बढ़ावेगी उसमें आप एक भाग ले रहे हैं। शान्ति की क्रान्ति है। लेकिन उससे सभी को लाभ हो, बढ़ें।

इस ढंग से आप इन बातों को देखें। और आप अपने घर जायें तो उनको बतायें क्या-क्या आपने देखा यहाँ प्रदर्शनी में। और यहाँ लोगों से मिले। आप यहाँ भी बैठे हैं भारत भर से आप लोग आए, सब प्रदेशों के लोग यहाँ हैं। इसी से आपके सामने एक चित्र भारत की एकता का आयेगा। क्योंकि हम तो बँधे हुए हैं एक-दूसरे से, हम अपनी मूर्खता से कभी-कभी लड़ते हैं, कभी धर्म के नाम पर, कभी मजहब के नाम पर, कभी जाति के नाम पर, कभी प्रदेश के नाम पर, कभी भाषा के नाम पर, कोई न कोई बात निकलती है जिससे हम लड़ते हैं। तो उससे जो कुछ हमारी शक्ति है वो नष्ट हो जाती है। हम दुर्बल होते हैं। सबसे बड़ी बात जो महात्मा जी ने की हमारे देश में, वो हमें एकता का सबक सिखाया, परिश्रम करने का, एकता का, बराबरी का आपस में। ये हमें सबक सिखाया और वो जितना हमने सीखा, उतनी हमारी शक्ति आयी, उतना ही हम अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य का सामना कर सके और आखिर में स्वराज हमें मिला।

उसके बाद लोग समझे कि अब स्वराज मिल गया अब तो आराम करना है। अब कोई परिश्रम करने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। और सब लोग हाथ फैलाकर माँगने लगे यह देओ, वह देओ- सरकार से, औरों से। वो सरकार के पास देने को क्या होता है? सोचा आपने? सरकार के पास जो होता है जो आप उसको दे। कोई ज़मीन से खोदके निकालते थोड़े ही हो जाती है, कोई विदेश से आये, जितना उसको जनता से मिले उतना ही वो खर्च सकती है। और जितना कम मिले उतना कम खर्चेंगी नहीं तो सारे देश का दिवाला हो जाये। सरकार को मिलता है, शासन को टैक्स के रूप में। और ऐसे रूप में, और ऐसे रूप हैं और वो रुपया ठीक-ठीक खर्च हो तो, तो जनता की भलाई में हो।

अब मैं एक और बात पर आपका ध्यान दिलाता हूँ। हमें अगर जो देश की आमदनी है सब लोगों को मिलाकर जो आमदनी है वो उतनी ही रहे जितनी रहती है। और उतना ही खर्च रहे वो सब खर्च हो जाये, कुछ बचे नहीं। तब देश की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती। क्योंकि देश की उन्नति होती है जो आमदनी और खर्च में बचता है तो वो नये कामों में लगता है। अच्छा खाली यह बात नहीं है कि जितनी देश की आमदनी और खर्च बराबर हो और कुछ बचे नहीं। लेकिन बीच में एक और बात हो जाती है कि आमदनी आपकी उतनी ही रहे, लेकिन आबादी बढ़ जाये देश की, जैसेकि बढ़ती है। तो उसके माने यह हुए कि देश के खाने वाले अधिक पैदा हो गये लाखों तो खर्चा बढ़ गया। और खाली खाने का खर्चा नहीं है हमारे देश की आबादी पचास लाख साल में बढ़ती है। पचास साठ लाख नये खाने वाले हो जाते हैं, नये वस्त्र पहनने वाले हो जाते हैं, नये स्कूल जाने वाले होते हैं, नये अस्पताल जाने वाले होते हैं, नये काम के ढूँढ़ने वाले हो जाते हैं। तो अगर हमारे देश की आमदनी उतनी ही रहे जितनी है तो खर्च तो बढ़ ही जाता है, खाने वाले बढ़ गये, तो दिवाले निकल जायें, या देश गिरता जाये, गरीब होता जाये। इसलिए कम से कम उतना अधिक तो पैदा

करना ही है जितने अधिक खाने वाले हो गये। अच्छा, लेकिन फिर भी अगर उतना ही आपने किया, तब तरक्की नहीं हुई, वहीं के वहीं आप रहे। यानी उनके माने यह हुआ कि आजकल की हालत में हमारे देश की जब आबादी बढ़ती है। अगर आप वहीं के वहीं खड़ा रहना चाहते हैं तो आपको दौड़ना पड़ता है। नहीं तो पिछड़ जायें आप। समझे कि नहीं आप? यानी उतनी आपकी आमदनी है, देश भर का मैं कह रहा हूँ।

जितनी पहले थी उतनी रहे, लेकिन खाने वाले बढ़ गये तो ज़ाहिर है आमदनी कम पड़ गयी खिलाने की। देश भर का आप लें, बढ़ गये। अगर आप उतना ही परिश्रम करके उतना ही पैदा करें देश भर में तो आप वहीं नहीं रहते। आप पिछड़ जाते हैं। क्योंकि खाने वाले बढ़ गये पचासों लाख। इसके माने यह हुए कि आप अगर वहीं रहने की कोशिश करें जहाँ हैं, तब आपको कुछ चलना पड़ता है- वहाँ रहने को, नहीं तो आप पिछड़ते जाते हैं।

अच्छा, एक तो यह बात। दूसरी, यह बात हम चाहते हैं आजकल काफी हमारी आम जनता की कठिनाइयाँ हैं। कुछ तो उसको बेचारी को आराम पहुँचे। कितने हमारे ग्रामों में ठीक पानी भी नहीं है या और बातें भी नहीं हैं जो आवश्यक हैं। बड़ी बातें छोड़िए। तो उसके लिए खर्चने के लिए कुछ और पैसा चाहिए। कुछ और पैसे के माने हैं कुछ और आमदनी हो शासन को। कुछ तो आराम पहुँचा थोड़ा बहुत। दो बातें हुई। तीसरी बात यह है कि अगर हम तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं तो उस पर अधिक खर्चना होता है- चाहे हम स्कूल बनायें, चाहे हम अस्पताल बनायें, चाहे सड़क बनायें, चाहे पुल बनायें, चाहे हम यह खेती वगैरह सिखाने का प्रबन्ध करें, जो कुछ है उसमें खर्च होता है, कारखाना बनायें उसके लिए। यानी अधिक, जितना अधिक हम लगायें इन बातों में उतना ही जल्दी हम आगे बढ़कर मजबूत हो जाते हैं। ये सब बातें हमें मज़बूर करती हैं कि हम कोशिश करके जोरों से आगे बढ़ें। जब एक दफ़े आगे बढ़ के हम जम जाते हैं तब अपने आप आमदनी देश की बढ़ जाती है। ये अंग्रेज़ हैं, अमेरिका वाले हैं, या रूस वाले हैं ये धनी देश गिने जाते हैं। क्यों, इसलिए कि उनकी आमदनी बढ़ाने का तरीका ऐसा हो गया है कि वो अपने आप बढ़ती है। जैसे दूसरे ढंग आप देखिए जैसे कोई एक अमीर व्यक्ति हो, एक शख्स हो, दुनिया का दस्तूर है जिसके पास अधिक पैसा होता है वो और बढ़ता जाता है, जिसके पास कम होता है वो घटता जाता है। यह दुनिया का दस्तूर है, देशों का भी और व्यक्तियों का भी दस्तूर है यह। तो हम अपने देश को ऐसी जगह पहुँचा दें जहाँ उसके पैदा करने की खेती से, और कारखाने से इतनी शक्ति हो जाये कि अधिक पैदा करता जाये। तब आराम मिलता है तब हालत देश की बढ़ जाती है। अमेरिका में क्या होता है, अमेरिका में इतना वो पैदा करता है कि उनकी समझ में नहीं आता क्या करें वो? उसको फेंकते हैं, जलाते हैं। फिर भी अधिक होता है और खेती में तो यह हालत उनकी हो गयी है कि वो बड़े परेशान हैं इतना पैदा होता है कि अगर एक मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, एक दो तीन बरस तक कुछ नहीं पैदा करें तो जमा जितना है वो काफी है दो तीन बरस के लिए। ख़याल करो न, इतना होता जाता है अधिक से अधिक। क्यों इतना होता जाता है? इसलिए कि नये तरीके वो समझ गये हैं और बड़ा उनके लिए प्रश्न है कि क्या करें जो अधिक पैदा होता है? हमारे यहाँ अमेरिका से आता है जब हमारे पास कमी हुई। तो ख़ैर हम उनको धन्यवाद देते हैं। लेकिन बात यह है कि उनकी समझ में नहीं आता कि क्या करें उसका, इतना अधिक गुल्ला पैदा होता है। तो हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो जाता है देश की तरक्की के लिए कि हम इन बातों को हम इस वक़्त ज़ोर लगायें। अब लोग शिकायत करते हैं कि साहब टैक्स बढ़े या कहीं नहर-वहर बनी है और उस पानी पर

तो टैक्स लगा। अब आप सोचें नहर बनी है। फर्ज करो भाखड़ा-नांगल की नहर बनी। उसमें 150 करोड़ रुपया लगे, बड़ी रकम है, 150 करोड़ रुपये लगे दस बरस में और लगते जाते हैं। अब वो पैसा कहाँ से आया, कर्जा ले के आया, कर्जा हमने लिया चाहे जनता से लिया, चाहे कहीं से। अब उस कर्ज को अदा करना है और नयी चीजें बनानी हैं। हम जो नहर ले गये उससे अधिक पैदा होगा उस ज़मीन पर, होना चाहिए। इसलिए ले गये, जिससे लाभ हो उनको। जो अधिक पैदा हो उसमें से कोई भाग, और जो उसका कर्जा अदा करने के लिए दें, मुझे तो यह इंसान मालूम होता है। नहीं तो वो रुक जाये गाड़ी रुक जाये हमारी, यों सिलसिला चलता जाता है। हम नयी नहरें बनायें और नयी तरक्की हो। अभी भाखड़ा-नांगल का पानी कुछ जा रहा है अब भी बाद में राजस्थान में जायेगा उधर बीकानेर की तरफ। अब वहाँ जो रेगिस्तान में पानी पहुँचता है तो एकदम से इतना लाभ होता है कि पूछो नहीं वहाँ एकदम से एक अभी कल या परसों नहीं, कल ही तो कुछ और साहब गये थे- सुरतगढ़ बहुत खुश होकर आये, बहुत अच्छी फसल बड़ी जबर्दस्त। क्योंकि अच्छी ज़मीन जिसमें कभी खेती हुई नहीं, पानी पहुँचते ही जादू की तरह से उसको जगा देती है। लेकिन पानी पहुँचाने में कितना खर्चा होता है इस पर विचार आप करें। मेरा मतलब यह है कि इन सब बातों को आप समझें।

हमारे सामने आप, पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह आप सुनते हैं। ठीक है पंचवर्षीय योजना समझें आप उसे, लेकिन वो समझिए एक बड़ी भारी एक जंग है, एक लड़ाई है— दरिद्रता के देश की गरीबी के विरोध में। चारों तरफ से बढ़ाना पड़ता है, एक तरफ से नहीं। कारखाने बनें, खेती में तरक्की हो, पढ़ाई लिखाई अधिक हो, नहरें बनें, बिजली फैले, और पचासों हजारों बातें लाखों बातें हैं। वो सब आप तस्वीर समझिए। ज़ाहिर है आप सब बातें तो नहीं कर सकते। आप अपनी जो आपका पेशा है उससे अधिक काम करें और करवायें। और वो सब काम ज़्यादा अच्छी तरह से होते हैं। सहकारी संघ से, कोऑपरेटिव से। अब यह कोऑपरेटिव ख़ाली चार आदमी को मिलकर काम करना नहीं है। असल में यह एक सिद्धान्त है मिलकर काम करने का। जीवन में कोई काम भी हो मिलकर काम करना अच्छा है। और जब एक देश काफी तरक्की करता है तो करना ही पड़ता है। यानी कोई बड़ा काम उठायें आप मिलकर करना, बड़ा कारखाना कोई अलग-अलग तो नहीं चला सकता। सब लोग मिलकर हजार, दो हजार, दस हजार आदमी चलायें तो यह बहुत आवश्यक बात है। और उससे व्यक्तिगत रूप से लाभ हो।

अब सहकारी संघ की चर्चा हुई तो लोगों ने आंदोलन शुरू किया यह तो ज़मीन छीन लेंगे। यह तो फिजूल बात है, ज़मीन छीनना कोई सवाल नहीं और बिल्कुल हमारी नीति के खिलाफ बात है। ज़मीन किसी से छीनना नहीं चाहिए, हमारी राय में। लेकिन हम ज़रूर समझते हैं कि सहकारी संघ द्वारा काम करें, तो उनको लाभ होगा, उनकी तरक्की होगी। क्योंकि दुनिया में हम देख रहे हैं—जहाँ हुआ है ज़मीन उनकी रही, उन्हीं के अधिकार में हो। बल्कि मेरी पक्की राय है, यह जो सहकारी संघ है, ख़ाली ज़मीन के नहीं कहीं भी। मैं उसमें अफसरों का दखल नहीं चाहता हूँ। अफसरों की सलाह हो, सलाह हो। वो जानते हैं काम को बतायें। लेकिन सारा बोझा वहीं की ग्रामीण जनता पर पड़े। अगर धोखा खायेंगे तो अपनी ग़लती से। मुझे मंजूर है, स्वीकार है, चाहे धोखा भी खायें तो खा लें उससे सीखेंगे। तो मैं यह नहीं चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मैं चाहता हूँ हमारे देश में लोग अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो सकें। अपने पैर पर, टाँग पर खड़े हों, काम करना जानें। यह नहीं कि हमेशा हाथ फैलाया करें अफसरों से मदद करने के लिए और अफसर लोग बड़ी अफसरी करें। यह

बात नहीं। अफसर क्यों होते हैं इसलिए कि काम सीखे हुए हों, वो सलाह दें। कोई अच्छा इंजीनियर हो, कोई कुछ हो, कोई कुछ हो, कोई पशु पालन को ज़्यादा जानता है। वो आपको बताये वो ठीक है। लेकिन आपके सहकारी संघ में यह अफसरी नहीं चलनी चाहिए। और अब तक चलती है मुझे खेद है। बहुत कुछ अब नये कानून बन रहे हैं और मैं आशा करता हूँ यह बात निकल जाये।

खैर, मैंने तो आपको बहुत सारी बातें आपको इधर-उधर की कहीं। जैसे मेरी आदत है आप जानते हैं। क्योंकि मेरी तो इच्छा है कि जोकि बहुत सारे मन में, वो होता है जनता के सहयोग से और परिश्रम से। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें, समझें और औरों को समझायें। तो फिर से जिनको पारितोषिक मिले उनको बधाई और आप सब लोगों को। जयहिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Dr Panjabrao Deshmukh,³⁶ Sisters and Brothers,
Seeing all of you assembled here and having heard how much each prize-winning farmer has been able to produce from his land, I cannot understand how there are still food shortages in the country. When you can produce so much and have the know-how in all parts of the country, whether it is the North, South, East or West, and there are so many experts among you, what is the difficulty? It is not necessary to tell you, but something that everyone should understand clearly is that the biggest problem before the country, and in a sense, at all times, is our agricultural production. It is true that there has been rapid industrialisation and all kinds of goods can be produced. Also, the countries which have crossed the poverty line and become prosperous have done so by adopting new methods of production. It is fairly obvious that the countries which are regarded as wealthy, where the masses are well-off and prosperous, are the ones which have adopted new scientific and technological methods of production. They have been able to increase production enormously and so their wealth has increased.

All this is perfectly true. But if you look at it from another angle, behind it is the question of production from land. No matter how advanced the world is, industrially and in other ways, you always come round to the question of land. If land is not looked after properly, and especially if agricultural production does not increase, the biggest industries in the world will come to a standstill in this machine age. This is the fundamental thing. As far as India is concerned, in any case it is imperative that we should increase agricultural production if we want the people to have a better standard of living.

36. See fn 35 in this section.

So, I was happy that an agricultural exhibition was held here and was a great success. It was successful not because it drew large crowds, and in fact, it would have been better if there had been less, for it was difficult to see anything properly, but due to the fact that farmers from all over the country came to see it. For one thing, they saw what is happening in other countries. There were several pavilions put up by other countries. Even more significant are the things that are happening in our various states. It was clear for everyone to see that whatever was done by some people in the country could be done easily by the others. It may or may not be possible to do things which are being done in the United States or the Soviet Union, for their conditions might differ. But whatever the Indian farmer is doing in our part of the country can be easily done by farmers all over.

I regret to say that I have not yet been able to visit all the pavilions, though I have visited it three or four times. But I was very happy, and a little amazed too, to see the progress that has been made in some selected areas. So, the question before us is not so much what we should do, but how to spread whatever has been done in a small area to a wider field. Good work is being done and you can learn and gain confidence from it. So, it is a very good thing that so many people could come from all over the country, learnt something and have gone back with some new ideas and thoughts which will help them in the future.

Dr Panjabrao mentioned that I was put to a great deal of difficulty by this exhibition because, those who came from outside to see it used to come and meet me to. That is not quite true. It was no trouble to me. On the contrary, I was very happy to meet them and my regret is that I could not spend more time with you. But even in the short time that I spent with you, I could learn a great deal and had an opportunity of sharing some of my thoughts with you. I became aware of the new atmosphere which is becoming evident in the rural areas, especially among the farmers. That made me very happy because it is not a question of a few people getting prizes with great effort. This new atmosphere should spread all over the country so that the people may become better off. After all, as you know, seventy five to eighty per cent of the population of India lives in the rural areas, and the progress of the country means their progress and not merely of the people who live in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and the other big cities. It is only when the condition of the villages improves, agricultural production goes up, and the people begin to enjoy a better standard of living, that India will progress. The other things may certainly do some good. But the yardstick to measure the advantages of those things is the benefit that the people in the rural areas get out of it. The benefits may not be immediately apparent.

For instance, take the huge fertilizer plant that we are putting up in Sindri, or the steel plants in Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur. You will find that huge townships have come up around them. Millions of houses have had to be built for the workers. This is not a rural concept. But steel is essential in the rural areas and the lack of it is harmful to the villages. All the agricultural and other implements and tools are

made of steel. Therefore, the steel plants that we are putting up will be of use not only in the urban areas but to the villages also. In this way, the two things, the working of urban or rural areas go together. But the real yardstick to measure the progress of the rural areas is the progress made by the people in the rural areas. It is a gigantic problem because the population of India is forty crore and it continues to increase. I think in the last census, it stood at thirty-seven crore and now it has crossed forty. There will be another census shortly, which will show how much the population has increased.

Now, there are several difficulties in that. The production of wealth in the country has to be increased. Wealth does not mean gold or silver but consumer goods which are produced in the country, from land and industries and by other methods, through the effort of the people. That is the real wealth of the country and not money which is transferred from one pocket to another. For instance, the moneylender does not produce new wealth. A great deal depends on production from land, for that is the basis of industrialisation too. There are tremendous underground resources like iron ore and coal, etc., which are essential for the country's progress.

Then the per capita income of people is calculated. It is extremely low in India, for the wealth that is being produced has to be divided among forty crore of people. So to increase the per capita income of the people implies increasing the earnings of forty crore of people, which is a difficult problem. If you look at it from another point of view, if forty crore of people were to make an effort and work hard, the wealth of the nation should increase extremely rapidly. There are two aspects to this problem. One, it is essential to adopt modern techniques of production, better ploughs, good seeds and fertilizers, and so on. Two, hard work and effort are very essential. There is no doubt about it, that wherever there is a combination of these two factors, there has been tremendous progress. The world depends on hard work.

You often hear of great debates about the ideology that we should follow. But whatever ideology we may follow, it has to be backed by very hard work, for nothing can be achieved without it. Among the advanced nations of the world, the United States follow a different ideology from that of the Soviet Union, and Germany and Japan follow something else. But you will find that in all these countries, the people are extremely hard-working. You cannot progress by making speeches. The second thing, as I said, is that it is essential to take advantage of the new scientific and technological developments. There can be no progress if people continue to use outdated methods of production. The advanced countries of the world like the United States and Europe produce an enormous amount of goods because they have adopted new methods of production.

Now let me tell you something else, which has nothing to do with production. But it will show you how the world is changing. Till a hundred, or hundred and fifty years ago, the only mode of transport was on horse-back, or by chariot.

There was nothing faster available, whether it was an emperor or a commoner, the speed of travelling could not be faster than that of a horse. This had been the situation for thousands of years. Mythological tales of aeroplanes and flying were not unknown. But as far as we know, the fastest mode of transport was on horse-back anywhere in the world. This was the situation from the time that Man became a thinking animal to about a couple of hundred years ago. Now, the change came about very suddenly. As Englishman discovered the power that steam could generate and set about finding ways of harnessing it. It was not a very difficult task. Anyhow, this is how the rail engine started and immediately the mode of transport became very much faster. It was a revolutionary development and a great change occurred in the world. After that, as you know, came the discovery of electricity. Everybody has seen lightning in the sky, which can strike sometimes and do great damage. So in the olden days, people used to worship it out of fear. But there were other adventurous people who tried to delve into the mystery of this phenomenon, and finally one great man discovered its secret when he was flying a kite. He discovered that electricity is produced by friction between two objects. This is something that even a child can do. There is no magic in it.

Electricity is a force of nature which is now being harnessed to run huge industries. As you know, electricity is being produced by building dams or large rivers. The speed of the flowing waters turn the turbines and the friction generates hydro-electric power. You can try this at home and see how it works. For production on a large scale we are building the Bhakra-Nangal and other river valley schemes. It may seem extremely complicated. But in fact the whole thing is quite simple and is based on the principle of friction. Then the electricity is transmitted through wires and can be used for various purposes. It can be utilised to give light, or turn the fans, or to run big industries.

So this is a new source of energy which has been discovered. Now wireless is being used to transmit news to far-off places. The radio transmission is through wireless nowadays. Isn't it a strange thing that you have just to press a button to get any station anywhere in the world, thousands of miles away. You can get news from London instantaneously. All this is a product of the discovery of electricity. Please remember that there is no magic in all this. Even a child can learn it. There is no great difficulty and all that is required is hard work and education and training.

I have talked to you about a few things and can tell you much more. The first step in this great revolution was the discovery of steam as a source of energy and then came electricity. The West took full advantage of these discoveries and so they acquired a great source of power, which they utilised to achieve these things. These things could not have been done by individuals. They amassed great wealth on the one hand and became militarily extremely powerful, on the other. So they were able to extend their empires to the countries of Asia and Africa. Gradually,

they began to plunder the wealth from these countries and take it away to their own countries, where they expanded their industries and what not. When the English came to India about 200 years ago and established their rule in Bengal, and the battle of Plassey was fought by Clive in 1757, he won it more by low cunning and intrigue rather than by fighting a great battle. It was our fault that we fell into this trap. How did the British get a foothold in India in the first place? They were lured here by the beautiful cloth, cotton and muslin, which was available here in India. They began by exporting cloth in large quantities. Then gradually they began to plunder the country of her wealth, which they invested in the industrial revolution which had begun in England. So they grew more and more in strength. Anyhow, what I am trying to say is that the industrial revolution in the West was the offshoot of their advance in science, and so these countries grew extremely powerful and wealthy. They were thus able to extend their sway over almost the whole world.

Now, these things are happening in other places too, because knowledge cannot remain hidden for long. So it has spread gradually. Now you find that the factors responsible for making Europe and the United States wealthy and powerful, like science and technology, are rapidly spreading to the countries of Asia and the rest of the world. India is one of the two or three countries where it is spreading very fast. The industrial revolution and machine age are being ushered in rapidly and that is having an impact on agriculture too in a different way. We are living in a revolutionary age today. Revolution does not mean violence, or wielding a lathi or a gun. Real revolution means change, change in a society, or a way of working. Whereas it used to take days to go from Delhi to Agra in the olden days, when people either had to walk or go on horse-back, now it takes just a few hours by train. So, we are in the midst of a revolution.

One of the aspects of this revolution is to improve the techniques of agriculture and adopt new methods and tools, like better ploughs, etc. I am not talking of getting tractors and what not. We can have them wherever it is possible. But the fact of the matter is that very few people can afford tractors in India today. Even if they could, the landholdings are so small that tractors are useless. Their strength and capacity can increase only by forming co-operatives. They will then be able to use tractors and do many other things as well. It is pretty obvious that a single individual working on his own has limited strength, especially if he has a small land-holding. Gradually, all the holdings are becoming smaller and smaller. So the strength of the farmers lies in forming cooperatives of 100, 200 or 300 which will benefit them as well as the nation.

So, we want that there should be cooperatives everywhere. This is how we can deal with the changing times. Secondly, education of children is very essential to grasp the realities of the new world that we are living in. There should be not a single boy or girl in India without an opportunity to learn to read and write. It is not available just now but it will gradually come about. But those who go to

schools and colleges want to take up white-collared jobs instead of doing something constructive. This is harmful for the rural areas and unemployment in the urban areas goes up. The movement from the rural to urban areas is bound to go on. But our aim is to uplift the villages and the intelligent young boys and girls must stay there and help in the task by their labours.

In short, we are going through a great revolution and we want it to transform the villages so that they can take their rightful place in the modern world, we must teach the farmers to adopt new implements like modern ploughs, which are available for fifty, sixty, seventy rupees. They are still using the ploughs which have been in use for thousands of years. They hardly make a scratch on the ground and are quite useless. The new ploughs can make the crops ten times better. There are other implements which cost not more than twenty-five or thirty rupees and can make your task easier.

What does a machine mean? It means that with its help, an individual can do the work of many. It is a straightforward thing. The world has progressed on the basis of the machines which have increased the capacity of the people to work. We read about gods with thousands of hands and what not in mythological tales. Today the machines provide you with great power. This is how we should handle them and use them to serve us. We must teach our children too, so that the land is better looked after and all of us can benefit by it.

There are many customs and traditions in our society which are harmful. A great deal of what we produce is eaten up by rats and birds and what not. Even if that is put a stop to, we can benefit a great deal. But our customs stand in the way. You hear of China increasing her production. But the biggest thing they have done (China) is to stop the waste and destruction by animals and pests. Therefore, immediately the production has gone up. We must take full advantage of the new godowns and warehouses which are being constructed. There are any numbers of people waiting to explain things to you. But the best way to learn is to put it into practice. There are bound to be some mistakes. But arrangements should be made to demonstrate the new techniques to the people. You must have seen some of it in the Agricultural Fair here. Fairs on such a large scale cannot be held very often. But small agricultural fairs should be held in every district so that the people may learn from it. Everyone must realise that we are living in curious times.

I told you about the changes wrought by steam and electricity. We have advanced even further and now we are in the nuclear age. You must have heard about the atom bombs which destroyed two big cities and killed millions of people. But the other aspect of it is nuclear energy, which is greater than steam or electricity. There is no magic about it. It is a big source of energy, which the scientists have stumbled upon after a great deal of research. Unfortunately, it was used for the first time for a destructive purpose. But it can be put to a great deal of constructive use. It can transform the entire world. If the great powers fight among themselves they can, in their foolishness, destroy the whole world. It is an enormous power

which will leave no room for victory or defeat but only total destruction. But if there is peace in the world, as we hope, this new source of energy can be put to great use and the whole world will be transformed. So, this is a very big revolution too. Since we are living in such revolutionary times, it is essential that we should be vigilant and prepared instead of continuing in the old rut or regarding everything that is new with suspicion. We have to learn to live in the new world with the new forces of energy and techniques and weapons. Otherwise they will overcome us. We will have to adopt new techniques, for otherwise we will remain backward while the other countries go ahead. Those who are not vigilant and prepared will become backward and can expect no mercy or pity from the others who are strong and powerful. We had become backward in the past and now we are once again moving forward. Since we became free, we have laid the firm foundations of progress. But whichever way you look at it, the thing that counts is hard work and unity. We must not fritter away our energies in futile quarrels. All of us know that the parts of India can progress only when the country as a whole progresses. Whether it is the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Bengal, Andhra or Mysore, we all are in the same boat. If India progresses, all of us will do so and if she does not, all of us will go under. Therefore, there must be unity among us, the capacity to work hard and to understand this fast-changing world of ours. It is a revolutionary world and we must learn the new techniques and methods fearlessly, without flinching and work hard.

The most urgent task before us today is to improve agriculture. I want you to bear this in mind. Those of you who work on land do so for yourselves and your family and village. But in doing so, you become part of a great revolution in the country and participate in the task of uplifting India's millions. You are one of the large army of workers in the country. You are the flag-bearers of our march towards progress. Those who perform their duties well are the generals who lead the way. But we want everyone to march ahead. Wars cannot be won by officers alone. Therefore, you must look at your task not from the point of view of the reward it brings, but as part of the big revolution which is going on in the country and will ultimately transform the rural areas. It is a peaceful revolution which will benefit everyone.

This is how you must look at these things and when you go home, tell the others about what you have seen in the exhibition and learnt by meeting people belonging to various parts of the country. This will teach you that India is one. Though in our ignorance we sometimes fight in the name of religion, caste, language, or state, or something else, which weakens us, we are actually held together by an invisible bond. Mahatma Gandhi taught us the lesson of unity, hard work and equality. To the extent that we learnt those lessons, we became strong and were able to challenge the British empire and ultimately we won.

Once we became free, people began to think that the time had come to relax and that there was no need to do any work. Everybody began to make demands

of the government. Have you ever paused to consider that what the government has is given by the people? There are no hidden treasures waiting to be distributed, nor will money come from outside. The government can spend only as much it gets from the people by way of taxes, etc. Otherwise it will go bankrupt.

Let me remind you of one thing more. If we spend everything that we have and the national income remains what it is, there can be no progress. A country progresses by utilising the savings for new tasks of development. Moreover, if the national income remains static but the population of the country increases, it imposes a tremendous burden on the economy. Every year the number of mouths to be fed and clothed is increasing by fifty or sixty lakhs. They need schools, hospitals, employment and what not. If the national income does not increase but the expenditure does, the country becomes poorer day by day. Therefore, production has to be increased not only to feed the growing population but in order to have a surplus as well, if there is to be progress. With the rate of growth in population being what it is today, we have to keep running even to stay in the same place. Otherwise, we will become backward. It is not enough to maintain the status quo in production because with the growing population, the country will become backward. So we have to make a considerable effort even to stay where we are.

Secondly, nowadays the masses are facing tremendous hardships. We want to give them some relief. Innumerable villages in India do not even have clean drinking water or other basic necessities, leave alone bigger things. We need money for all this. Thirdly, we need money to progress, to build schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, improved techniques of agriculture, to build industries, etc. The more we invest in all these things, the stronger we will become. All these factors compel us to keep moving as fast as we can. Once we are able to takeoff, the country will then be able to progress on its own momentum.

Today England, the United States of America and the Soviet Union are counted among the wealthy countries of the world because their mode of production is such that wealth grows on its own. Look at it in another way. It is the way of the world that the rich become richer and the poor poorer. The same is true of countries as well as individuals. We want India to reach a point where her agriculture and industries will keep adding to the gross national income on their own momentum. What happens in the United States? They produce so much that they do not know what to do with the goods. They throw them away, burn them, and yet the production is enormous. I do not remember the figures exactly, but I think they have enough for three years even if they did not produce anything. Just imagine what a vast amount they produce. Why? It is because they have adopted new techniques of production. We imported foodgrains from the United States when we were facing shortages for which we thank them. But the fact is that now they are producing so much that they do not know what to do with it.

It is essential for us to learn the new techniques and lay stress on increasing

production. But people complain if taxes are imposed. If canals are dug, there is a tax on the water supplied. Take the Bhakra-Nangal, for instance. We have had to invest 150 crores in ten years. We had to borrow that amount by floating public loans and what not. Those loans have got to be repaid. The fields which are irrigated by the waters supplied by the canals will be able to produce much more than before. It only seems just that a part of that should go towards paying back the loans. Otherwise everything will grind to a halt. Just now the waters from the Bhakra are being supplied to parts of Rajasthan. The deserts will now get water for irrigation. Somebody had gone to Suratgarh recently and said that there was a very good crop there. The soil is very fertile because it has never been cultivated and water acts like magic on the virgin land. But you must remember that it is very expensive to supply that water for irrigation. I want you to understand these things.

You have heard of the Five Year Plans. But you must think of it as a great war against the poverty in the country. It has to be fought on all fronts. We have to set up industries, improve agriculture, provide education, build canals, produce electricity and do fifty different things. It is obvious that everyone cannot do all these things. You must work hard at your own chosen profession and do well. We need cooperative societies. On principles, co-operation is very good in any walk of life. When a country progresses, co-operation becomes even more essential. The large national tasks cannot be done by individuals but by tens of thousands of people together. The individual benefits personally also in the process.

The propaganda being carried on against cooperatives that it will mean losing one's land is absurd. There is no question of that. It is absolutely against all our principles. But we do think that it will be better to work through cooperatives because wherever it has been done in the world, there has been great progress. I do not want official interference in all this. Officers can guide and advise. But the entire burden must fall on the villagers. I am prepared for losses through their mistakes. That is how they will learn. I want the people to learn to stand on their own feet instead of constantly looking to the officers for help. The officers, who are trained, like engineers or animal husbandry experts, can guide and advise the people. But official interference in the working of cooperatives is not right. I am sorry to say that it continues to this day. We are framing some new laws and I hope that this will be put an end to.

Well, I have talked of various things as it is my habit. It is always my desire to explain all that is in my mind in order to enlist the cooperation of the people. I want you to understand these things and explain to the others also. I congratulate the prize winners once again. Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

91. To S.K. Dey: Agricultural Production Figures³⁷

February 17, 1960

My dear Dey,

Your letter of the 15th February.³⁸

The comparative figures of production you give are so low that I have been much surprised at them. You point out the percentage difference between the CD area and the non-CD area.³⁹ That may be so. But in the final result, the figures are very low, in fact lower than I had thought. Also it is surprising to know that the actual rate per acre production went heavily down in 57-58 and even in 58-59 it is behind the 56-57 level.

I think these figures should be looked into again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. To S. K. Patil: Agricultural Production Programmes⁴⁰

February 18, 1960

My dear SK,

I must apologise to you for the delay in answering your letter of February 9th. With this letter you had sent me a note for the Cabinet on the subject of acceleration of important programmes of agricultural production. I have been rather overwhelmed with work and the recent visits of eminent dignitaries from abroad as well as debate in Parliament on the President's Address⁴¹ have made it difficult for me even to keep pace with important matters.

I think the best course would be for your note to be circulated to all members of the Cabinet. It deals with various aspects of our agricultural production programme which is of interest to every Cabinet Minister. I am, therefore, asking the Cabinet Secretary⁴² to have it circulated to the members of the Cabinet, Planning

37. Letter. File No. 17(263)/60-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

38. See Appendix 29.

39. Community Development area.

40. Letter. File No. 31(30)/57-59-PMS.

41. See item 2.

42. Vishnu Sahay.

Commission and also to the Minister of Community Development and Cooperation.⁴³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

93. To S. K. Patil: Soviet Invitation to Punjabrao Deshmukh⁴⁴

February 24, 1960

My dear SK,

The Soviet Minister for Agriculture, Mr Mechkevich, came to see me this afternoon. We had a talk. He will, of course, be seeing you. He especially told me that he would like you and Punjabrao Deshmukh⁴⁵ to go to the Soviet Union to see their agricultural work. I told him that I was sure that they would like to see it when they had time for it and it was convenient. He also said he would like to invite the Agriculture Ministers of Bombay, West Bengal and Kashmir. Why he chose these two or three, I do not know. Perhaps he had met them.

He gave me a Gold Medal for Agriculture. I asked him how I deserved a Gold Medal for it. Anyhow, here it is and I am sending it to you which you might put in your Agriculture Library or Museum. He said that he proposed to give a Gold Medal to Punjabrao too at some function in the Exhibition.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. At the Agricultural Exhibition⁴⁶

[...] डॉ. देशमुख ने, ओह! अच्छा, आप लोगों ने सुना कि डॉ. पंजाबराव देशमुख ने मुझे हुकुम दिया कि मैं कुछ कहूँ। मेरे पास एक छपा हुआ प्रोग्राम रखा है। और उसमें लिखा हुआ है कि अब प्राइज़ डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन होगा। उसके बाद हमारे जो उप राष्ट्रपति जी हैं, उनका भाषण होगा। उसके बाद किसी धोखे से मेरा नाम आ जाता है क्योंकि और कोई नहीं है। और लिखा है कि प्रेसीडेंशियल एड्रेस, खुतबा-ए-सदरत किया जायेगा यह। मैं, तो यह तो, लेकिन आपने देखा कि

43. S. K. Dey.

44. Letter.

45. Union Minister of State for Cooperation.

46. Speech at the conclusion of Exhibition, New Delhi, 29 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

मुझे उन्होंने एक नाम मात्र का प्रेसीडेंट बनाया है। खुद उनके हाथ में लगाम है और सब प्रोग्राम में छपा हुआ आर्डर भी बदल दिया उन्होंने। और मुझसे कहते हैं बोलो। तो यह सवाल पहले तय होना चाहिए, कि मैं प्रेसीडेंट हूँ कि डॉ. पंजाब राव देशमुख। अगर मैं हूँ जैसे कि मैं समझता हूँ, हूँ मैं, क्योंकि छपा हुआ है, तो ऐसी हालत में यह मुनासिब है कि हम प्रोग्राम पर चलें। और अब प्राइज़ डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन होगा।

उप राष्ट्रपति जी, डॉ. पंजाबराव देशमुख,
माननीय अतिथियों, बहिनो और भाइयो,
प्रोग्राम के हिसाब से अब मेरी बारी आयी है। आज आप और हम यहाँ जमा हुए हैं इस नुमाइश, प्रदर्शनी से रुखसत होने। करीब तीन महीने से यहाँ धूमधाम रही, तमाशा रहा, भीड़ें आयीं और जब वो सिलसिला खत्म होता है, कोई भी बात खत्म होती है तो। और खासकर जिसके कोई हम आदी हो जाएँ तो कुछ थोड़ा सा रंज होता है। मैं तो यहाँ दो तीन दफे आया लेकिन अफसोस यह है कि अब तक मैंने आधे से कम देखा इसको, और ख्वाहिश रह गयी कि और वक़्त होता तो और देख लेता। मैंने डॉ. पंजाबराव से पूछा भी था कि कुछ बढ़ सकती है कि मुझे मौका मिल जाए, तो उन्होंने सिर हिला दिया कि अब नहीं गुंजाइश। तो यह तो नुकसान मेरा हुआ। क्योंकि बहुत सारी चीज़ें मैंने देखीं, बहुत नहीं देख सका। मेरी ख्वाहिश थी, और मैं उनसे माफ़ी माँगना चाहता हूँ उनसे, जहाँ-जहाँ मैं नहीं जा सकता, वो मण्डप जो थे। और मैं इस बात से फ़ायदा नहीं उठा सका पूरे तौर से। लेकिन जो कुछ मैंने फ़ायदा उठाया यहाँ आकर, उससे भी काफी असर मेरे ऊपर हुआ। और बहुत कुछ मैंने भी सीखा। दो तरह से कम से कम सीखा। एक तो जो बाहर के बड़े मुल्क आए थे और उन्होंने नयी से नयी बातें दिखायी हमें, ज़ाहिर है उससे हम सब सीख सकते हैं और सीखा। दूसरे जो हमारे प्रदेशों के मण्डप थे उनमें ज़ाहिर है मुझे खासकर दिलचस्पी थी देखने की, कि वहाँ क्या-क्या हो रहा है? कितना उसके पीछे जोश है, कितना इल्म है, कितना इंतजाम है? तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सही हो मेरा कहना कि जो प्रदेशों ने अपने मण्डप यहाँ बनाए थे उससे एक अच्छा असर होता था और मालूम होता था कि वहाँ काफी लोग इस बात के लिए कृषि, एग्रीकल्चर के ऊपर काफी जोर से काम कर रहे हैं और काफी तरक्की भी हुई है। क्योंकि आप देखें, चाहे आप मद्रास में जाएँ, चाहे और किसी स्टेट में, वहाँ अच्छे से अच्छे नतीजे हासिल हुए हैं। हाँ, बात यह है कि वो जो अच्छे नतीजे, अच्छे फल मिले हैं वो काफी फैले हुए नहीं हैं सब जगह। बस खास-खास जगह, खास-खास लोगों ने फ़ायदा उससे उठाया। लेकिन हर जगह एक जड़ इसकी लग गयी है और उसको फैलना है। तो मैं उन सब लोगों को पहले तो जो बाहर से बड़े-बड़े, बड़े या छोटे मुल्कों के यहाँ आए थे लोग। और उन्होंने अपने शानदार मण्डप बनाए उनको बधाई देता हूँ और शुक्रिया उनका। दूसरे जो हमारे प्रदेश के लोग आए, उन्होंने अपनी-अपनी करामात दिखाई अपने प्रदेश की। उनको भी बधाई देता हूँ। और तीसरे, जो और मण्डप हमारे थे कुछ बड़े कारख़ानों के, कुछ गवर्नमेंट के अलग-अलग डिपार्टमेंट्स के, कुछ व्यापार के, सभी मिलकर एक अजीब, अजीबो गरीब रंग यहाँ पैदा किया था। तो अब गरज़ कि अब यह करीब तीन महीने का तमाशा खत्म हो रहा है और एक दिल्ली की बदलती हुई ज़िन्दगी में यह वो भी एक उसका छोटा सा हिस्सा था, जोकि शायद आपको और बहुतों को याद रहे।

खासतौर से दिल्ली वाले तो शायद तमाशे देखने के बहुत आदी हो गए हैं। और चुनाँचे कोई

शायद नयी चीजों की इतनी क़दर नहीं करते। लेकिन जो ख़ास बात इस नुमाइश में हुई वो यह कि बहुत, करीब-करीब बेशुमार लोग सारे हिन्दुस्तान से आए, लाखों आए। और ज़्यादातर वो खुद किसान थे। और इस नयी खेती को, नयी दुनिया को उन्होंने देखा, नुमाइश नहीं। यानी यह नयी दुनिया से मेरा मतलब नुमाइश नहीं बल्कि नुमाइश में जो चीज़ें थीं उनको देखा। कम से कम उन किसानों में से मुझे भी एक बहुतों से मिलने का मौक़ा मिला। मैं नहीं जानता कितने? मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तीन महीने में पच्चीस तीस हज़ार से तो मैं भी मिला। क्योंकि उनकी राय में एक नुमाइश का जज मैं भी था। और मेरे घर देखने आते थे, उस नुमाइश को भी, ख़ैर। मुझे खुशी होती थी उनसे मिल के। जैसेकि हमेशा खुशी होती है मुझे अपने लोगों को और ख़ासकर हमारे देहात के लोगों से मिलकर। और मैं उनसे सवाल करता था, बातचीत करता था, पूछता था और कभी सख़्त सख़्त भी कहता था, कि क्यों हमारी खेती इतनी पिछड़ी हुई है? क्यों नहीं तुम तरक्की करते? क्यों तुम अभी तक हल और औज़ार इस्तेमाल करते हो जोकि हज़ार बरस हुए लोग करते थे, बदलते ही नहीं उसको किसी तरह से।

ख़ैर, इस तरह की हमारी बातचीत होती थी। और मैंने देखा उनके सवालों से और उनके जवाबों से कि वो कि उनके ऊपर काफी असर हुआ यहाँ आकर। और उनको शायद यह आपकी ख़ास यह रोशनी और यह तमाशे का जो हिस्सा है यहाँ का, उसका कुछ असर हुआ होगा। लेकिन उनकी आँखें जमी हुई थीं कि खेती में क्या करना है? और चुनाँचे ग़ौर से देखा एक शिकायत उनको रही। और वो यह कि दूर-दूर से हम आते हैं और एक दो रोज़ में यहाँ रखके हम भेज दिये जाते हैं वापस। दो तीन दिन रहे, उनका दिल नहीं भरता था। न उनको पूरे तौर से देख सकते थे। लेकिन जो कुछ उन्होंने देखा उससे उन पर असर हुआ। और मुझे बताते थे कि वहाँ देखो ऐसा औज़ार है उसके चलाने से फ़ायदा होगा। वहाँ के बीज ऐसे थे, इस किस्म की बातें, जिससे मालूम होता था कि उन्होंने बड़े ग़ौर से इसको देखा है और उससे फ़ायदा उठाया है। फ़ायदा जो कुछ उठाया वो तो उठाया, लेकिन असली फ़ायदा वो एक, उनके दिमाग को जाग जाना, जगाना, एक निकला। अपने पुराने तरीक़े से निकला कि हाँ नयी चीज़ें भी हैं दुनिया में, अच्छी हैं। उससे फ़ायदा होता है उसको खेती में करना चाहिए। कुछ न कुछ तो सभी जानते थे यह। लेकिन आप जानते हैं किसान ज़बानी बातों पर भरोसा नहीं करता है, वो आँख से देख के उसको भरोसा होता है कि हाँ यह भी चीज़ ठीक है। तो इस नुमाइश ने जो ख़ास फ़ायदा किया, वो ऐसा इंतज़ाम किया कि बहुत बातें वो आँख से देख लें ख़ाली जाके लेक्चरर जाके लेक्चरबाज़ी करते हैं वो, इतनी उन्होंने सुनी है कि उनके अब कान बंद से हो गए हैं। यहाँ उन्होंने यह बातें देखीं उस पर असर हुआ और यकीनन यहाँ से गए तो एक कुछ नया इल्म, नयी जानकारी, नयी बातें दिमाग में ले के गए करने को। औरों को सुनाने को अपने अपने गाँव में। चुनाँचे यह कहा जा सकता है कि इस प्रदर्शनी ने हिन्दुस्तान के दूर-दूर से देहातों तक असर डाला। क्योंकि वहाँ गए यहाँ से जाएंगे और उस पर अमल करेंगे। और, और जैसे ऊपर अमल करते हैं कि जो यह विकास योजना है, कम्युनिटी डेवलपमेंट है, हमारी पंचायतें हैं, हमारे जो सहकारी संघ हैं, कोऑपरेटिव्स इनके पंच सरपंच बहुत आए यहाँ, हज़ारों की तादाद में। तो वो यहाँ से एक रोशनी, चिंगारी ले के जायेंगे ले गए यहाँ से जिससे वो अपने-अपने इलाक़े को रोशन करें।

तो एक बड़ी बात हुई यह। क्योंकि उनकी आँखों के सामने आया, उनकी नहीं मेरी आँखों के सामने आया। कुछ एक झलक हमारी खेती एग्रीकल्चर की निस्वत, कुछ हमारे भविष्य की झलक

आयी। कैसा हम होने वाले हैं, कैसा हमारा देश, हमारे देहात, हमारी खेती होने वाली है? और इसके कुछ हमने स्वप्न देखे और यह खयाल पैदा हुआ कि इस सपने को हम असलियत की पोशाक पहनाएँ। चुनाँचे आप देखें कि यह जो बहुत सारी नुमाइशें होती हैं और उनसे कुछ न कुछ फायदा होता है, लेकिन शायद इसका फायदा काफी दूर तक पहुँचेगा, मुझे यकीन है इस बात का। मैं खुद ज़रा कुछ थक सा गया था दिल्ली की नुमाइशों से। हर साल होती हैं। लेकिन ज्यों-ज्यों मैंने ये देखा कि इसका क्या फायदा हो रहा है, लोगों को जगा कैसे रहा है यह, उनके दिमाग में नए-नए विचार, नए-नए खयाल कैसे पड़ रहे हैं? तो मुझे इतमीनान होता गया कि इस प्रदर्शनी ने अच्छा काम किया और अच्छी हुई यह। और इसलिए जिन लोगों ने इसको चलाया यहाँ काम किया। खासकर डॉ. पंजाबराव देशमुख, जो कि और अपने पेशे भूल गए इस ज़माने में, इसके पीछे। लेकिन बड़ा पेशा उनका यही है ही। यह भी बात है। तो मैं उनको मुबारकबाद देता हूँ बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इतना बड़ा काम किया और जिन लोगों को यह तरह-तरह के इनाम मिले उनको भी मुबारकबाद।

आप जानते हैं कि इस प्रदर्शनी के सिलसिले में बड़े-बड़े हमारे माननीय अतिथि बाहर से आए। शुरु ही में जब इसका खोलने का सिलसिला था वहाँ सभा हुई थी, जलसा - तो मैं बड़े पेंच में पड़ गया था कि जिस सभा में दो राष्ट्रपति हों उसमें कैसे बोला जाए? क्योंकि मेरा तजुर्बा ऐसा पहले का नहीं था, खैर किसी न किसी तरह से सामना किया उसका। तो आज हमारे उपराष्ट्रपति यहाँ मौजूद हैं। और यह विदाई उनके ज़रिए से हो रही है और हमारे यहाँ रूस के कृषि के मन्त्री, एग्रीकल्चर के मन्त्री भी आए हैं, तो उनका भी मैं स्वागत करता हूँ।

तो खैर, अब डॉ. पंजाबराव, यह प्रोग्राम कहता है ग़ालेबन डॉ. पंजाबराव, अब डॉ. पंजाबराव यह फिर दखल दे रहे हैं, कहते हैं जो छपा प्रोग्राम है उसके अलावा कोई और साहब स्पीच देंगे अब, शर्मा जी। अच्छा हाँ, अच्छी बात है, अब साहब कहाँ तक उनका मुकाबला किया जाए।

अब कब्ल इसके कि आप यहाँ से जाएँ, मुनासिब है ऐसे मौके पर कि कुछ नाच गाना हो। तो अब वो शुरु होता है। (कहाँ है भाई, बुलाओ अरे साहब ये पर्दे के पीछे से कौन बोल रहे हैं। कहाँ हैं ये कुछ समझ में नहीं आता खैर। गाना शुरु होता है)

[Translation begins:

All of you have heard Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh's order to me to say a few words. I have a printed programme here with me which says that there will be prize distribution now and after that a speech by the Vice-President. Then by some mistake my name comes in. The programme says Presidential Address. I have been made the President in name only. The reins are in his hands. The entire order of the programme has been changed and now I am being asked to speak. So, it must be decided whether I am the President or Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh. If I am, as I think, because it is printed here, I feel that it would be proper to go according to the programme. Now there will be prize-distribution.

Vice-President, Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh, Honoured Guests, Sisters and Brothers According to the programme, it is my turn now. All of us are assembled here today for the conclusion of this exhibition. There has been a great deal of activity here for the last three months and large crowds were drawn to it. It is all over

now and whenever something comes to an end, especially something that one gets used to, you feel sad. I have been here two or three times, but I regret to say that I have been able to see less than half of it. I wish there had been more time to see it properly. I had even asked Dr. Punjabrao if it could be extended but he said it was not possible. This is my own loss because I could not see many of the pavilions, I want to apologise to the ones that I could not visit and for not taking full advantage of this fair. But even the little that I was able to see has made a profound impression upon me and I have learnt a great deal. I have learnt at least in two ways. One was from the foreign pavilions which showed the latest developments in agriculture; two, it is obvious that I had a special interest in our state pavilions to see what is happening all over the country and the know-how behind it.

So, I think it will be correct for us to say that the state pavilions made a great impact and showed that people all over are paying great attention to agriculture and the progress that has occurred. Whether you go to Madras or to any other State, very good results have been obtained. It is true that they are not spread out but are confined to certain areas and only a few have taken advantage of it; but the roots have been put down and now they should spread.

First of all, I would like to congratulate and thank all the countries, big or small, which put up their grand pavilions here. Secondly, I congratulate the various states which have come here and shown what they have done. I congratulate the big industries, the various departments of government and trading companies which have produced an extraordinary atmosphere here.

Anyhow, this grand spectacle is over. It will be remembered for a long time to come and focus upon a small part of the changing life of Delhi. The people of Delhi, particularly, have become used to seeing spectacles and perhaps do not attach very great importance to novelties. But the special thing about this exhibition was that innumerable people from all over India came in millions, a large number of them farmers, and saw this new world of agriculture. I do not mean the exhibition, but the things that were displayed in it. At least it gave me an opportunity to meet a large number of them. I do not know exactly, but I must have met at least twenty five to thirty thousand farmers in the last three months. In their view I was also part of the exhibition. They would come to my house and then see the exhibition too. I am always happy to meet our people, particularly from the rural areas. I talked to them, asked them questions and sometimes even scolded them for not making greater improvements in agriculture and for using outdated implements like the plough which has been used for thousands of years.

Well, this is how our talks would go, and I found from their questions and answers that their visit had a great impact upon them. All this glitter and illumination may have also impressed them, but, in fact, their eyes were glued to what was happening in the field of agriculture. Their complaint was that having come all this distance, they could stay here only for a couple of days. It was not enough,

for they could not see the entire exhibition. But whatever they could see made an impression upon them and they would come and tell me all about it. It showed that they had observed everything very carefully and taken advantage of it. But the real advantage was the awakening of their minds which have got out of the old rut and absorbed the various new things that are happening in the world. Everybody knows a little of all this. But, as you know, a farmer does not believe what he hears but wants practical proof. So, this exhibition made it possible for them to see many things with their own eyes instead of listening to dry lectures on the subject with which they are fed up. What they saw here made an impression and, undoubtedly, they have carried away new knowledge and information with them to tell the others in their villages.

Therefore, it can be said that this exhibition has had an impact on the far-flung villages of India. Thousands of people from the community development projects, panchayats and co-operative societies came to see this exhibition and carried back a spark with them which will light up their areas.

So, this is a great event. They have caught a glimpse of the future of agriculture as well as the country. We have dreamt many dreams and it was decided to give them a garb of reality. Therefore, though all these exhibitions which are held do some good, I am convinced that this particular exhibition will have far-reaching results. I had grown a little tired of the exhibitions held in Delhi every year. But when I saw the impact this exhibition was having and the manner in which it was creating an awakening in the minds of the people and giving birth to new ideas and thoughts in their minds, I was convinced that it has been a good effort. I want to congratulate the organisers, particularly Dr Punjabrao Deshmukh who had forgotten everything else during this period and wholly dedicated himself to this task for this tremendous achievement. I congratulate the prize-winners too.

As you know, many honoured guests have come to India in connection with this exhibition. Even at the inauguration, I was placed in a dilemma as to how to speak in a meeting where there are two Presidents. That was my first experience of such a situation. Anyhow, I faced it somehow or the other. Today the Vice-President is present for the closing ceremony. I welcome the Minister for Agriculture from the Soviet Union who is here today.

Well, anyhow, Dr Punjabrao is interfering once again. He says, in addition to the printed programme, there is another item; a speech by Mr. Sharma. All right! How long can I keep fighting him? Before you go from here, there is going to be a cultural show. (Where are they? Who is speaking from behind the curtain? I can't understand what it is all about.) Well!

Translation ends.]

(d) Industry**95. To V. Sundaramurthy: Industrial Expansion⁴⁷**

January 30, 1960

Dear Shri Sundaramurthy,

I have your letter of the 23rd January for which I thank you.

I am interested in the rapid expansion of our industries. Much thought has been given to the big heavy industries and I have no doubt that they will give a firm foundation to our industrial structure. But I think it is equally important for our middle and smaller industries to spread out all over the country. Your proposals appear to envisage industries of this middle or smaller type. I am sure that our Ministry of Commerce & Industry will be interested in them and, wherever feasible, will encourage them.

You will appreciate that it is not possible for me to consider the pros and cons of each industry or each proposal. That has to be done by the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. I am, therefore, sending your letter to them.⁴⁸ Any further details about your proposals should be sent to them directly.

While I shall be happy to meet you whenever necessity arises, I am not in a position to discuss various proposals. That can only be done by the Ministry concerned. I am, therefore, drawing their attention to what you have written.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

96. To Y.B. Chavan: Koyna⁴⁹

January 30, 1960

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of the 28th January about my visiting the Koyna Project.⁵⁰ As you know, I am myself anxious to visit Koyna, and I shall try to find a date for it. I am afraid I cannot fix a precise day now. If possible, I shall go there in the third week of March, that is between the 15th and the 20th March. But this is only a tentative suggestion. Will you please let me know how much time this will take?

47. Letter to a resident of Bangalore.

48. Nehru recommended Sundaramurthy to Shastri for his enterprise and ideas.

49. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bombay. File No. TRS 1160(3), Maharashtra Archives.

50. Chavan said Nehru's visit would boost the morale of both the project staff and of the public.

Where do I have to go by plane? Is it Poona and from there how far is it by road? Altogether how much time will this take?⁵¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

97. To Swaran Singh: Shaktiman Trucks⁵²

January 30, 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

I have been reading a report about the manufacture of our Shaktiman trucks at Jabalpur. This appears to be proceeding well, and the trucks made have proved to be satisfactory and in many ways better than the older ones which we have purchased.

But there is one snag which has been coming in the way of rapid production, that is, the shortage of steel. I hope this will be remedied.

Yours sincerely,
Swaran Singh

98. To Swaran Singh: Steel Production and American Collaboration⁵³

February 5, 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

You wrote to me on February 1st⁵⁴ about a certain proposal for the Americans to put up a steel plant in India. I have now read the notes and other papers you sent me about this proposal.⁵⁵

In your note you mention broadly the steel programme in the Third Five Year Plan. There is the expansion of the three steel plants. Of this the only one decided upon so far is Bhilai which will go upto two and a half million tons. Rourkela and Durgapur are still in a stage of vague consideration. Then there is Bokaro and the alloy steel plant.

51. See SWJN/SS/vol. 58, forthcoming.

52. Letter to the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

53. Letter. File No. 17(314)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

54. See Appendix 15a.

55. See Appendix 15b.

In regard to Bokaro, I was told yesterday that some kind of a preliminary and tentative report has been received by you from our Indian consultants. As for the alloy steel plant, I think that we agreed to have a plant with a production of forty thousand tons. I am told that the demand for alloy steel is very considerable and much greater than we have provided for. In fact, that Tatas, sensing this demand, want to put up a fairly big alloy plant with a production of one hundred tons or so. There has been a recommendation that our alloy steel plant might increase its production from forty thousand to eighty thousand tons to make it more economic. Probably, this will not involve too much additional expenditure as the base will remain the same.

I think it would be advisable therefore for us to consider this enlargement of our alloy steel plant up to eighty thousand tons and work out the financial consequences.

So far as Rourkela and Durgapur are concerned, we should certainly try to double their output provided Germany and the UK undertake this.

Then there is Bokaro. This is a chosen site and a good one. I think we should go ahead with it and get a full project report prepared, even though we might not be quite clear at present about the future. Such a report will save time and will be of use to us as soon as we come to a final decision. Bokaro anyhow should be kept as a full public sector plant.

I now come to the possibly American proposal. The possible fear that we might produce more steel than we can consume or otherwise deal with does not worry me at all. First of all our consumption will increase and secondly it is not difficult to dispose of any extra output by export to foreign countries. I do not think we need be worried about the question of overproduction. In any event, these things will go over to the Fourth Plan.

Then there is the question of the pace of our machine building plants. All this indicates that we should expedite this pace to the best of our ability.

Keeping all this in view, I think that we should not rule out on pure ideological grounds any American proposal. But, of course, that proposal will have to be carefully considered in all its aspects before we go in for even a partial commitment. It would be desirable for us to talk about it a little amongst ourselves, i.e. yourself, Pantji, Morarjibhai and myself. Later, a fuller consideration could be given to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

99. To Vishnu Sahay: Foreign Collaboration in Industrial Projects⁵⁶

I enclose a note from the Minister of S.R. & C.A.⁵⁷ I presume he refers to some document prepared by the Ministry of Commerce & Industry.⁵⁸ If so, you might draw their attention to what the Minister has written.

100. To V. K. Krishna Menon: Bad Japanese Tractors⁵⁹

I have today received a letter from the Minister of Rehabilitation,⁶⁰ a copy of which I enclose. You will notice that the Japanese tractors supplied, at the instance of the Defence Ministry, to the Ministry of Rehabilitation for work in Dandakaranya have proved very unsatisfactory. The Rehabilitation Ministry has now to face a difficult situation because of this, and time is limited. The Minister of Rehabilitation has suggested that an early meeting should be held at which the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Rehabilitation might be present. In fact, he has suggested that the meeting might be held between the 11th and the 15th February. These are difficult dates. But, perhaps, we might have a meeting on the 14th or the 15th. Meanwhile, I suggest that you might have an urgent review made of this situation, so that we might know what the Defence Ministry can do in the matter and then decide.

101. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Oil Exploration⁶¹

February 22, 1960

My dear V.T.,

I enclose a note I have received from Keshava Deva Malaviya⁶² about oil exploration and exploitation. This matter is of great importance, and I hope that it will be fully considered at a meeting of the Planning Commission when some of us can also be present.

56. Note to CS, 7 February 1960. File No. 47/1/CF/60, Vol. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

57. See Appendix 13 (a).

58. See Appendix 13 (b).

59. Note to the Defence Minister, 9 February 1960.

60. Mehr Chand Khanna.

61. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS.

62. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.

It is difficult for me, without that discussion, to give a precise opinion. But I do think that oil is of the most vital significance. We have agreed to allow private companies to function on suitable conditions. I am inclined to think, however, that the actual work being done by our Oil Commission should not be curtailed.⁶³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

102. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Central Interference in Madras⁶⁴

February 22, 1960

My dear V.T.,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Venkataraman, Minister of Industries, Madras.⁶⁵ I spoke about this matter to you some time ago.⁶⁶

I do not myself understand why we should come in the way of the Madras Government in this matter. Normally we should not interfere with the State Government unless it is something of great national importance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

103. To Keshava Deva Malaviya: Oil Exploration in Nepal⁶⁷

February 28, 1960

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of February 26th⁶⁸ about oil exploration in Nepal. I am afraid I did not mention this subject to the Prime Minister of Nepal⁶⁹ when he was here. Or, if I did, it must have been rather casual. He is now going to China for about two weeks or so. Therefore, it will not be worthwhile for you to go there now. When

63. See also Appendices I (a) and I (b).

64. Letter. File No. 17(96)/56-61-PMS.

65. See Appendix 35.

66. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 313-314.

67. Letter to the Minister of Mines and Oil. K. D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in file No. 17(401)/60-66-PMS.

68. Malaviya proposed that since funds had been found, the two sides could finalize an agreement. He wanted to know whether Nehru had raised the matter in Nepal.

69. B. P. Koirala arrived in Patna on 17 January 1960 on a week's visit to India.

he returns from China, I shall write to him on this subject and, perhaps, you can pay a visit to Kathmandu also.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Labour

104. To Swaran Singh: Workers' Misery at Bhilai⁷⁰

February 28, 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

I enclose a letter from A.K. Gopalan⁷¹ about the happenings at Bhilai.⁷² How far his report is true, I do not know. But I have been surprised to find from his letter that living conditions of the workers are as bad as he makes them out to be. I had the impression that very special attention was being paid in all our steel plants to their living conditions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

70. Letter. File No. 17(37)/57-66-PMS.

71. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Palghat, Kerala.

72. See item 3, pp. 54-55.

(f) Education

105. To Subimal Dutt: Chinese Professors for Visva-Bharati⁷³

Please see the letter from the Vice Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati.⁷⁴ I do not like the idea of a request being made either by the Vice Chancellor or by me to the Chinese Government to give one or two Chinese Professorships to Visva-Bharati. I have, however, no objection to the two Professors named coming to Visva-Bharati for a period. What is your advice?⁷⁵

106. To S.R. Das: English and Chinese Chairs for Visva-Bharati⁷⁶

29th January, 1960

My dear Vice Chancellor,

I have two letters from you dated January 24th.⁷⁷

I agree with you that it would be desirable to strengthen our Department of English Studies. I do not myself see any objection to your receiving a donation from the Bengal Chamber of Commerce for a Chair in English. Nor do I object to the British Council or some other Foundation helping you in any way for a particular purpose like this. I suggest that you might write to the Chairman of the University Grants Commission⁷⁸ and put this matter to him and get his own opinion.

As for your second letter about China-Bhavana, it would be a good thing if

73. Note to FS, 29 January 1969. File No. 40(9)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

74. See Appendix 5.

75. On 9 February, Subimal Dutt noted that Nehru had received a similar proposal from, K. C. Choudhury, the previous Vice-Chancellor; Nehru had discussed it with S. R. Das in December 1959 in Santiniketan and minuted on 23 December that both had agreed that they would not act immediately. Dutt said this was not the time to ask for favours from China, especially as they would expect Nehru, as Chancellor, to make the request. However, if the University could on its own sound out two Chinese professors, the Indian Embassy in Peking could help.

76. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS.

77. See Appendices 5-6.

78. C. D. Deshmukh.

we had competent Chinese Professors there.⁷⁹ But I do not think that in the existing circumstances it would be desirable for you or for me to write to the Chinese Government to donate such Professorships.⁸⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

107. To S.R. Das: Visva-Bharati Kitchens⁸¹

January 30, 1960

My dear Vice Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of January 25th⁸² in which you deal with the Kitchen Department. I am quite clear that the decision that the Samsad took to terminate the arrangements with the caterer and to resume the running of the kitchen departmentally was a right decision. It would be advisable to associate some of your senior students with the running of this Kitchen Department. I think that it is always better for the students to be associated in this way in regard to food and amenities which are provided. This brings a sense of responsibility on them and probably saves money.

You should, of course, try to help in recovering the arrears due from the senior students. I suppose this means recovering the money from their parents, though partly this might be recovered directly from the students, wherever possible.

Some kind of action to recover these arrears may be necessary. But I agree with you that drastic action, by way of expulsion from the university, is not desirable and may well have serious repercussions. Therefore, some milder type of action should be taken and the results watched. Perhaps, it might be possible to get some agreement with the parents of these students for a phased payment of arrears by spreading it out over a period.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

79. See item 105.

80. See item 115.

81. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

82. See Appendix 7.

108. To Thakorlal S. Thakore: Teaching English⁸³

January 30, 1960

Dear Shri Thakore,

I received your letter of the 20th January some time ago and am sorry for the delay in acknowledging it. The question of English teaching in our schools and colleges has been discussed very fully. It is true that there is some difference of opinion about it. It seems to me, however, that there should be a certain uniformity about it in India as far as possible. So far as my personal views are concerned, I have expressed them frequently. I cannot say at what stage it should be introduced, but I do feel that importance should be attached to the teaching of English as a secondary language.

I do not wish to interfere with any decisions of State Governments or universities except to express the hope that a uniform policy should be pursued. I have no doubt that this will ultimately take place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

109. To B.C. Roy: Academic Frustration⁸⁴

January 31, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

I enclose a letter I have received from Dr Arun Kumar Sen.⁸⁵ If the facts he has stated in this letter are correct, this discloses a sad state of affairs. I hope you will have a proper enquiry made into this matter. It is sad that our competent young men should be treated in this way and that we should lose their services.⁸⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

83. Letter to a Member of Legislative Council, Bombay State.

84. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

85. Assistant Professor of Anesthesiology, University of Illinois, USA. See Appendix 2.

86. Nehru wrote to M. S. Thacker, the Director-General of the CSIR, and Arun Kumar Sen on the same lines the same day.

110. To the Indian Historical Records Commission⁸⁷

Mr President and Friends:

I feel somewhat lost because of the subject of this conference. Everybody knows the importance of historical records. It does not require argument for these to be kept but I know nothing about the actual subjects that you probably discuss about these records, how to preserve, how they may be available to historians, etc.

It is obvious that any country, any society which does not take an interest in its past loses roots or has not got deep roots. Now that interest in the past can be rather precise, historical more or less, interest of actual facts ascertained or as often as we find it. A sentimental bond, which is a very powerful bond, based not on precise history but on certain popular adaptations of tradition which takes the place of history as in India and which probably are true or not, have had a most powerful influence on human beings generation after generation.

India, in the strict sense of the word, has not been a country paying much attention to history like the Arabs, like the Chinese, and like others, and we have satisfied ourselves with the past by more or less traditional accounts, of great happenings, great rulers, and the like. Well, that may have some virtue occasionally but it is clear that in the modern age that is not adequate. Anyhow, it never was fully adequate, and more so now.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY

So, it is a good thing that in India our attention is steering more and more to what might be called the scientific study of history and for that of course records are needed.

But what exactly do you mean by historical records? In the old days you might have said the records of kings, rulers, important men, what they thought, what they did, documents, important documents and all that. That is, that history was supposed to be largely dependent on the personal whims of a king or an emperor or somebody else who played an important part. Well, I presume that that is not the viewpoint now. Apart from the fact that such kings and rulers become fewer and fewer in the world, history is governed by other factors, not so much by the individual, although the individual counts, and even if the individual counts, he himself counts not as an old ruler, old type of ruler, but as something entirely new, as a representative of mass opinion.

87. Inaugural Address at the 35th Session, 4 February 1960. PIB files. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.

I suppose a very important document from the historical record point of view about an old ruler may be his love letters or his personal life, because so much is dependent on that ruler's whims and vagaries.

Now, that type of influence may not be completely absent but is less obviously and you have to deal with entirely new types of mass opinion, mass formation of society and a new society developing where the individual counts far less. And on the one side, there is a mass, the democratic mass if you like, on the other a technological society is developing with its own urges and momentum, so that the whole texture of history is changing.

A GOOD TEST

If some future historian wants to write the history of our day, what kind of documents would he like? It is a good test. Probably there will be documents, let us say, of India today, documents of what the Planning Commission was doing and how it is bringing about an industrial revolution here. Many of you may or may not agree with it. Many of you presumably are what might be called professional historians with your eyes rather turned towards the past, to some extent to the present.

The centre of things changes. The most important thing today in India is the transition of India into a technological society. That is an important thing, not of the individual functions here, what letters he wrote or did not write. And any process which makes us realise the changes coming about, these technological changes, becomes important from the point of view of history, not the individual at all.

And how are you to judge again history today? It is the history of masses, it is the history, not of the individual so much, although again I do not deny the importance of the individual, but it is a history of a mass and sometimes a mass without a definite clear face about it. We have moved into entirely new regions of historical functioning. A historical writing must adapt itself to it and I fear that the historian of past ages will have to shift his emphasis and his understanding of events because he is too used to individuals functioning on an important stage; what happened in a battle, a ruler—what he wrote, what orders he gave; it was important of course in those days, but it becomes unimportant, much less important today. Other factors come in. The whole shift of emphasis presumably changes.

I am merely putting some thoughts before you to consider. I am no historian. I have interest in history and if I may say so, I am interested in history, not at all or very little as some kind of dry-as-dust outlines of events in the past—it does not interest me in the slightest. The period of history that interest me is a period when I can identify myself with it, in a greater or lesser measure, at any rate for that moment, when I am dealing with it, reading or writing.

NECESSITY FOR ADAPTATION

Now that leads to another conclusion. Personally speaking, as an amateur, I imagine that a historian can only write effectively about a period if he can for the moment become a part of that period. It does not matter what you wrote about it, what you write about the Vedic Age or some subsequent period in India. You must adapt yourself to that period and feel the urges, the impulses, the dangers, disasters, the joys, sorrows, then to some extent, of course only to some extent, you become part of that period and begin to get some vague understanding. It has to be vague, it can't be real but still some vague understanding of what people lived like and moved, what their hopes and difficulties were.

Once you do that you become part of that period for the time being. Immediately you cease to be or you tend to cease to be completely objective historians, you function just like an individual in the present context who presumes to write absolutely objectively, as if he was some distant observer of the current events today in the world or in India. Well, he can give a large number of dates and events, this happened and that happened, but only a professional historian will be able to read what he has written, completely uninteresting to anybody except as a reference book if you like.

HISTORIAN'S TASK

If you want to give some flesh and blood to your conception of history, you must live it in the present or in the past. If you are apart from it, it is a dry stuff, not very much of human value except as a reference thing. Therefore, if you identify yourself with the period, whether the past or the present, you must have moved about that period.

The historian is not supposed to be a blank mind incapable of human feelings, desires, urges aspirations, just reflecting somebody else's mind, I say this because there is so much talk about the objective view of doing things. Well, if I may say so with all humility, there is no such thing in the wide world as an objective view except for the objective fool. Any man who has any guts in him has views. Yes, he should suppress them. He should not allow them to come to distort his vision. That is true. But if he has absolutely no views at all on problems that agitate humanity, he can never enter into the spirit of humanity. He must have views and the stronger the views the more he can identify himself. Of course, if they are too strong he may topple over and intellectually topple over.

So, this difficulty comes in. If you remain intellectually quite apart from the event you are dealing with, you do not wholly appreciate it, you cannot write about it with that warmth which good writing should contain. If you identify yourself more or less to some extent you will get the warmth at the cost of objectivity.

MATERIAL OF HISTORY

So, there is this difficulty about this business of history and now when the material of history is not the individual but society as such—in the biggest possible way—what records do you keep in your archives? It is all very well to talk about ancient records. You may have a letter of Akbar or an edict of Asoka which is of the highest importance. It is all right.

AN OVERALL PICTURE

Not having myself studied it, how it is done, I find it very difficult to understand or appreciate how anybody can understand the movement of the human race by studying history in this way. Of course, one can specialise in a particular period but only when you know something about an entire picture, then you can look closely with a microscope into a small part of it. If you look at the small part all the time all your life, then you shrink to that small part and keep apart from the wider picture yourself. That is the difficulty.

And now with this vast amount of material, every newspaper, every book, all this material for future history. How am I to read a hundred thousand books, billions of pages, newspapers and others, nobody can do it. So that curiously enough while there is much commonness about our activities, and diversity of course, at the same time there is such an abundance of things which are relevant that one tends to lose oneself in infinite details forgetting the broad things. That danger applies to the specialist historian who is looking at a little picture and forgetting that it is only a very small picture, a very small part of a bigger picture.

Archives, I presume, nowadays means some relics of the past, not of the present, because every library, every place is the present archives of tomorrow. It is only the relics that you discover of the distant past which you should preserve carefully, that helps you to understand that past. But as time goes on, every library in the country or in the world is a place of national archives. Not only the library but every institute, every place where work is done, is a place for archives of the past, whether it is a scientific institute, a technological institute, literary institute, every university, every place becomes that. So that these old conceptions begin to vary, change somewhat.

As you will see, I am speaking like a complete amateur on the subject, an amateur whose mind rather roams about these problems and whose mind is terribly afraid of getting into a rut and one tends to revolt against anything that brings it into a routine way of thinking, routine way of acting, which of course is the normal tendency for all of us and specially in the advanced age that I have reached. And historians who delve in the past may sometimes forget the present. And if they forget the present their studies, though no doubt of value, will not have that much value which otherwise they may have.

On the other hand, the historians live completely in the present and cannot transport themselves into the past of which they write. Also it loses much significance.

DUAL PERSONALITY

So, you must have as a historian a dual personality which partly lives in the present, and partly in the past and if the two are not integrated, the past and the present inside you, you may get into trouble with yourself. So these difficulties arise.

How not being a historian at all and only a person interested in the development of human society and interested also in individuals who have played an important role in it, I can presume to speak to you because only two types of persons can speak about a subject; one is the person who knows a good deal about it; the other is a person who is completely ignorant about it. I belong to the latter type. Therefore, I have presumed to speak about this. Well, having explained my own presence here, I gladly inaugurate this conference.

111. To the Institution of Engineers⁸⁸

Mr President and Engineers,

I first of all must apologise to you, I think that I have been the cause of your having to hustle through your programme somewhat this morning, because I had to leave rather early for another engagement which I had made. We have just been listening to the President's address. An extempore address although written down elsewhere [laughter] which was perfectly remarkable in the way it put—I thought—in simple language and without any flourishes some of the basic problems before engineers and in fact before India. I must say, that I have profited much by listening to it and if I may say so, in a very large measure, I agree with what he has said, I would not commit myself wholly lest I should be trapped [Laughter]. But in effect the broad approach that he has indicated and the lack of the needs of the situation, I think do give a correct lead to this Institute and to the country.

He has asked me in his closing words to say something to kindle a spark of inspiration. Inspiration hardly comes in that way: if it comes, it goes out too quickly [Laughter]. It comes really from a variety of factors and from you might say, the environment, the needs of the situation, the effect of it on the individual or the group or the country how you react to it, and how you fit in, with what might be called, the river of life in the nation and the trends, the major trends in the nation, which are moving in that direction. If you fit in with that you get

88. Inaugural address at the 40th Annual General Meeting, 5 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.

strength and inspiration. If you don't, then, you are somewhat isolated, however clever you might be. And I shall give you an instance in another field, in our struggle for independence under Gandhiji's leadership, very able and very clever men argued and argued as to whether this step was right or wrong, whether the nationalist movement was going in a right direction or not, whether spinning the charkha, an out of date machine if I may call it, was not a sign of absurdity in the modern age. They argued and argued. And all their argument brought nothing to the country while that charkha brought a great deal to the country [Applause].

Now why? Why I am not pleading for the charkha at the present moment. But what I am pleading for is this. One must have to be in line with the vast upsurges of a nation to help them forward and to be helped by them. If one wants to do anything big. Of course, I am not referring to a research work and the like which stands on an important and different level. You cannot have a nation getting excited about research work. But there are times that come in the life of the nation when the whole nation comes up, is moved by circumstances, by pressures, by all kinds of things, by dangers to great effort and then even the weakest nation gets strong and that sense of unity and movement comes to a nation. It does not easily come always. It did come to us in our struggle for freedom. But now, if you look it at another way, we are passing in India through a very remarkable and a very fascinating time. We are passing through it rather belatedly, true, but we are passing through an industrial revolution, a technological revolution. And which of course, both of these, affect life in numerous ways.

After all, life as we see it in the world today—rather more or less in the advanced countries in the world—is the result of the last hundred and fifty years or so of scientific and technological change, which has completely altered the face of the world almost and certainly the lives of the human-beings. But I don't say it has solved the problems of the world, new problems arise. But it has certainly solved the ancient problem of poverty, and the lack of the necessities of life. There is no doubt about it. That, modern science and technology have solved in some countries and can solve everywhere, given the chance, the problem of poverty, etc. That is a matter almost which might be a mathematical conclusion. For the first time in world's history that has happened, because of the scientific and technological advance. Therefore, if we want to solve those problems in India, it is obvious, that we have to do it through scientific and technological advance. There is no other way. I don't mean to say that science and technology complete the whole ambit of human life. There are more vital things which both science and technology miss. But science and technology are quite essential in the solution of modern problems and in the building up of modern life.

Now, many of our problems in India are because of the delay in our advancing along this road for various reasons. And now we have to face this problem and to face it at a moment when we have to hurry, hurry for a variety of reasons, because dangers encompass us. Dangers, among them the danger of a very

rapidly growing population, which may overwhelm many of the efforts that we might make towards bettering our people's lot. Therefore, we are going through a scientific or rather a technological revolution. And obviously in a technological revolution, the people, the makers of technology, the makers of science and the makers of technology and the worker in the technology, must necessarily play a very important part. In a static society, it is the administrator who plays the most important part. The administrator plays an important part in any society. But apart from that, he plays a very important part in a static society. In rapidly changing society, because of technological advances, the technologist comes into the field and must play a very important part. And for this reason, the part of the engineer becomes more and more vital in India today, engineers of various types.

In a sense the test of a nation today is how far it is technologically mature. Perhaps some of you may have read a description, a kind of survey of society by an eminent writer or lecturer. He has divided it up the modern countries of the modern age... Well, no wait a minute, he divided up countries into these which follow traditional methods, the traditional way of life. The completely traditional, of course, there are practically none left in the world; that is, tradition unaffected by modern technology. There are practically none left. There may be some odd countries here and there. Because every country in the world has been affected somewhat by modern technological progress passively if not actively. So, there is a traditional country. There is the second group [...] the traditional country being affected by technology, modern technology. There is the third country, of the technological process having gone so far as to bring the country to the take-off stage; and the fourth, of the technologically mature country; and the fifth of the country, the high consumption country, because technology has advanced so much, production has grown so abundant, that almost everybody can have almost everything and so on it goes on and on producing new problems. Then this high consumption country produces oddly enough new problems, but we needn't bother about them because we are not near that stage. When it comes, we shall no doubt [deal with the] problems of leisure, problems of most extraordinary psychological kind. But as I said, that is none of our concern at the present moment. Because we lack as a people, the necessities of life, the basic necessities. And we have to work.

Now, in this list of countries you will find that apart from the technologically mature countries, countries of Europe mostly, United States, Canada, Australia and one or two three other countries; that apart, if you come to the next stage of countries trying to become mature, technologically mature, you find that India has a high place in that. In fact, I would say the two countries which have the highest place are China and India at the present moment, approaching maturity in the technological sphere. Of course, there is no hard and fast line which you cross; you become more and more mature as you go ahead. We have in India,

looking at it from one point of view, quite considerable resources, even in human beings today, that is, even in trained human beings, trained engineers. Not enough I admit. We want more. But still, compared to most other countries which are also trying to make good, we are much further ahead in that process. All countries are going in that. So are we, and because of that advance itself in science and technology which we have been making at a more rapid pace in recent years. The promise of our passing over that stage which is called the take-off stage [...] that promise lures us on, and it is not difficult of accomplishment. But at this very stage harder work is required, much harder work. Now as I said, we must have this conception of our living through an intense revolutionary age of change.

Now I think, I talked, about these industrially matured nations and all that. And yet while I talk like this, I am talking almost in terms of a past age. So fast is the pace of the change in the world this jet age, this space age, atomic power age, all these are new conceptions which are just creeping in. And all that you have studied in your institutes, colleges and universities good as it is, is rather past knowledge, and if you are not wide awake enough you are out-of-date people.

The President has said something about, what was it, that reading and thinking have practically become casualties. A very wise remark and very true remark I think in India, which applies I regret to say, to all kinds of people in India, all kinds of professions in India, I mean including the profession, if it is a profession, of the politician [Laughter]. And that is not the fault of the individual so much—to some extent it is—but it is not the fault of the individual so much, because the pressures of life become so great that one does not have the leisure or the time to do it. It is most unfortunate. But the fact is, if reading and thinking become casualties, then obviously a community or a nation deteriorates, goes backward, it is patent. Because all the human progress that has been made in the past, has been ultimately through thinking, through thought. Thought of course not in some abstruse sphere, but thought followed by action, followed by experiment and action along the lines of the thought. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance I think that people should think and read; and it is a bad omen, when I see in India, when I get returns, how many books are published, how many books are read. I am astonished at the fewness of the readers in India of all types of books; leave out high class books. We have to develop that habit. Because we are up in India against really a stupendous challenge to our thinking, to our action, to our manhood, to our everything in us. It is a fascinating challenge, it is an exciting challenge. If you feel, if you understand this, if you are aware of this challenge and you react to it properly, you get that kindling of the spirit to which the President referred. It is because you cannot imagine a more exciting period of human history than today, in India, to face these problems and overcome them, and thereby affect the vast proportion of human beings on the earth's surface that is in India and indirectly others too. So, it is a tremendous thing. And in that tremendous thing obviously engineers have to play a tremendous part in this great

revolution that is happening in India.

Revolutions are not merely occasions of bloodletting and hitting heads and shooting down people. That is an out-of-date idea. A revolution is something which changes human life in a big way. It is not a palace revolution at the top but basic revolutions which change the life of millions of people, how they function, how they live, their contacts, their organisations, and the rest. So, that is what is happening in India and will continue to happen. And you will have to play an important part in it.

How, if you look at it from this point of view, then naturally you have to think in terms of organised well thought out advance. Not accidental advance, but organised well thought out advance. That is planned advance, that is planning. It astounds and amazes me that some people should think still, in this world and more especially in India, that the planning is rather a nuisance. Nobody has ever been heard to say that if you are in a war and face to face with enemy, you should have no general staff, you should have no thought out plan of waging a war, but you should allow every individual to carry on his private war against the enemy. Nobody has said that. And yet it is exactly that idea, that anarchic idea, that is suggested in a nation's advance against all the evils surrounded by poverty and all this. Do you not see some kind of..., see that the comparison I put before you about our organised approach to a war. Unhappily a country has to face a war; and to our organised approach to a nation's tremendous problems; it is what is a war, what it demands from you. It demands from you giving highest priority to the needs of the war. Because you are fighting for survival. A nation is fighting for survival. Every thing is secondary except what is necessary for winning the war. Now, I cannot ask you in peace time to feel the same way, psychologically it is difficult for people to do so. Individuals might, but not the mass. But the fact is that the problems which face us are infinitely more important or at least as important as those of war. The problem is of getting over this revolutionary period quickly, speedily, and with success, and reaching a stage when we develop a self-generating economy and thereby can go at a greater pace ahead.

So, that requires planning of course and trying to chalk out what is the best way of going ahead; what is to be done first and what is second. Now, if we do want to go ahead industrially and technologically surely, it is necessary to work at the foundations of this. Foundations are scientific. The foundations are, if you come to technology or industry, not the little and odd factories that you may put up by getting some machine from Japan, Germany or England, but the production of the machine in India. How else can you progress? In other words, the basic thing towards technological change become development of heavy industries in a country; steel and the big machine building industry, so as to give a chance, so as to speed up the process of building up of industrialisation. From any point of view, whether it is a point of view of foreign exchange about which we talk so much; but we have to spend lots of money in foreign exchange, in importing big

machines where any process, progress, must necessarily slow down.

Now, these are patent things which many people do not accept as an approach, accept this. But I am sure that any person with the least bit of a scientific mind will accept them immediately. Unfortunately, many of our people, and even people who are not deficient in wisdom in some ways, do not possess much of a scientific mind in India yet. It is coming, no doubt, this type of thinking, because it must necessarily. We live in a scientific age and we cannot ignore or we cannot go on ahead without that.

Now my time is putting up one or two things I might refer to what the President said. Again if you develop industries, if you develop technology, it seems to me essential that you should develop design, designing in a fairly big way in India. It is unfortunate again that we have not done so but we are beginning to do so, I am glad to say in India. Because it was so much easier in the past merely to give an order to a firm in England or Germany or somewhere to supply the goods or locomotives, than to have to go through the heavy brainwork of producing a design and making it; and so governments function easily in that way, not realising in that way lies no progress at all. But only third rate nations function in that way. No first rate nations relies on the brain power of somebody else to do its work for it in designing or anything. Of course, I do not want India to live an isolated life. We should benefit by all the advances and we should co-operate with the thinkers, and workers, of other countries. That is all right. But one must realise that a worthwhile nation has to do the job itself. So, design is important and should be encouraged, taken up wherever it is possible.

Also he said something about liaison between those who teach, those who might work in the field. I could not agree with him more. I am quite convinced I think it applies to every branch of teaching and knowledge. Persons who are more in universities or who do excellent work or can do it, get cut off from other branches of life. Persons working even in government departments get completely cut off from human beings as such, except those who surround them. They must have touch with the actual, actual work in the field. I should like this kind of interchange constantly to go on. One odd thing which might interest, yes again he said something about the translation of books—that is most important I think—from the foreign languages. And the publication of books in your own languages, at any rate the basic books on scientific and engineering knowledge.

Now, in our planning you will find that a very large proportion, a very considerable proportion of the money we spent, are spent in building, in construction. It is an astonishing proposition as you must know. Now, any reduction in the cost of that construction is a great relief. Because when your plan goes up to 5000, 10,000 crore, you can very well imagine, a fifteen percent reduction means a very substantial saving; out of which other projects may come; therefore, it is of the most vital significance that construction, that improvements should be made in construction work and it should be done cheaper. Of course, here it goes

up for a variety of reasons, but among them, I think, partly government methods and procedures are responsible, partly also engineers are responsible, and you should realise that that you are getting a bad name for doing things expensively. You may do them well but you do them expensively, and it is a bad thing for any country, more especially for a country like India. We cannot afford this. And where we see the same thing being done in other places more cheaply, more cheaply not in terms of human labour—that is cheaper here—but otherwise more cheaply, then it is surprising. One of the reasons being apparently that our people, some of them who study abroad, even so who have not studied abroad they studied from books from abroad, they begin thinking of doing work as if they were in America or England. They want the same tools, they want everything. Well, the basic tool in India is the human being and you can never forget that. Now, I am all for higher techniques; don't imagine that I want any lower techniques, I want the high. But we have never to forget that the basic tool in India is the human being of which we have perhaps too many. And the basic problem of India is the utilisation of manpower of India, at the same time, improving techniques. But anyhow, I was talking about construction costs. It is of the most vital significance that you should reduce construction cost and apply your minds to it, and not look at the chart prepared fifty or hundred years ago in some P.W.D. department [Laughter] and put it up. It is completely out-of-date. It is ridiculous. No thinking person can accept these standards laid down fifty or sixty years ago. After all the world has changed; people, materials have changed, methods have changed, human beings have changed; but not forms produced by a government department. But I am surprised that I do not. I can imagine the administrator not changing the forms but the engineer who ought to be a modern-minded person sticking to those forms. It shows that he is very backward engineer. That is all I can say. Because it makes a difference to India of the most vital significance. How we can construct our hundreds of thousands of our projects, buildings, schools, hospitals, etc. and get out of this rut of expensiveness, in which we are in or building a wall about I don't know about six feet thick when two feet is enough. Because apparently you built for a hundred years, I am told. Well, I wish this idea of building for a hundred years is given up you might build for the moment for only fifteen or twenty years, we shall see later what happens. [Laughter]. Of course that would not apply to some major projects, etc.

Well I am late, but one interesting thing I might tell you. We talk about 10,000 crore and all that about our Third Five Year Plan. I do not know how much it is going to be. But whether it is 10,000 or little more or little less, it is immaterial. The point is there is no choice for us; situated as we are, we have to go ahead, or we simply stick or go backwards. I won't go into that argument and that position has come to a country, to every country; and it is quite a normal thing for that country to be, well, to get help in the shape of loans, credits, etc., from other countries [...]; even the great United States of America got plenty of foreign

capital 100, 150 years ago, and was an indebted nation till the First World War. But I wonder if you ever realised how the Industrial Revolution helped tremendously the United Kingdom 150 years ago or 200 years ago. I do not mean to say that there were no other causes, of course ultimately, the inventiveness, the spirit of adventure, and various things of the British people and the joining together of coal and iron there, which were abundant. But at that moment, they were fortunate enough to get plenty of capital from India—bullion, gold, silver. A recent book which has come out by John Strachey, who used to be a Minister of the United Kingdom government, it is a fascinating book, which is called I think *The End Of Empire*. He calculates with facts and figures that England got out of India the equivalent of a hundred million pounds annually. Think of that figure, a hundred million pounds in terms of present prices and all that, not actually hundred million in those days but in terms of today, right from the time of Plassey onwards, for decades and decades I think, to the nineteenth century throughout. Well, it is a pretty useful contribution that India gave [Laughter]. And pretty substantial. Well, that one should not be surprised, now that we are trying to do things with some speed we require help, but conditions are different, and also our need is great for speed and anyhow ultimately, we have to rely upon ourselves. And in relying upon ourselves, it is really people, like, trained people today, who count for most; and among the trained people, the technologically trained people have to bear the biggest responsibility. So, I hope you realise this, and feel that you are or ought to be active agents in this tremendous technological revolution that is taking place in India [Applause].

112. National Rifle Shooting Competition⁸⁹

सरदार सुरजीत सिंह जी और हज़रात,
कुछ बरस हुए श्री मावलंकर जी ने मेरी दावत की थी इसी नेशनल शूटिंग चैम्पियनशिप के सिलसिले में, कोई दिल्ली में उसकी मीटिंग हुई थी। क्या प्राइजेज़ वगैरह दिए गए थे, तब मैं उस वक़्त आया था और शिरकत हुई थी मेरी। कई बरसों बाद फिर मैं आज आया हूँ और उस वक़्त से जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम हुआ अभी और कुछ सुना भी इसने काफी तरक्की की है, बढ़ी है यह संस्था, और अहमदाबाद से दिल्ली आ गयी। दिल्ली में बहुत सभों का आ जाना मुझे बहुत पसन्द नहीं है। यहाँ भीड़ बढ़ती जाती है, लेकिन लाचारी है आने में कुछ आसानी भी होती है, काम भी बढ़ता है यहाँ आकर। ख़ैर, तो आ गयी।

ज़ाहिर है कि यह, यह संस्था जो काम करती है वो एक ज़रूरी काम है कौमियत के लिए, हमारे देश के लिए एक बहुत ज़रूरी काम है। यह मैं नहीं कहता कि कोई बंदूक चलाना जाने, तो कोई ख़ास बड़ा काम कर सकता है बंदूक चलाके। आजकल बंदूक की हैसियत हल्के-हल्के वही होती जाती है जो तीर-कमान की है, और हथियार निकलते हैं और बातें आती हैं। लेकिन मैं इसको दूसरी

89. Speech, 5 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

तरह से रखूँ। बंदूक चलाना जानने से फायदा न होगा, बंदूक चलाना न जानने से नुकसान बहुत होता है [हंसी] यानी नुकसान यह होता है कि लोग उसे एक अजीबोगरीब चीज़ समझ सकते हैं ख़तरनाक चीज़, भयानक चीज़, डरावनी चीज़, एक मामूली चीज़ नहीं समझते। इसलिए यह मुनासिब है कि हरेक कम से कम जाने तो उससे कुछ नाता हो, कुछ रिश्ता हो और यह उससे अक्सर लोगों को कुछ डर सा होता है वो निकल जाये। और यों भी मेरी राय में एक माकूल बात है जानना। मैं समझता हूँ कि हर स्कूल में लड़के-लड़कियों को कुछ न कुछ यह सिखाना चाहिए, एक राइफल-विंग छोटी सी हो कहीं न कहीं, कुछ न कुछ।

दो चीज़ें, चीज़ें तो बहुत सारी हैं। लेकिन दो चीज़ें हरेक को आनी चाहिए स्कूलों में, एक तो बंदूक चलाना और एक तैरना, यह कम्पलसरी होना चाहिए मेरी राय में दोनों सीखना। और यों तो और बातें भी होनी चाहिए कुछ न कुछ स्टैण्डर्ड्स होने चाहिए एथेलेटिक्स के लड़के-लड़कियों के लिए। यानी सौ गज़ कितनी देर में दौड़ते हैं या मील भर दौड़ना या और बातें करना। जो कुछ ऐसी, बहुत ऊँचे स्टैण्डर्ड नहीं, चैम्पियनशिप मेरा मतलब नहीं। लेकिन कुछ होने चाहिए कुछ न कुछ। क्योंकि हमारे मुल्क में ज़ाहिर है कि यह एथेलेटिक्स के स्टैण्डर्ड ऊँचे नहीं हैं। हाँ, बाज़ लोग अच्छे हैं। अक्सर फ़ीज में बहुत अच्छे लोग हैं हमारे जवान। लेकिन आमतौर से आप जाइए देखिए कॉलेजेज़ में, यूनिवर्सिटीज़ में जाइए। कोई अगर जिस्म की उनकी नाप-तोल हो तो बहुत कोई इम्तहान पास न करे। दिमाग उनका कहीं पहुँच जाये, लेकिन जिस्म नहीं पहुँचे उनका। और बग़ैर जिस्म के दिमाग भी बहुत दूर तक नहीं जाता है, दोनों को साथ-साथ बढ़ना होता है एक मुल्क में, दिमाग और जिस्म और शरीर को।

तो इसलिए जहाँ तक कि यह आपके ये चैम्पियनशिप्स हैं, शुरू किया है, यह मैं समझता हूँ बहुत अच्छा काम हुआ। इसको बढ़ाने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए और एक माने में मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं आप कैसे काम करते हैं, यानी क्या आपका रिश्ता है यूनिवर्सिटीज़ से, कॉलेजेज़ से, स्कूल से, कुछ है कि नहीं मुझे पता नहीं। लेकिन कुछ न कुछ रिश्ता होना अच्छा हो। शायद हो भी अब भी हो। क्योंकि इस ढँग से इसे फैलना चाहिए कि हरेक को आसानी हो जाए इस काम से, न कि महज़ चंद लोग जिनको जोश है वो आयें आपकी इस संस्था में। अब मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं और मुझे करना क्या है? इसके बाद क्यों साहब क्या करना है, अच्छा उसके बाद क्या है बस।

[Translation begins:

Sardar Surjeet Singhji, and Gentlemen,

Some years ago, Shri Mavalankarji had invited me to a function in connection with the National Shooting Championship in Delhi and I had attended it. I have come after a few years and I hear that there has been a great deal of progress between then and now, and the institution has grown. It has shifted from Ahmedabad to Delhi, but I do not like that very much. There is overcrowding in Delhi. But it makes things easier because the work expands in Delhi. Anyhow it has come.

It is obvious that the work of this institution is very essential for the country. I do not say that you can achieve anything very much by knowing how to use a rifle. Today a gun or a rifle is gradually becoming as out-dated as the bow and

arrow with the invention of other more lethal weapons. Let me put it another way. Even if there is no great advantage in knowing how to use a rifle, not knowing is a distinct disadvantage. [Laughter]. The disadvantage is that people think it is something extraordinary and dangerous. Therefore, it is right that every individual should have some contact with it so that the fear in people's minds may disappear. Even otherwise, I feel that it is a good thing to know. I think it should be taught to all the boys and girls in schools. There should be a small rifle-wing or something like that.

There are many things that children should learn. But the two important things are swimming and rifle-shooting. In my opinion, these two things should be compulsory. There should be a standard in athletics for boys and girls, not very high standards perhaps—I do not mean championship—but a level that everybody can aspire to. It is obvious that the standard of athletics is not very high in our country. There are people who are good, particularly in the army. But generally speaking, if you go to colleges and universities, if the physique of the students was taken into consideration, nobody would pass the test. Their minds are well-developed but their bodies do not develop well. Without good physical health, the mind too does not cooperate. Both mind and body should grow side by side.

So, I feel that it is a good thing to have started the championships. An effort should be made to expand it. I do not know, exactly, what your connection with the schools, colleges and universities is. But it will be a good thing if there is some connection, because then it will be easy to spread it among more people instead of a few who are interested and join this institution. I do not know what I am supposed to do now. All right.

Translation ends.]

113. To K. L. Shrimali: Bureaucratic Rigidity⁹⁰

February 8, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Dr. Sampurnanand.⁹¹ I do not myself understand why the Central Government should insist on the State Sports Council having a certain number of members, and no more and no less.

90. Letter.

91. See Appendix 17.

The States are rather sensitive, and I have been repeatedly assuring them that the Government of India does not wish to interfere with their discretion unless it is a matter of vital concern.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

114. To S. Radhakrishnan: Chancellor of Banaras University⁹²

February 10, 1960

[My dear Radhakrishnan,]

I have your letter of today's date and its two enclosures. I am returning these two enclosures.

My first reaction was that you should not take up additional burdens. Then I thought again. There can be no doubt that the Banaras University would gain in prestige if you accepted the Chancellorship, and in other ways it will be good for that University after all it has gone through. So, on the whole, I am inclined to think that it might be desirable for you to accept this offer. But, really, it is for you to decide.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

115. To S. R. Das: Chinese Professors for Visva-Bharati⁹³

February 14, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

On the 24th of January, you sent me a letter about the China-Bhavana and the proposal to recruit some professors from China to it.⁹⁴ On the 29th January, I replied briefly to this letter, saying that in existing circumstances, it would not be desirable for you or for me to write to the Chinese Government on this subject.⁹⁵

92. Letter to the Vice-President of India.

93. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and, File no. 10 (31)-EA/59, MEA

94. See item 105.

95. See item 106.

I have had this further considered. We are quite clear that we cannot at present ask for anything in the nature of a favour from the Chinese Government. I would not, therefore, advise you to write as Vice-Chancellor to the Chinese Prime Minister nor will I write to him on this subject. If your University authorities can informally arrange for one or two Chinese professors to come out, that will be another matter, and our Embassy in Peking can, also informally, lend support to the proposal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. To M. S. Thacker: Bureaucratic Inertia and Academic Pretension⁹⁶

I am enclosing a copy of an article which appeared in the *Hindu* of Madras on February 7.⁹⁷ The article is by J.B.S. Haldane.⁹⁸ This article makes painful reading. It may be that there is some exaggeration in it, but I think we must accept the essential truth of the criticisms made.

2. Having done so, the question arises as to what we should do about it. We should endeavour to correct these wrong trends and the complacent bureaucratic atmosphere that is developing in our national laboratories and institutes.

3. I suggest first of all that you should send a copy of this article to all our national laboratories and, institutes. Indeed, I think it should be sent also to our universities or their Science Departments. All these should be requested to direct their attention to the matters raised in this article and to send us not only their comments, but also information about the steps they are taking in the matter.

4. In particular, the criticism that our younger scientists are not allowed to grow must be looked into. It is highly improper for senior scientists to take the credit for the work done by their juniors.

5. I think that the whole organisational working of the Science Congress also deserves attention. The Bombay Session was a painful eye-opener. As a matter of fact, however, I have long had its impression that the Congress is becoming too much of a show-piece without any real work or depth. This matter should, therefore, be considered carefully,

96. Note to Director General, CSIR, 15 February 1960. File No. 17(334)/59-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

97. See Appendix 20.

98. Professor of Genetics at the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

6. I am inclined to think that this invitation to well known persons from India or abroad diverts attention from the work being done. This leads to the conclusion that I should not go there as my going upsets the whole arrangement. I doubt also if we should invite scientists to it from other countries. If some foreign scientists are in India for any particular work, they should certainly be invited. Let our scientists have some kind of a shock and feel that results have to be shown and not pomp and pageantry.

7. I am sending a copy of this note together with a copy of the article to the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.⁹⁹

117. To Hari Singh: Congratulations to a Cadet¹⁰⁰

February 17, 1960

Dear Hari Singh,

I have your letter of the 15th February.

You have all my good wishes. You have begun life well by proving yourself to be the best cadet in the NCC for 1960. In recognition of this, I gladly gave you a baton which I had.

In India, we want people of high quality who will adhere to principles and truthful actions and be disciplined. I hope you will live up to the promise of your boyhood.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

118. To Sharda Prasad Saksena: Student Indiscipline¹⁰¹

February 18, 1960

Dear Shri Saksena,

I have your letter of February 17th.

I am entirely opposed to hunger-strikes. More particularly, I think that students hunger-striking for the removal of some alleged grievances is especially objectionable. From your account, the person who has indulged in this hunger-strike claims as his inherent right to bypass University rules and regulations and

99. Humayun Kabir.

100. Letter to a resident of Gwalior.

101. Letter to the Principal, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Kanpur.

to sit for an examination even though he is not entitled to it. Further, he has sent a malicious and highly defamatory statement against the College Administration.¹⁰²

I have no doubt that such a case should be dealt with sternly. It would be absurd for the College authorities to submit to this kind of thing.

I do not understand why a large college should be closed because of the misbehaviour of an individual. Surely it should be possible to deal with the individual otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

119. To the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha: Congratulations¹⁰³

Please have a letter sent in Hindi in reply to the attached letter. Say that I am happy to learn about the Silver Jubilee of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha. This Sabha has done exceedingly good work which I have followed with great appreciation. On this occasion I send it my best wishes for the future.

120. To D. P. Karmarkar: Khanolkar Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University¹⁰⁴

February 28, 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

The Chief Minister of Bombay, Yeshwantrao Chavan, spoke to me about Khanolkar¹⁰⁵ today. They want him to become Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, and he asked me if this came in the way of the extension that is being given to him in his present post. I told him that I saw no conflict between the two. University professors become Vice-Chancellors frequently without in any

102. According to a press report, one Brij Mohan Misra, a former president of the DAV College Union, went on hunger strike because he had not been allowed to sit his examinations. This was due to his absence from classes altogether during his M. A. Sociology course. He had also been suspended from the College Union Executive for misappropriation of Union funds. Saksena said Misra had ceased to be a student. See *National Herald*, 18 February 1960, p. 2.

103. Message, 18 February 1960. File No. 9/7/60-H.

104. Letter to the Union Minister of Health.

105. V. R. Khanolkar, Director, Indian Cancer Research Centre.

way affecting their posts as professors. So, you can write to Chavan and tell him that there will be no difficulty about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Culture

**121. To K. L. Shrimali: Helping Kulsum Sayani's Journal
*Rahbar*¹⁰⁶**

February 3, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Shrimati Kulsum Sayani¹⁰⁷ came to see me this morning and told me about her recent visit to Denmark to attend the training courses on adult education and her visits to other countries. She gave me two papers, which I am enclosing.

She is very unhappy about the stoppage of some aid that was being given by Government to her fortnightly journal *Rahbar*. What troubled her specially was the fact that this was done just after she had been sent abroad in August last and when there was nobody to look after *Rahbar* here properly. I wonder if something could be done for helping this paper because, in its own way, it has been doing very good work. Shrimati Kulsum Sayani is a person of worth and a social worker of the best type. Gandhiji thought highly of her and encouraged her in her work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

106. Letter.

107. (1900-1987); worked for adult literacy.

122. To K. R. Kripalani: Award to Amrita Pritam Controversial¹⁰⁸

February 6, 1960

My dear Krishna,

The Deputy Speaker, Sardar Hukam Singh,¹⁰⁹ came to see me two or three days ago. He told me that he and many others in the Punjab had been astonished and rather upset by our recent Sahitya Akademi award for Punjabi. Presumably this refers to Amrita Pritam's book *Vedda Vela*.¹¹⁰ He said this was a small book containing an odd collection of poems which had been appearing from time to time in newspapers, and he could not understand why an award should be given for it when another book which he showed me and which had been acclaimed not only in the Punjab but elsewhere, had been overlooked. I forget the name of this other book.¹¹¹

He added that something should be done to have a proper check on books in Punjabi. Evidently our Akademi General Council relied on one or two persons, and one of them actually was a member of the Council.

I think you might draw the Vice-President's¹¹² attention to this matter. I told Sardar Hukam Singh, of course, that this matter had been done and I could not see how the decision could be changed in any way.¹¹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. Letter to the Secretary, Sahitya Akademi. File No. 40(7)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

109. Of Lok Sabha.

110. The book *Vedda Vela* was in fact by Mohan Singh not Amrita Pritam. Nehru wrote Amrita Pritam in error.

111. Kripalani informed Nehru on 8 February that Hukam Singh was referring to Harnam Singh's book, *Sassi Hasham*, which had been recommended for the Award in 1958; but "unfortunately, the author spoiled his case by canvassing vigorously and shamelessly for the Award." See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 399-400.

112. S. Radhakrishnan.

113. See also item 123.

123. To N.V. Gadgil: Harnam Singh Shan's Grievance¹¹⁴

February 9, 1960

My dear Gadgil,

Your letter of the 5th January about Professor Harnam Singh Shan's book.¹¹⁵ I received a similar complaint a few days and enquired from the Sahitya Akademi.¹¹⁶ I was told that the Advisory Board for Punjabi had definitely recommended another book and Professor Harnam Singh's book did not get a majority of votes. Another factor which went against Professor Harnam Singh was that he went about canvassing even the members of the Sahitya Akademi. He did this to such an extent as to harass and worry some of our members including the Vice-President.

The fact that the award was given to a small book of poems has no particular significance. A small book may be a good book. It is by quality that awards are given and not quantity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

124. To The Southern Languages Book Trust: Publish More than Textbooks¹¹⁷

Mr Govinda Rajan¹¹⁸ and Friends,

It has been very good of you to invite me here today and I have gladly come though I am under some pressure of time, and I am afraid I shall have to hustle myself—I do not wish to hustle you—hustle myself, and go away rather soon for important appointments that I have to keep with the distinguished visitor who has come here. I hope that my going away will not abruptly end this meeting and more especially the screening of the film. I am sorry I will not be able to see that film.

114. Letter to the Governor of Punjab. File No. 40(7)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

115. N. V. Gadgil quoted Harnam Singh, a Professor and Head of the Department of Punjabi Literature at the University of Panjab, who claimed that his own book *Sassi Hasham* was "outstanding" whereas "a small pamphlet entitled *Vedda Vela* by Professor Mohan Singh is selected." Gadgil himself was unable to appraise these works.

116. See item 122.

117. Speech at the release of the Tamil translation of Dr. Radhakrishnan's book, *The Recovery of Faith* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1956), 12 February 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

118. S. Govindarajulu also known as Govinda Rajan was the Vice-Chancellor of Sri Venkateswara University.

Now, I am glad to come here, first of all, to know the progress made by this Southern Languages Book Trust, in the opening of which I was associated four and a half years ago. I do think that one of the most important things necessary for any country and certainly for India at the present day is the production and the reading of books. It is not enough of course to produce books, although it is something, even if we do not read them, sometime they might read them, but nevertheless, you produce them to be read, normally speaking, and it is an astonishing thing and I have repeatedly referred to this matter, how few books are read in India or rather the reading public of books is remarkably small. People talk about literacy and other things; whatever the percentage of literacy may be in India, that is rapidly going up as you know. The actual number of people who can read is vast. There is no doubt about it. If you say that ten per cent of the population of India, which is small of course, is much more than that. You see ten percent people—ten percent means forty million, immediately you get a big figure, do not go into percentages but the actual figures—you get an enormous reading public, no doubt, spread out in a number of languages, but still it is very big and it is not reflected in the number of books published or sold in India, not at all reflected. I said that applies even to newspapers but more so to books. I have often wondered, why some kind of an enquiry should not be made into this matter, and rather, what is wrong, what is the disease? Hospitalise it and have a check-up of this subject, I mean. It is true, I do not mean to say that by some magic formula you can remove some obstruction, it takes time, and things are being done in that direction no doubt now. But what is the difficulty? It is not ultimately lack of money to buy books, ultimately I said, because there was spent much more money let us say on going to cinemas. Well, if they don't go to cinema one day and buy a book, which is a far more permanent possession, far greater possession. So it is a question of not having the habit of reading.

How to develop that habit, which is not only a permanent pleasure opening out fields of knowledge and all kinds of things and a possession which once you get it you cannot easily do without it. So we have not got that. Whenever we start discussing anything we probably go back, some people say oh! the system of education is wrong and this and that. Well, probably so, and the system of education, of course, normally leads to the production of some textbooks, so-called textbooks, not so much textbooks as summaries of textbooks, probably. A real textbook might be worth reading, it is; but the summaries do not, I suppose, improve anybody's mind. So, may be so, whatever the reason, it should be examined and the people who are used to this afterwards, they come out, they cannot easily get back the reading habit, because one thing is dead certain that if you want a person to hate books and the reading of books, confine him to textbooks. Take the best book in the wide world, make it the textbook, he will hate that book after a while [Laughter].

So you have to, and so what is this due to? Mr Govinda Rajan, you said

something as if it was a great virtue, you mentioned, oh! we do not wish to come in the way of the publishers, we only wish to gently fan them into life. The fact is the publishers are no good at all in this country. I am speaking broadly, not of course individually [Laughter]. That is what I mean to say, they have shown a remarkable lack of success in doing the job which is theirs, I am merely judging from that, and then it was the end of his address as Mr. Govinda Rajan you said something, it made me gasp almost [Laughter]. Wonderful, 200 books; but we have not quite conquered the problem of marketing. Where do the books go to then? Are really others being produced for the shelves of the Book Trust or somebody else too reads them in large numbers, because the major point is that marketing. Marketing may not be a good word, the major point is large numbers, the book reaching large numbers of people, that is the major point; otherwise it sticks somewhere; and if the publishers and the Book Trust combined have not succeeded in doing this, it was about time they gave concentrated attention to that matter.

I have no doubt, you will, but one should encourage the publishers, etc. The publishers again had been fed largely by our educational system, it is an odd thing to say, in producing the summaries of textbooks at extortionate prices. The result, and no doubt, the man who makes a summary, he is given a royalty, which no real author ever gets. Because they are textbooks, because they are prescribed, because a poor student has to buy them inevitably. The compiler of that textbook, who does a hack job probably, he demands and gets a fairly heavy royalty, which is above the normal payments of royalty, and the publisher has got an easy job. All he has to do with the publisher is not to produce the book, he has to hire a man to prepare that summary, and then try by judicious visits to people to get it selected. [Laughter]. That is the art of publication in India, [Laughter] not aiming at a very large audience.

So, here it is the problem is you have got the reading public there, and it is a growing public, growing fast, but it is already there, much vaster than a publisher thinks, imagines. You have to create a link between him and the reader, between the publisher and that, between the author, publisher, etc. I presume am not to go into that although I have been interested in books, the publishing etc. and you know presumably that no person who has been any kind of an author, has ever any love for publishers [Laughter]; an average author thinks that the publisher is a shark [Laughter]. That is, I must say, that is not my personal experience [Laughter]. But I am merely saying, I remember this long ago, this has nothing to do with Indian conditions rather with English conditions, meeting English authors, the way they used to hold forth against their publishers, how they used to; but the fact is, that publishers play naturally an exceedingly important part in this business, and a publisher with some foresight, some understanding, can help books more than either the author or the government. Government can help and should help, undoubtedly, but governmental ways are after all rigid, formalised, and they cannot

always go as far as one would like them to. A publisher's ways of course in India have been, I have just said, also very limited and very unenterprising.

Now, take these books in other countries, in England. I know England best in this matter, and I have seen the growth of cheap books there, the Penguins and Pelicans and all the brood that has come after them, very fine books, before that in another category, Everyman's Library, and others. Their enterprising publishers who went ahead for serious books and made them a tremendous success and millions of people in England I suppose, have built up libraries, small libraries which they fall back upon.

Now, I think there are publishers of India who are waking up to this fact, and are and have in fact producing, produced good books, cheap books, with a wider appeal, because it is essential, that the book should be a cheap book. Now, I am not always in favour of cheap books. I think, for instance, the Government publications are ridiculously cheap, they should not be cheap because Government, like all governments, prices a book by some kind of balance, weighing how much there is of paper in it. It is a most extraordinary way coming down from British times, just like you will find they calculate with, no doubt, logarithms, what the price should be, what must exactly fit in, five rupees, eight annas, three to four pies or something? This is how the government pricing goes in England too, they go into half pennies because the weight of the book is such it is extraordinary. So, but it is a bad thing, take book prices now, book prices in England, America or the continent are very high, and, of course, if those books come here they become higher still, and then there is another great problem that is not in their own language, may be in their own language but also in the language of origin, they have published the book and have done with it. But apart from that they immediately, publishers going for agreements with the original publishers and publish that book in the original language in Japan at a much lesser cost. So, it is available to the Japanese readers, say technical, scientific books at a much lesser cost than the original book, I think that is a matter worth enquiring into, because we really cannot afford the terrible prices which books in England, America or Europe or elsewhere cost nowadays. I am talking about technical and other books, even fiction costs are very high there.

However, the point is, it is necessary, to cultivate the reading habit in India and when I say that I would say that naturally reading habit, means the reading of books which are well, more or less, worthwhile. I do not want them all to be very heavy books but they should be very worthwhile books, for instance, some of the books I see in the book stalls, I do not read them because even the cover of them rather puts me off—rather fancy, sexy stories. Now, I do not mind if people want to read them, they can read them. But naturally, that kind of book does not help in giving, what I consider, a solid reading habit.

So, then again, I am sorry, I must go now in two or three minutes, that one part of publication of books is children's books. Now, children's books are

becoming very fascinating the world over, very fascinating and exciting. Because now you see you can combine two things, two things which were separate, you might say, the fairy story, and modern knowledge because there is nothing more fairy-like than modern knowledge that is growing. It is exciting, and no story like the Arabian Nights can compete with the story of the growth of modern knowledge put probably with the child. In fact the child of course is, probably you know, today is much more of a scientist, technologist etc. than his parents are, who may not have studied the subject. They grow in the new atmosphere. Now it is very important that we should cater to this demand of the child. Today it is a demand. First of all, vast numbers of people go to schools now who never went before, remember that, when I think of the market for books in India, my mind is staggered at the proportions of it. Then people come, a publisher comes, other book trusts come, and this and that, whether we publish two thousand, three thousand, it amazes me. Publish twenty million. Two thousand, three thousand indeed. What is this? Their conceptions, their minds are so limited about it. Then prices come down, then the reading public comes down, you should think in terms of millions as they do in other countries.

Our publishers are of stunted minds, our books are of stunted minds, with all respect to South India [Laughter]. If really, one must think in terms of millions, not immediately, suddenly, but one must aim at that, and I have no doubt, you will be overwhelmed by this new reading public that is coming up from our schools and colleges and all that. We are not ready for it, and every effort that government and Book Trust and publisher and author and everybody might make will be insufficient to meet this demand. You take it from me. The only point is let that be properly directed, let the proper types of books come out, and I am not in favour of heavy censorship and all that but there is such a time as encouraging the right type of books and more especially, for the children and young people.

Well, as I really must go, the subject is so interesting, I could talk, it fascinates me, but anyhow the good work is being done, by this Southern Languages Book Trust under the very distinguished patronage of a number of Vice Chancellors.¹¹⁹ I do not know if any Trust has such impressive and imposing sponsors and if in spite of that, it does not go ahead, well [laughter], but it is going ahead, well, and I wish it success [Laughter, interruption]. What is the number of the edition? Not good enough [Laughter]. I think you should just to begin with aim at 50,000 per

119. It was formed by the Vice-Chancellors of the South Indian Universities in 1956 in order to sponsor high-quality, low-priced books in large numbers in the four major South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada.

book, to begin with I said, it should go beyond that of course, but aim at that. I know, well, I am sorry I must rush off now. Thank you. Audience will stay on.¹²⁰

125. To the Sahitya Akademi¹²¹

I have much pleasure in welcoming you on this occasion. This year we have tried to introduce an innovation. I am not quite sure how far it has fitted in well yet. We normally hold annual meetings of the General Council which are formal and more or less in the nature of business sessions. We felt that it was a pity that so many distinguished authors should come here from different parts of India to meet only in a formal session and had no other occasion to meet each other informally and discuss many things of common interest and so we thought of arranging some sort of informal meeting which is what this is supposed to be. No doubt, it is a good innovation and with increasing experience it might be improved further. But somehow even this informal meeting has immediately turned into a formal meeting where we are sitting down and listening to addresses. Though this too has its use, the fact remains that we are not informally meeting and talking to each other. We were supposed to meet in the adjoining room where we first gathered, but unfortunately the set arrangement of the chairs placed in rows near the wall came in the way. I hope we shall do better next time.

We are very happy to have you all here on this occasion and hope that this meeting will be a step further towards the objective that we have in view, namely, encouragement of all our national languages and the building up of a strong nexus between them so that they might all draw sustenance from each other, have greater understanding of each other's backgrounds and objectives and thus develop, in spite of the many differences of language and script, a certain basic consciousness of Indian literature as a whole of which these languages of India are bright flowers. So, it is rather important that, apart from the work that our Akademi is doing by way of publishing books and all that, which I think has been creditable and which no doubt has helped in creating this consciousness, it is, as I said, important and necessary and desirable that authors should meet from time to time not only formally but informally and discuss their problems and share their problems and share their experiences.

120. *The Hindu* editorial of 14 February 1960 was critical of Nehru for being so critical of publishers who, after all, had to run on profits by satisfying demand, even if it be of textbooks; it called upon Government to refrain from competing with private publishers and reducing their profit margins; and it also demanded more liberal imports of paper.

121. Speech to the informal meeting of the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi, 13 February 1960. *Indian Literature*, Vol. 3, No. 1, October 59-March 1960, pp. 114-117. AIR tapes, NMML.

This Akademi is more or less an autonomous body, although some people connected with the Government have thrust themselves into it. Nevertheless, our intention is that it should function as an autonomous body and not under Government control. That, I think, should apply to any organisation for creative activity. Take Science for example. I think in matters of Science the Government has much more to do than it has to do directly with literature. The Government language, as most of you know, is a peculiar jargon which the officials invent for their own use and which has nothing to do with literature. But in Science where the Government is more actively concerned, I think there too our aim should be to set up autonomous scientific institutions. I mean more or less autonomous though the broad policy will no doubt be laid down by the Government. Even there we find that the scientists do not yet have adequate freedom in their research work. There has been criticism which I think is partly justified that the creative activity in the scientific field is being somewhat impeded and suppressed by official routine and red tape. This is not the fault of any individual official but of the system itself. It often happens that a certain issue connected with a scientific or technological problem has to be referred to some officer in the Ministry who most probably does not know much about science but who has nevertheless to give directions as to what should be done. Routine should be so devised as to help creative activity and not thwart it.

We want the Sahitya Akademi to function in an area of freedom. Freedom of course necessarily brings in and develops a sense of responsibility. Freedom certainly does not mean utter lack of discipline, everybody going his own way. There are certain standards that have to be observed and maintained by individuals no less than by organisations. These standards have no doubt to be kept. The Sahitya Akademi is a relatively new organisation. Literary academies normally build up their conventions in course of time. We too are building up our own conventions in the Sahitya Akademi and learning to face and solve our difficulties. On the whole I think it may be said that we have done creditable work, though I still feel that something more should be done to keep the public better informed as to what the Sahitya Akademi is doing. I do not think the public knows very much about it, of the amount of work done and the large number of books published, etc. Occasionally, the public comes to know of the list of awards for a particular year. This may be partly our fault and partly the newspapers. The press does not take not much interest—not as much interest as it should—in such activities as the Akademi is concerned with. Newspapers are interested in what they consider more exciting things. Humdrum business, humdrum life is not exciting. Constructive activity may be exciting, but destruction is much more exciting. A disaster is much more exciting than a slow constructive project. You may build a bridge for many years; if it suddenly breaks down it is great news. Any way I feel that a continuous and well planned publicity is necessary to let the public know of the activities and the work done by the Sahitya Akademi, not with

a view to doing propaganda on behalf of the Akademi—I am not interested in it—but rather to make the public conscious of what the Akademi is doing, to make the public appreciate the worth of literary activities in the life of the nation. Broadly speaking, it is true that the public is not yet fully aware of the value of books. Yesterday, speaking at a function I pointed out the unhappy and remarkable fact, how small the book reading public is in a vast country like ours.¹²² If you calculate all the books published and sold, the figures are distressingly small for a country like India. This evening the Prime Minister of Finland¹²³ is arriving in India. Now Finland is a small country with about only one per cent of our population. I have no figures with me of the number of books published there, but broadly speaking in the Scandinavian countries the literary activities are very great. Books are produced and sold in large numbers. Take even a small country like Iceland. Its total population is not bigger than that of a small town in India, but the literary activities are very considerable and they have already won a Nobel Prize for Literature.¹²⁴ In India the potential market for books is very large—I am not taking into account the total population, but only the number of people who can read; their percentage may be small but the number runs to about forty million to fifty million—and it is a very considerable number. Why is it that these literates do not read? Why is it that they are not induced to read? It is not all due to lack of money. They could spend a small portion of the money they normally spend on cinemas [here someone interrupted “cigarettes”] yes, if you like, cigarettes, on buying books. By so doing they will not only have the pleasure and profit of reading but a permanent acquisition which could be built up into a library slowly. Well, I do not know how far the Sahitya Akademi can deal with such matters, but obviously they are very important from the Akademi’s point of view.

May I mention, finally, a fact to which my attention has just been drawn by Sri Isvara Dutt.¹²⁵ Today is the anniversary of the birth of Sarojini Naidu. I am sorry—I confess it—I had not remembered it. However, I am glad to know that today is thus an auspicious day for our meeting. Now let me welcome you all again and request our distinguished prize winners to tell us something about their books which have won the award.

122. At the Southern Languages Book Trust. See item 220.

123. V. J. Sukselainen.

124. Halldor Laxness in 1955.

125. (1898-1968); journalist and writer.

126. To S. R. Das: Preserving a Tagore Site¹²⁶

February 14, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of February 4 about the preservation of "Dehali."¹²⁷ I entirely agree with you that we should take steps to preserve "Dehali" and the money for this purpose might come out of the Chancellor's Fund. So far as I am concerned, you have my permission to go ahead with this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

127. To K. L. Shrimali: Names for the National Book Trust¹²⁸

February 18, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I have your letter of today's date, in which you tell me that C.D. Deshmukh wants to be relieved from the Chairmanship of the National Book Trust.

Of the three names you suggest, to take his place, Shri R.K. Diwakar's name is good. But he is fully occupied with the Gandhi Nidhi, the Gandhi Peace Foundation and other activities. I can give no worthwhile opinion about Professor A.R. Wadia.¹²⁹ He is a good man, but I do not know how far he will be suitable for this particular kind of work. K.M. Panikkar¹³⁰ has certainly a flair for writing and, I think, knows a good deal about the publishing side too. Perhaps he might do. In this matter, I suggest that you might again consult the Vice-President.¹³¹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

127. S. R. Das wrote that Dehali was a small house in Visva-Bharati premises once occupied by Tagore and where he had composed many famous works. See Appendix 16.

128. Letter to K. L. Shrimali, the Education Minister.

129. Professor of Philosophy and Rajya Sabha MP.

130. Historian, Diplomat and Rajya Sabha MP.

131. S. Radhakrishnan.

128. To S. R. Das: Picture Gallery for Rabindra Sadan¹³²

February 18, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

Your letter of February 14th about the construction of the picture gallery portion of Rabindra-Sadana.

You can certainly use the money in the Chancellor's Fund or you may get it out of the Centenary Fund for building up the picture gallery. You may, therefore, proceed on this basis. Please let me know how much you require now and I shall have a cheque sent to you. Anyhow work should start as soon as possible.¹³³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

129. To Humayun Kabir: Museums¹³⁴

February 23, 1960.

My dear Humayun,

I enclose a letter from a person connected with the American Museum of Natural History. Also an article by him. I think that what he has said deserves consideration. My own view of the Salarjang Museum¹³⁵ has been a very mixed one. There are some very fine pieces in it and a lot of junk.

The one man in the Museum line in India who has impressed me is the man who is running the Baroda Museum.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

132. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS.

133. S. R. Das wrote again on 26 February. Nehru replied on the 29th that he would forward the funds as soon as required, and discussed setting up a trust for Rabindra Sadan.

134. Letter to Union Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. File No. 40(148)/58-60-PMS.

135. At Hyderabad.

130. To S. Dutt: Take Back Manuscripts from Raghu Vira¹³⁶

I think you should ask Dr Raghu Vira¹³⁷ to see you, and speak to him on this subject. Tell him about the questions in Parliament and our embarrassment in this matter.¹³⁸ We feel that in any event such manuscripts and documents should be considered national property and placed in a National Museum where any scholar could see them. He would, of course, have full access to them.

2. If he agrees to the fact that they are national property, we may allow him to keep them for a while, if he is using them. Even so, a full list should be prepared and kept with us or the Museum authorities.

3. As for the sum of Rs. 5,000.00 that was given to him, I agree that we might take a certificate from him as suggested by you.

131. To B. V. Keskar: Tagore Centenary Programmes¹³⁹

February 28, 1960

My dear Balkrishna,

I have had a letter from Amal Home¹⁴⁰ telling me that your Ministry has appointed him to the post of Chief Producer of Tagore Centenary Programmes. I think this is a right decision. But if you want him to stay in Delhi for this purpose,

136. Note to FS, 25 February 1960. File No. 1(26), MEA/55.

137. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

138. The reference is to Chinese manuscripts. Subimal Dutt noted on 25 February 1960: "During the past sessions of the Parliament and the present, there have been questions on the manuscripts which Dr. Raghu Vira brought from China. The circumstances in which Dr. Raghu Vira, secured these manuscripts are stated in the note flagged 'S'. I would also draw FM's attention to his letter to Dr. Raghu Vira (flag 'T') and Ambassador Raghavan's letter (flag 'Z'). There is little doubt in my mind that the Chinese Government handed over the documents to Dr. Raghu Vira and gave him all the facilities which he wanted on the understanding that he was collecting them on behalf of the Government of India. Dr. Raghu Vira now apparently regards his collection as his private property. I understand that he has kept the manuscripts in his house at Delhi and does not allow access to outside scholars. Other noted Indian scholars have expressed their doubt as to whether Dr. Raghu Vira is competent to make the best use of these manuscripts. It is unfortunate that he has not even furnished us with a list. I think the present position is unsatisfactory. The manuscripts should be properly housed under Government and Dr. Raghu Vira may be given some special facilities for access to them and their study. We need not be very particular in asking for accounts from him about the manner in which he spent the sum of Rs.5,000 which was given to him. A certificate from him that he has spent the amount should be accepted."

139. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

140. Formerly Director of Publicity, Government of West Bengal, and a journalist.

the work cannot be done properly. Delhi is the worst place for any kind of intellectual work and the material and sources will also be lacking here. The only really good place is Santiniketan plus Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Women

132. To D. K. Kaul: Gita Ashram at Mathura¹⁴¹

February 25, 1960

My dear Dhanno,

Your letter of today's date. What you told me about the work of your Gita Ashram at Mathura and the way it was trying to help the rehabilitation of destitute women and children interested me. I am glad that you are carrying on this work and indeed are going to expand it. I wish you success in it. I am sending you a small personal donation for it—a cheque for Rs.150/-.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(i) Health

133. To K. Ram: Pincus's Birth Control Pills¹⁴²

You will remember the correspondence we had with the Health Ministry and Colonel Raina¹⁴³ about Dr. Pincus's birth control pills.¹⁴⁴ The main objection then raised was that these pills were not being used in the United States. Why then should we experiment on them unless we were sure?

2. Dr. Homi Bhabha spoke to me about this matter today and showed me a letter he had received from Dr. Pincus. It appears from this letter that this pill is

141. Letter to the wife of Lt. General B. M. Kaul and the Honorary Secretary of the Gita Ashram, Mathura.

142. Note to PPS, 5 February 1960. File No. 28(68)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

143. B. L. Raina was the Ministry of Health's first Director of Family Planning.

144. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 516; SWJN/SS/50/pp. 193-95, 248, 295-296; SWJN/SS/51/pp. 408-409; and SWJN/SS/52/p. 151.

now being widely used and is on sale in the United States. Our objection, therefore, does not apply now.

3. It also appears that some Tata institute in Bombay wanted to try this, but was prevented from doing so by our people. This seems to me extraordinary. Even Dr. Khanolkar's¹⁴⁵ advice is that this should be tried.

4. I want you to write to the Health Ministry or Colonel Raina directly, and point out all these facts to him and tell him that we are quite unable to understand the attitude taken up by him in this matter. This seems to be a typical official attitude which is not scientific at all.

5. Dr. Homi Bhabha gave me his personal file on this subject. You can look into this. Afterwards, return this file to Dr. Homi Bhabha.¹⁴⁶

(j) Urban Development

134. In the Rajya Sabha: Urban Development¹⁴⁷

V. K. Dhage: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that he has addressed a letter to the Chief Ministers of States with regard to the development of cities; and
- (b) if so, what are the suggestions made therein?

Lakshmi Menon: (a) and (b) Yes, The Prime Minister addressed a letter to the Chief Ministers on October 29, 1959,¹⁴⁸ which dealt with various steps to be taken for reducing costs in construction. In the course of this letter, the planned development of cities, with a view especially to avoid new slums being created, was referred to. A copy of this letter is laid on the Table of the House.

V.K. Dhage: Sir, in the letter the Prime Minister has said that it would be too early for the Government to pay up loans in advance for development of cities. May I know, Sir, whether the States have expressed any difficulty in this regard?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember having received any criticism on this subject from the Chief Ministers.

145. V. R. Khanolkar, Director, Indian Cancer Research Centre.

146. See also Appendix 37.

147. Reply to questions, 18 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 1083-93.

148. See SWJN/SS/53/pp. 481-484.

V.K. Dhage: He has also stated in the letter that in the development with regard to the planning of Delhi, a special committee has been appointed with the help of the Ford Foundation and that the views and advice of this committee would be available to the other cities for the purpose of planning. May I know, Sir, whether there has been any such request from any States with regard to the advice of this expert committee?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know, Sir. As far as I know, no special request has come, but possibly some enquiries may have come, but I cannot say definitely. Anyhow, this present Committee in Delhi has been so heavily occupied with Delhi. The idea was that after it had more or less completed its work here, it would be available elsewhere. But, of course, its work here will not be complete by the presentation of the plan. It will continue.

V.K. Dhage: Would the Government consider, in order to afford the facility to the State Governments, paying them loans in the matter of providing finance to them in some way or the other?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is an entirely different question. The Government have agreed to give some help in regard to the removal of slums in three or four major cities—Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur, Ahmadabad—I forget them—four or five cities like that. That is a different matter. But to tie this up with the advice to them about planning, because we help them in one way, the consequence being that we should provide them loans, is going too far.

K.C. Reddy: I would like to add that recently a scheme has been sanctioned for this particular purpose, and certain amounts have been made available to the various State Government for the purpose of acquisition and development of land.

Bhupesh Gupta: The hon. Minister has said that certain amounts have been made available to the States with a view to assisting them. May I know whether, while giving assistance to the States, the Government have found out through their own enquiry that in such States like West Bengal, the State Government are buying lands through their favourites by paying excessive amounts and that it involves a greater charge on the Central exchequer or on the State's funds on account of these high prices that are being paid?

Mr. Chairman: You protest against the insinuation.

Bhupesh Gupta: No insinuation. We have stated it in the memorandum.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know nothing about this matter, Sir.

Bhupesh Gupta: You do not know. That is why I am drawing your attention to this. I know that you would not be in a position to know it. But Dr. B.C. Roy is doing it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. questioner is supposed to elicit information, not to give it.

Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether this letter of the Prime Minister to the various Chief Ministers is merely in the nature of suggestions or they are supposed to act on these suggestions.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I write to the Chief Ministers periodically and put forward ideas and suggestions to them. It is for them to accept or not to accept them. I cannot force down these things. Our relations are more of co-operation than of issuing directions or orders to them.

Jaswant Singh: If in important cases which are essential, for financial reasons or for some other difficulty, they do not act upon the suggestions, what will be the position in such cases?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a hypothetical question. If it is a matter of a breach of the Constitution or of some major rule, naturally it will be considered in a different way. But suppose it is a matter which cannot easily be carried out. For instance, I say that a construction should be cheaper. Now, everybody agrees with that principle. But how it is implemented, how it is applied, is a different matter.

Bhupesh Gupta: Sometimes, the Prime Minister passes on good ideas to the Chief Ministers, as we gather from the newspaper reports. May I know whether he has any machinery for checking up as to how these ideas are accepted and if they are accepted, how they are being implemented in the States by the Chief Ministers?

(No Reply.)

Mr.Chairman: We give advice to the hon. Member. He never accepts it.

Bhupesh Gupta: All good advice Dr. B.C. Roy does not accept it. That is why I say this. Or I will provide that machinery.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask the Prime Minister whether, in view of the importance of this letter which deals with saving crores of rupees in the

matter of construction, it would not be proper to give this letter wide circulation and circulate it to Members of Parliament?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as this particular letter is concerned I have placed it on the Table of the House. As for publicity and circulation, I think that it will come out in the newspapers. I am prepared to circulate it to anybody else for suggestions.

(k) Science and Technology

135. To Humayun Kabir: A Director for the Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee¹⁴⁹

January 29, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of January 28 about the Commonwealth scholarships.¹⁵⁰ I do not think that we can at all spare Thacker, however important this scholarships question might be. Thacker is doing very good work here in the CSIR and otherwise and we shall find it difficult to find another person to take his place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

136. To B. N. Tewari: Defence Ministry's Scientific Workers' Association¹⁵¹

January 29, 1960

Dear Shri Tewari,

I have your letter of the 21st January. I am glad to learn of the development in scientific work in the Ministry of Defence and the progress made in this already. I would be happy to meet the members of your association if and when I come to Kanpur. But I have no idea when I shall be able to go there. In any event, I would not like you to wait for me in order to have your general body meeting and social gathering. Indeed, I would prefer to meet your workers on some other occasion informally rather than on these formal or semi-formal occasions.

149. Letter. File No. 5/1958-62, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

150. See Appendix 9.

151. Letter to the General Secretary, Scientific Workers' Association, Kanpur.

Just at present I am so overwhelmed with work that I am trying to avoid accepting any engagements, more especially out of Delhi. Parliament is meeting soon for its most important session, that is, the Budget Session.

It may be that I can visit Kanpur sometime in April, but I cannot say now. With all good wishes to the Scientific Workers' Association.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

137. To M. C. Chagla: No Changing Lakh and Crore to Million and Billion¹⁵²

February 6, 1960

My dear Chagla,

Your letter of January 29th.¹⁵³ You suggest our changing over from lakhs and crores to millions and billions. I think you attach a little too much importance to a relatively small matter. There is no difficulty in changing a lakh or a crore to a million or a billion. The real difficulty is in changing one currency into another.

Even the word "billion" has a different meaning in England and the USA, although the American meaning is gradually prevailing now. The French way of producing these names is again different. There is thus no absolute uniformity except in so far as America's financial dominance has led to the American system being used in many countries.

The Indian system is completely logical and scientific and there are separate words for each basic number. Thus there is no specific word in English for one hundred thousand. This is only a sort of continuation of thousand. I think the word "lakh" is a good word. It is of course a very definite part of our literature where it occurs very frequently; so also in common parlance. I do not think you are correct in saying that ninety-five of our people do not count beyond hundred. But anyhow almost everyone here uses the word 'lakh' and a good many the word 'crore.'

A change is made when it is really worthwhile. We changed over to the metric system because that became essential for our work and business and, more especially, for the growth of science, statistics, industry, business, etc. Not to have done so is to delay progress. This argument does not apply at all to what we call a figure. The figure is the same, whatever you may call it and does not affect any calculation. The word 'million' would be completely foreign to the

152. Letter to India's Ambassador to the USA.

153. See Appendix 10.

understanding of the vast number of our people. It would not make things at all easier in so far as work is concerned. Practically there is no gain except that a slight advantage there may be to the understanding of some American or other financial people. Psychologically it would mean a blow to our people's thinking.

Your argument might well lead to another step that instead of rupees we should deal in dollars or pounds, which will be more easily understood elsewhere. That of course cannot be done and should not be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

138. To Dr. H. J. Bhabha: Khanolkar's Extension of Service and Finding a Successor¹⁵⁴

February 6, 1960

My dear Homi,

Your letter of January 6 about Khanolkar.¹⁵⁵ I think that it is likely that Khanolkar will get two years' extension which is what you have suggested.

I asked Khanolkar why he had not groomed and trained a successor. He told me that he had several good men in the Institute¹⁵⁶ whom he had trained, but his Council had decided that his successor should be a medical man. Among those whom he had trained, no one was a medical man. Therefore, he would like to choose some medical man and train him for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

139. To Humayun Kabir: Science Planning¹⁵⁷

February 10, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 10th February, in which you suggest that an Institute of Theoretical Physics should be established, such a proposal is obviously attractive though in our present financial difficulties everything that costs money has to be thought of many times over. It is likely that our Education budget will have to be

154. Letter to the Secretary, Atomic Energy Department.

155. V. R. Khanolkar.

156. Indian Cancer Research Centre.

157. Letter. File No. 17(382)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

drastically reduced. It may not be easy then to suggest a new addition to it.

There is another aspect to be borne in mind. Any such proposal, or indeed anything to do with scientific affairs, should be carefully vetted by our senior scientists before we put it forward. In fact, I was thinking of informally appointing Homi Bhabha as a kind of Scientific Adviser to us. There is also a small Scientists Committee, I think, attached to the Planning Commission. Its special function is to consider everything connected with scientists. I would personally like to give scientists a measure of autonomy, even in regard to appointments, etc. Government should only lay down broad policies.

I suggest, therefore, that you should ask Thacker¹⁵⁸ to consult Dr. Homi Bhabha, Dr. K.S. Krishnan¹⁵⁹ and possibly some others about it.¹⁶⁰

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. To Dr. P. Parija: Improving the Indian Science Congress¹⁶¹

February 17, 1960

Dear Dr. Parija,

I have your letter of 11th February.

I agree with you that the Indian Science Congress has become an unwieldy organisation and its real work suffers because of this. It is difficult for me to say what changes in methods or organisation should take place. I am after all an outsider from the organisational point of view, even though I might be a very interested outsider.¹⁶² But I feel sure that something has to be done to improve the quality of our work.¹⁶³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

158. M. S. Thacker was the Director-General, CSIR, and Secretary in the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

159. Director, National Physical Laboratory.

160. See also Appendix 24.

161. Letter to the Vice Chancellor, Utkal University, Calcutta. File No. (334)/59-60-PMS.

162. See Appendix 32.

163. This letter was copied to M. S. Thacker.

141. In the Lok Sabha: French Nuclear Test¹⁶⁴

MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT
APPREHENDED FEAR OF RADIO-ACTIVE FALL-OUT
OVER INDIA FROM FRENCH ATOMIC EXPLOSION
IN SAHARA

Speaker:¹⁶⁵ I have received a number of adjournment motions from Shri Goray, Shri Jadhav, Shri Hem Barua, Shri Khadilkar and Shri Banerjee.¹⁶⁶ All of them refer to only one matter, namely, the likelihood of the radio-active cloud from the recent atomic explosion. (Laughter) Order, order.

Surendranath Dwivedy:¹⁶⁷ Is it not considered serious enough by hon. Members?

Speaker: Order, order. They refer to "the likelihood of the radio-active cloud from the recent atomic explosion by France in Reggan, Sahara, passing over India very soon and the resulting harm from its fall-out." All these refer to the same thing, that is, "this may result in serious consequences and Government must immediately ascertain the effects of this and warn the people of this country and suggest protective measures." That is the substance of all of them.

Goray rose.—

Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister. The news appeared in the newspapers that the cloud is proceeding towards India. What are the steps and what is the evil of it? (Laughter)

Goray: May I make a submission? If the House feels that it is a matter which can be laughed at and is not something that should be seriously taken note of, I have no intention of moving it.

Mr. Speaker: If a few people laugh, it is not as if the whole House is laughing.

164. Reply to questions, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1397-1403.

165. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

166. S. M. Banerjee, Independent, from Kanpur, UP; N. G. Goray, PSP; Yadav Narain Jadhav, PSP; Hem Barua, PSP; R. K. Khadilkar, MKP.

167. PSP, from Kendrapara, Orissa.

Hem Barua: It is a loud laughter.

Speaker: Hon. Members here on this side also laugh.

Tyagi:¹⁶⁸ They want us to cry.

Speaker: It is not a matter to be laughed at. It is a portent of serious consequences.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, this recent atomic test carried out in the Sahara by the French Government is certainly a matter which has caused grave concern, for a variety of reasons, to us here in India and to many other countries. As the House knows, there was a very emphatic expression of opinion by most countries in Africa, who are concerned, against this and even in the United Nations there was an appeal that this should not be done. Therefore it is a matter of great regret that this should be done not so much—although that has also to be taken into consideration—because of the immediate effects of it. It is difficult to measure those effects and possibly the effects may not be immediately dangerous to anybody. But the real matter of concern is that this process of having atomic tests has started again after its suspension and we had hoped that they will be totally banned or stopped.

Now as regards these particular motions for adjournment, I got into touch this morning with the Chairman of our atomic energy establishment, Dr. Bhabha, to enquire from him about this matter. He said that they have got monitoring stations in various parts of India which test the results of every explosion.¹⁶⁹ They had measured the results of the American and Soviet explosions previously. On every occasion they had found that the rise in atomic radiation level was far below, what is called, danger level. But there had been a rise. Of course, there is the argument that this continuous little rise accumulates and may have serious consequences later. Anyhow, thus far there had been no effect observed in the Indian monitoring stations of this explosion in the Sahara desert. But they are watching and will inform us as soon as they get something. However objectionable this may be and however much we may disapprove of it, the question of any danger descending upon India from a cloud etc. was not a thing which need trouble anyone. Some kind of rather journalistic statements appearing in the Press do not give the scientific version of these facts.

Braj Raj Singh:¹⁷⁰ May I suggest that as this is a very important matter on which the future of the world depends, we may have some device chalked

168. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, from Dehradun, UP.

169. See also items 143-144.

170. Socialist Party, MP from Firozabad, UP.

out by which we can discuss the matter in this House and the House could express its opinion?

Khadilkar: I was surprised to read the first reaction of our Prime Minister when he said "just inevitably regrettable", because France is contemplating a second explosion soon, in order to qualify herself fully for the so-called Atomic Club. From the newspaper reports—emanating from America and not from any other country, it is obvious that the clouds at the height of 10,000 to 30,000 feet are moving in that direction and that Egypt, Saudi Arabia and India are likely to be affected if there is rain. Already Ghana has frozen the assets of France. The United Nations has passed a resolution and all the world over there are protests which have been flouted, that in keeping with the spirit of that resolution that this House carried on the former occasion protesting against the tests, some action for outlawing or treating as outcast that nation which flouts world opinion regarding atomic tests should be taken or some expression of the House is broadcast after taking a decision? Would that not be proper at this hour?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This aspect that the hon. Member has raised is the political aspect which, of course, as I said, is very important. But so far as this motion for adjournment is concerned, it was more the actual aspect of danger coming, and in this matter we have to rely upon our experts who have the means of judging by their monitoring machines and the like.

Jadhav: What was the experience of the United States in this respect?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said so, and all I can do is to place this aspect before the House from day to day; if any news comes, I shall place it before the House. I have asked Dr. Bhabha and he has promised me to ask his monitoring stations to be vigilant about it.

So far as the political aspect is concerned, I have to say that it is a matter of deep regret and deep concern that this kind of thing should happen.

Hem Barua: May I know whether, when the African countries protested against this prospective explosion in the Sahara, we joined in the chorus of that protest or not? Secondly, the African nations are now condemning this explosion and at the same time are combining in their attempts to prevent further explosions. May I know whether we have joined in that campaign of condemnation or not?

S.M. Banerjee: There is another important thing which I want to read: "The French have not disclosed the exact size of the device. They only said



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 3 JANUARY 1960)

it was nominal. This usually means the equivalent of about 20,000 tons of TNT, but may easily be two or three times this figure."

We do not even know the magnitude of what has been used. So, we would like that this matter should be discussed, and if necessary, the political side of it also should be considered. Let the Prime Minister move a resolution, and this House and the other House pass a resolution unanimously.

Speaker: We are not on this adjournment motion concerned with the general question as to what steps we must take to condemn the one sided action of France in spite of the protests of the United Nations in which we also joined. So far as future explosions are concerned, that is a political matter.

I have looked into every one of these adjournment motions, and all of them relate to a newspaper report appearing in the *Times of India* datelined Washington, saying: "Radio-action cloud will be over India soon", "Sahara Blast debris is moving eastwards." The information is got from a staff

correspondent from Washington. It may be that this may have very serious and adverse effects. The hon. Prime Minister has already said that Government have asked the persons in charge to detect if any such deleterious effect occurs and that the Government will be constantly watching this matter. The hon. Prime Minister has said that he will report to this House from time to time and if any measures have to be taken, they will certainly take them.

The object of this adjournment motion is small. So far as the other aspects are concerned, they know how to move motions. There are a number of occasions. If they think a resolution ought to be passed condemning it and so on, or taking any other action, they may bring forward a resolution. That does not arise out of any of these four adjournment motions.

I would like to say here that some of the hon. Members laughed over this, I am extremely pained, instead of themselves taking it up. Last year or the year before last there was a virus disease spreading in the country, and it was to some extent attributed to the nuclear explosion in the Pacific. The reason for our protest that these explosions should not be carried on is that their effects spread around the whole globe. As a matter of fact, it was said last time some fishermen in Japan were seriously affected. Therefore, this is not a matter which ought to be laughed over. I am really appealing to hon. Members. I was extremely pained to see that instead of themselves bringing it up or taking up this matter with the Government, they were laughing at some other persons who were active and brought it up before the House. I do not know what impression we will create on the rest of the country which we are representing here. I cannot adequately condemn this kind of laughter and derision. It is not an ordinary motion. Even the Prime Minister said that on his own he took up this matter with the authorities and asked Dr. Bhabha to see and watch from time to time. Therefore, if any such thing occurs, we will be failing in our duty if we do not take any measures — whether they can be taken or not is a different matter. We must take adequate measures.

So far as this adjournment motion is concerned, nothing more need be done. Government is doing everything. Government will keep the House informed. So far as the political aspect of it is concerned, it is left to the House to take it up, but not on this adjournment motion.

142. To Niels Bohr: Delighted You Came¹⁷¹

February 18, 1960

My dear Prof. Bohr,

I am happy to receive your letter of February 10.¹⁷² It was a great pleasure and privilege to us to have you and your wife in India and, more especially, as our personal guests for a few days in Delhi. I am sure your visit to India has had a good effect on our scientists. We are struggling with a multitude of problems in India and cannot do all that we want to do. But we attach importance to science and would like to help its progress in India.

I send you and your wife our regards and good wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

**143. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar and
S. Radhakrishnan: French Nuclear Test¹⁷³**

February 18, 1960

Dear Mr. Speaker/Chairman,

If it is your wish, I propose to make a statement tomorrow, 19th February,¹⁷⁴ in the House about the possibility of an atomic fall-out in India from the recent French Atomic Test. Dr. Bhabha has sent me a note on this subject which can be either read out in the House or placed on the table of the House. I enclose a copy of the statement I wish to make and of Dr. Bhabha's note.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

171. Letter to the Danish Physicist. File No. 17(334)/59-60-PMS.

172. See Appendix 23.

173. Letter to the Speaker of the Lok Sabha; copied to S. Radhakrishnan.

174. See the next item 144.

144. In the Lok Sabha: French Nuclear Test¹⁷⁵

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, as hon. Members of Parliament had expressed some anxiety about the consequences of the testing of an atomic device by the French Government on February 13, 1960 at Reganne in the Sahara, I requested Dr. Homi Bhabha, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to send information about the possible fall-out in India. He has sent a note dealing with the fall-out in India from Atomic tests during the last few years.

In regard to the recent French atomic test, he has pointed out that the radio-active cloud will probably take some days to pass over India. So far no increase in the radio-activity of the atmosphere from this test has been observed. If any such increase takes place within the next few days, it will certainly be observed. In his opinion, it is not to be expected that the fallout will be anywhere near the danger level.

The note from Dr. Bhabha runs as follows:—

“The USSR, the USA and Britain have been testing nuclear weapons for the last few years. The United States conducted their tests in Bikini, Marshal Islands, Johnston Islands and Nevada; the Soviet Union conducted their tests in Siberia, Southern USSR and the Arctic regions; Britain conducted their tests in Christmas Islands, Maralinga Islands, Monte Bellow and Woodmere in Australia. It is estimated that about 50 hydrogen bombs and about 200 atomic bombs have been exploded so far.

In order to keep a close watch on the radio-active contamination of air, water, foodstuffs and soil, the Atomic Energy Commission of India has set up 30 sampling stations in India from which milk samples are collected for analysis of radio-active fission products, such as cesium-137 and strontium-90 resulting from the nuclear tests.

In addition, 7 permanent monitoring stations have been set up in Srinagar, Delhi, Calcutta, Nagpur, Bombay, Bangalore and Ootacamund to cover the whole of India.”

Speaker: It seems to be a long statement.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have read a page. There two more pages.

Speaker: Is the House anxious to hear the whole thing?

175. Statement, 19 February 1960, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1851-1855. See also, Reply to questions, 18 February 1960, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 1122-1123.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have nearly read half of it.

“On receiving a request from the Government of Sikkim, a permanent monitoring station has been set up at Gangtok, Sikkim, recently. The dust collected from the air is continuously being sent from these stations to Trombay for analysis. In addition, rainwater samples from these stations are also being received regularly at Trombay for measurement of the radio-active content. With this network of monitoring stations, the Atomic Energy Commission is able to keep a very close watch on the levels of radio-active contamination caused by nuclear weapon tests. The measurements so far made by us have definitely proved that the contamination of the air, water, foodstuffs and vegetation is increasing gradually comparing to the normal background levels that should exist in these materials. The activity, “level of strontium-90 in human child bone is about 1 micro-microcuria/gram of calcium, whereas the maximum permissible level according to the International Commission on Radiological Protection is about 10 micro-microcuries gram of calcium. The strontium level in milk has gone up to as much as, 6 micromicrocuries/gram of calcium, whereas the maximum permissible level is considered to be about 50 micromicrocuries/gram. In air, the maximum activity observed so far is about 9 micromicrocuries/cubic metre, whereas the maximum permissible level is 100 micromicrocuries/cubic metre.

It can be concluded from the data collected so far that the levels of radio-activity in various materials is on the increase, but that these levels are still much below the maximum permissible levels considered to be harmless to the population.

The French atomic device which was tested on February 13, 1960, at 11-30 a.m. (Indian Standard Time) at Reganne, Sahara, is supposed to have an explosive power equivalent to 20,000 tons of TNT. The radio-active cloud from this test could rise up to a maximum height of 50,000 to 60,000 feet in the troposphere. It has been reported that this cloud is moving around the globe with the general circulation of the atmosphere. It should take three to four days for the cloud to pass over India. So far, we have not observed any increase in the radio-activity of the atmosphere from this test, but if any takes place within the next few days, it will be certainly observed.

The French testing site is not particularly near India compared with the Soviet testing sites in Central Asia. However, the French testing site in the Sahara is in the Indian latitude range, and it is not unlikely that the radio-active cloud will pass over India.

If the cloud passes over India along its circuit around the globe we may expect a small increase in radio-activity for a few days. However, the magnitude of this activity is not expected to be of any great significance in comparison with the radio-active fall-out that we are still receiving from past tests. The fall-out from the past tests is due to the storage of radio-activity from the hydrogen bomb tests in the stratosphere. This comes slowly to earth over a period of years. It is expected that radio-activity from the French atomic tests will come

down to the ground within 40 to 50 days.

In case radio-active dust is washed down by rain to the ground, the levels of activity on the ground and in the atmosphere may increase considerably. Rain is one of the well-known meteorological agents for washing down radioactivity to the ground from the atmosphere. However, it may be presumed that the increase in radio-activity will not be of such a value as will be dangerous to the population. As soon as any anomalies are detected, the Prime Minister will be informed. There is absolutely no cause for alarm in India."

That is the end of his note.

The Indian Atomic Energy Establishment has been carrying out careful tests in India of air-borne fall-out and has been reporting them to the United Nations Scientific Committee on the effects of atomic radiation. Four such reports, which have been presented to the United Nations, have been placed in the Library of Parliament for reference. These are —

Measurement of cesium-137 in Indian and foreign milk;
Measurement on the ground deposition of fission products from nuclear test explosions;

Airborne fall-out measurements in India; and
Strontium-90 in milk and human bone in Indian.

Khadilkar¹⁷⁶ rose—

Tyagi (Dehra Dun):¹⁷⁷ Has the hon. Prime Minister noticed that in today's papers there is a news item that in Japan the fall-out from the same radio-active cloud, which has started from Sahara, had been noticed only yesterday? The cloud it seems has reached Japan already and must have crossed over India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have read out a full statement. I cannot answer the hon. Member's question without further reference.

Speaker: They are constantly watching, and there are these stations. I am sure Dr. Bhabha will take note of it, and if there is anything special, the House will be informed of it.

176. R. K. Khadilkar, MKP, from Ahmednagar, Bombay State.

177. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, from Dehradun, UP.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) General

145. To M. C. Chagla: On his Visit to Cuba¹

January 30, 1960

My dear Chagla,

Thank you for your letter of January 18. I have read with great interest your account of your visit to Cuba and your report of the situation there. I have myself felt for some time that the propaganda in the United States in regard to Cuba has not been quite fair. Your view has confirmed this.

You have written about national lotteries. This matter was considered several times by us and was not approved of. But at last we have agreed to a system of premium bonds which is in the nature of national lotteries.

There can be no political objection to our joining a conference at Cuba. But there may be other difficulties. There are far too many conferences calling away our people, and a certain objection to our joining too many of them has arisen. We shall have this matter considered when the time comes for it.

I am interested to know about the transformation of the economy of Puerto Rico. I have had good accounts of this.

Republic Day celebrations in India and especially in Delhi and Bombay were on a bigger scale than ever before, and very impressive. Public enthusiasm was marked.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to the USA.

2. This letter was copied to N. R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and Vishnu Sahay.

146. To Norman Thomas: Universal Disarmament³

February 9, 1960

Dear Mr. Thomas,

Thank you for your letter of February 5. I am strongly in favour of universal and controlled disarmament and, in particular, stoppage of nuclear tests. This question has become an urgent one for all of us and I am glad, therefore, that special attention is being drawn to it. I send you my good wishes for your meeting.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

147. To B. N. Chakravarty: Czech for UN General Assembly President⁵

We can, of course, have no possible objection to the Irish Representative⁶ becoming President of the U.N. But I agree that in the circumstances we should support the Czech candidate, Mr. Jiri Nosek.⁷ There has been for a long time past a consistent attempt to keep out the East European countries from these high offices. We should not be a party to this.

I agree therefore that you should inform the Czech Ambassador⁸ here that it is contrary to our normal practice to make a formal commitment so far in advance, but that it is our intention to support the candidature of Mr. Nosek.⁹

3. Letter to an American Socialist Party leader.

4. The Disarmament Conference of ten nations began at Geneva from 15 March 1960.

5. Note to Special Secretary, MEA, 10 February 1960. File No. 1(24). UN-II/59, pp. 8-9/N.

6. Frederick Henry Boland.

7. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

8. Ladislav Simovic.

9. See Appendix 22.

148. To N. R. Pillai: Indian Embassy in Japan; Mahesh Kothari ¹⁰

I had a talk with Shri C.P.N. Singh¹¹ today about Japan. I would like you to discuss various matters in connection with our Embassy with him. He has a number of ideas and suggestions to make. He says that we could reduce our expenditure there considerably with greater efficiency, if the India-based staff was reduced. This is the practice with the other Embassies there, notably the British. They only keep Britishers for confidential work. For other work they employ Japanese, especially in trade matters etc. This saves much money. He also suggested that if this happened, we should employ a better type of Japanese and pay them more. Even this extra payment will be much less than we spend on India-based employees. I think this should be investigated.

2. Shri C.P.N. Singh also mentioned the work being done by Shri Mahesh Kothari in Japan. He had written about this previously to us. Shri Mahesh Kothari was sent there apparently by Acharya Vinoba Bhave to do Sarvodaya work in Japan. According to Shri C.P.N. Singh, he has done very good work and, in fact, the Japanese people help him with much money too. He has opened an ashram also there. Thus he does not require very much money from us but some contribution would be greatly appreciated and would make the Japanese feel that he has our backing. I think we might discuss this matter.

149. To B. V. Keskar: Japanese Correspondents' Complaints¹²

February 17, 1960

My dear Balkrishna,

You must have received a copy of a letter from the Japanese Correspondents in India addressed to me.¹³ In this they complain of having been kept out of certain important functions when Eisenhower and Khrushchev came here. I am

10. Note to the SG, MEA, 15 February 1960.

11. India's Ambassador to Japan.

12. Letter to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS.

13. K. Kushibe of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation complained on 15 February 1960 that Japanese correspondents had not been permitted to cover the addresses of Eisenhower and Khrushchev to Parliament while western correspondents had been allowed. He said his complaint to T. V. R. Chari, the Principal Information Officer, went unanswered. Nehru instructed his PPS the same day to inquire. See item 150.

immediately enquiring into this matter as it seems very odd to me that this kind of discrimination should be shown to the Japanese.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

150. To Kesho Ram: Japanese Correspondents' Complaints¹⁴

Yes. Please enquire immediately into this matter and let me know. Prima facie, it seems very odd that these Japanese Correspondents should have been kept out.¹⁵ There are, I believe, more Japanese correspondents of big newspapers here than from any other country.

2. You might write a letter to them in acknowledgment and say that we are immediately enquiring.

3. In their letter they even say that the P.I.O. Shri Chari, did not even answer their written protest. This is curious behaviour.

4. I am sending a letter to the Minister of I&B.

5. I find that a copy of the letter to me has been sent to the Speaker. Please write to the Lok Sabha Secretariat that we are enquiring into this matter. We should also like to know from them why the Lok Sabha Secretariat kept them out of the function there.

14. Note to PPS, 17 February 1960. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS.

15. See item 149.

151. To Alva Myrdal: Swedish Scholarships¹⁶

February 17, 1960

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th February¹⁷ informing me of the decision of the Swedish Government to award two scholarships to young Indians for studies in Sweden. Will you please convey my grateful thanks to them for this generous offer which we accept with pleasure?

In your letter it is said that I should nominate these two persons. This puts a rather heavy burden on me because it is not easy to select people. However, I shall try to find out some way how this can be done satisfactorily.¹⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharalal Nehru

152. To MEA: Indian Gracelessness and Americans Fattening on UN Special Fund¹⁹

I have read this note.²⁰ This morning, Shri C.V. Narasimhan²¹ came to see me and talked to me about this U.N. Special Fund. In the course of his talk, he said that India's contribution for 1960, which is two million dollars in non-convertible rupees, has a proviso attached to it. This proviso is that the Special Fund should reach 100 million dollars; otherwise our contribution would be proportionately reduced. Shri Narasimhan said that this proviso or limitation was unfortunate. After all we were receiving large sums of money from this Fund and for us to attach some kind of a proviso, as usually the United States Government does,

16. Letter to the Swedish Ambassador in India. File No. 40(198)/60-61-PMS.

17. Myrdal wrote to Nehru on 16 February: "I have the honour to confirm that the gift which Mr. Erlander presented to you, Mr. Prime Minister, on his recent visit to Delhi, is to be interpreted as two scholarships in favour of two young Indians — one male and one female—for studies in Sweden."

18. Nehru sought the opinion of K. L. Shrimali and Humayun Kabir on this matter in a note of the same date. He concluded thus: "The scholarships are fairly generous but I take it they are meant for post-graduate students, and for rather special studies such as perhaps the cooperative movement etc." Eventually they seem to have been used for "Social Pediatrics and Agricultural Cooperation", under which subject heading this correspondence is listed in the Prime Minister's Secretariat.

19. Note to SG and FS, 19 February 1960.

20. See Appendix 28.

21. Formerly, Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, UN.

only took away the grace from our contribution. People asked why we were following the deed of the United States in this particular matter. I am inclined to agree with what Shri Narasimhan said.

But I do think that we should stress the point referred to in paragraph 10 of the note attached. It seems to me a large waste of money for so-called experts to come here from the United States to do some work here which our people can easily do.

(b) Law of the Sea

153. To N. R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt²²

The U.S. Ambassador²³ came to see me today and handed to me a letter from the President of the U.S. I am sending this to you. Also, an aide memoire. Both these relate to the Law of the Sea. I pointed out to the Ambassador that the impression that the President has gathered from his brief talk with me, was not quite correct (See paragraph 2 of his letter to me). When he had casually mentioned this matter to me and said that he attached importance to it, I had replied that, if he so wished, we would certainly give it full consideration again, although we had already thought about it a great deal. I did not say anything about supporting the proposal.

2. The Ambassador said that some kind of a compromise must be arrived at, as otherwise there would be chaos in the high seas, and that was undesirable.

3. I pointed out that conflict apparently was between some Big Powers and smaller countries, and I mentioned the case of Indonesia which had to face a certain situation, and Iceland. I told him, however, that any suggestion from the President would always be given full consideration by us.

4. Since these approaches to us are from high quarters, we should consider this fully, I think, and if necessary, even at Cabinet level.

22. Note to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 10 February 1960.

23. Ellsworth Bunker.

154. To V. K. Krishna Menon²⁴

February 19, 1960

My dear Krishna,

Your letter of the 18th February about the Law of the Sea.²⁵ As there has been a good deal of discussion on this subject and many pressures are being applied, I think that we should consider it in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. I have suggested that this Committee might be held after the Cabinet meeting on the 24th February.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

155. To N. R. Pillai²⁶

The note attached gives a fair summary of our discussions yesterday at the Committee meeting. Two of the members of the Committee, namely, the Home Minister²⁷ and the Finance Minister,²⁸ were a little more positive in our being prepared to agree to a six mile limit for the territorial sea and an additional six miles for fishing rights. This is mentioned in your paragraph 4, but in so far as those Ministers were concerned, stress in favour of this was perhaps greater than is indicated in your note.

2. One point was made quite clear. This was that we must insist on prior authorisation of any foreign warship entering territorial waters. If this could not be agreed to at the Conference, then we must enter a reservation before signing it.

3. The other point really resolved itself into this: that for the purpose of foreign warships, the territorial limit should be twelve miles. How far it is possible to have two types of territorial sea limits, I do not know. That is, (1) a normal territorial limit for ships other than warships, of six miles, and (2) for warships, the limit to be twelve miles. This would simply mean that, according to us, warships should require prior authorisation to enter the twelve mile limit. Personally I think this is a very fair proposal. But, again, I am not sure how it can be given effect to.

24. Letter to the Union Minister of Defence. File No. 13, NMML, V. K. Krishna Papers.

25. See Appendix 33.

26. Note to SG, 29 February 1960.

27. G. B. Pant.

28. Morarji Desai.

4. The broad direction we should give to our delegation going to the Conference,²⁹ should be, therefore, that they should try their utmost to get an agreement. For this purpose, they might even go as far as to accept the six plus six (fishery) limit. But in so far as they can, they should try to extend this to a uniform twelve mile limit, or, at any rate, a twelve mile limit for warships.

5. As the Law Minister himself³⁰ is leading the delegation and he knows fully the various viewpoints that were raised in our discussion yesterday, he can deal with the matter according to his own judgment. But on no account should we go below the six plus six proposal.

6. The point to be borne in mind is for us to try not to fall out with the many smaller countries that are interested in this matter. Even if ultimately we have to vote against some of them, this should be done with grace and in a friendly way.

7. Even though we are prepared to go as far as indicated above, it would not be advisable for us at any previous stage to inform the parties concerned of this. If we once inform them, then there is no room for compromise left.

8. The note that Lord Home³¹ has sent through our High Commissioner³² is not quite clear to me. Para (g) of that note mentions "a six mile territorial sea with an outer zone of six miles covered by a formula which would reconcile in a fair and just way the interests of coastal States and of oversea fishing States." As far as I can understand this, this is not the same as six miles for territorial waters plus an extra six for fishery. They have left this rather vague and want some further rights of fishing even during the extra six miles.

9. A copy of your note as well as this note of mine might be given to the Law Minister for reference.

10. Foreign Secretary sent me a note on this subject before his departure for Calcutta. He wanted it for my personal use only, and so I did not refer to it at the Committee meeting. But you might read it. I agree with his general approach.

11. I want to send a reply to President Eisenhower to his letter of February 10th. I shall do that on my return from Calcutta. Perhaps, you might try to draft a reply.

12. Some kind of a reply should be sent to our High Commissioner also for Lord Home. This will have to be more or less on the lines of our reply to President Eisenhower.

13. I am sending you a bundle of papers in connection with this matter so that you may keep them for record.

29. At Geneva, 17 March-26 April 1960.

30. A. K. Sen.

31. Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

32. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

156. To Chou En-lai³³

February 5, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

My Government is sending you separately through our Ambassador in Peking, a reply to the note of the Chinese Government which was handed to the Indian Embassy on the 26 December 1959.³⁴

I confess that I do not particularly like this long distance correspondence which consists of a reaffirmation of our respective views, and yet there is no escape from this when questions of far-reaching importance are raised between Governments and statements made which cannot be accepted.

You were good enough to suggest that we should meet to discuss these matters and, so far as we are concerned, it has been our consistent policy to such meetings and informal approaches which sometimes lead to helpful results. But I found that the respective viewpoints of our two Governments in regard to the matters under discussion, were so wide apart from opposed to each other that there was little ground left for useful talks. I suggested in my letter of November 16, 1959 certain preliminary steps which would have eased the situation and facilitated further discussions.³⁵ Unfortunately you have not found yourself able to accept those proposals. I still hope that you will reconsider your decision in this matter.

In the latest note from the Government of the People's Republic of China, emphasis has been laid on our entire boundary never having been delimited. That is a statement which appears to us to be wholly incorrect and we cannot accept it. On that basis there can be no negotiations.

It has pained me deeply that the relations between India and China which have in the past been so friendly and which we had endeavoured so much to strengthen, should have deteriorated rapidly and led to bitterness and resentment. That is a tragedy for both our countries as well as for the larger issues in the world. For my part, I have endeavoured and shall continue to endeavour to find way to a peaceful settlement and for a restoration of friendly relations. But for the moment, I do not see any common ground between our respective viewpoints.

Nevertheless I think that we should make every effort to explore avenues which might lead to a peaceful settlement. Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible, still I think it might be helpful for us to meet. I am afraid it is not possible for me to leave India during the next few

33. From *White Paper No. III*, pp. 83-84.

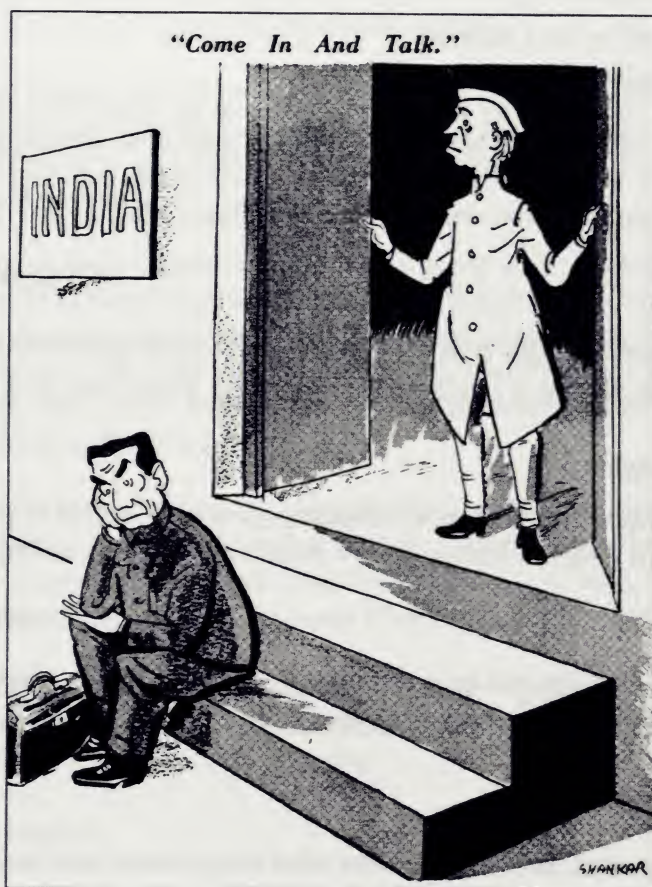
34. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 60-82. Also available in SWJN/SS/56/pp. 398-423.

35. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 47-51. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

months. The budget session of our Parliament is beginning on February 8 and this will require my presence here. I would, however be glad if you could take the trouble to come to Delhi for this purpose at a time convenient to you and us. You will be our honoured guest when you come here. I would suggest that some time in the second half of March might be fixed for this meeting, if it is convenient to you.³⁶

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 21 FEBRUARY 1960)

36. For Chou-En-lai's reply, see Appendix 40.

157. In the Lok Sabha: Indians Detained in Tibet³⁷

चीनियों द्वारा निरुद्ध भारतीय,

श्री भक्त दर्शन :

श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त:

क्या प्रधानमंत्री 16 नवम्बर 1959 के अंतरांकित प्रश्न संख्या बारह के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि तिब्बत में चीनी अधिकारियों द्वारा जो लगभग सैंतीस भारतीय नागरिक या भारतीय रक्षित व्यक्ति गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये थे उन्हें मुक्त कराने में अब तक कहाँ तक सफलता मिली है?

[Translation begins:

Indians Arrested by the Chinese

Bhakt Darshan, Ram Krishna Gupta:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 12 on 16 November, 1959 and state how successful have been the efforts to secure the release of about 37 Indian nationals or Indian-protected persons who were detained by Chinese officials in Tibet?

Translation ends.]

वैदेशिक कार्य उपमन्त्री (श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मेनन)। हमारे पास जो सूचना सुलभ है उसके अनुसार अब तक चौदह व्यक्ति छोड़े गये हैं। बाकी लोगों को छुड़वाने की कोशिशें चल रही हैं।

[Translation begins:

Lakshmi Menon: According to information available with us 14 persons have so far been released. Efforts for the release of the others continue.

Translation ends.]

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान् मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिन भारतीय नागरिकों को गिरफ्तार किया गया है, उन पर क्या अपराध लगाया गया है?

[Translation begins:

Bhakta Darshan: Sir, I want to know what charges have been levelled against those Indian nationals arrested?

Translation ends.]

37. Reply to questions, 9 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 55-57.

Lakshmi Menon: In the case of a Sikkim national the Chinese had stated that he had been held in custody because of serious charge of collusion with the Tibetan rebellion and participation in the rebellion. About another family the Chinese Government held that they were Chinese and that they had been arrested on account of breaking the law and were under trial.

Vidya Charan Shukla: May I know if any other Indian or Indian-protected persons have been arrested after the Government got intimation of arrest of these 37 people.

Lakshmi Menon: I have no information.

Ajit Singh Sarhadi: Are the persons, who are being detained, being tried for some offence or is it pure and simple detention?

Lakshmi Menon: This is only detention of the two sets of people who were kept under detention for various allegations. I have already read them out. The others were 16 Ladakhi Lamas, one Ladakhi trader and one Indian-protected person.

Hem Barua: May I know whether in this group of 37 persons of which 14 persons are so far released are included those persons about which the papers establishing their identity were not discovered or could not be traced? This was the reply that was given by the hon. Prime Minister on the previous occasion. May I know whether there are persons whose documents or papers are in doubt in this group also?

Lakshmi Menon: The persons under detention are persons who were resident in Tibet for a considerable period of time, such as, Kashmiri Muslims and Ladakhi Lamas. We hold that under articles 5 and 8 of our Constitution and also according to international usage these persons are Indian citizens.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान्, जिन भारतीय नागरिकों को अब तक रिहा किया गया है, क्या चीनी अधिकारियों ने कोई कारण बताये हैं कि क्यों उनको अब तक नज़रबन्द रखा जा रहा है और उनके सम्बन्ध में कब तक निर्णय हो सकेगा?

[Translation begins:

Bhakt Darshan: Sir, have Chinese officials given any reasons why Indian nationals, who have been released, are still under detention and when can a decision be taken about them?

Translation ends.]

Lakshmi Menon: I think I answered that question. I have already pointed out that they do not accept our stand in this matter, that is, that they are Indian nationals.

Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether the 14 released Indians have come over to India and, if not, whether the officers of the Government of India have contacted them and have known about their condition?

Lakshmi Menon: They have come over to India.

158. To S. A. Dange: Dalai Lama's Treasure³⁸

February 11, 1960

Dear Dange,

I have received your letter of February 8, 1960 in which you refer to a report that has appeared in the papers about the Dalai Lama having brought some treasure to India. I had vaguely heard about this previously. On receiving your letter, I have enquired into this matter further.

Towards the end of 1950, two officials representing the Dalai Lama brought into Sikkim a number of boxes and deposited them in Gangtok by arrangement with the Maharaja³⁹ and Maharajkumar of Sikkim.⁴⁰ Arrangements for the storage and protection of these boxes were made by the Tibetans directly with the Sikkim Durbar. We had and indeed have no knowledge of the contents of these boxes, except that it was presumed that they must contain some kind of treasure or silver and gold. I understand that some of the boxes were brought into India in 1954 and the contents disposed of by their owners. The balance was removed from Gangtok to Calcutta in December 1959. As I have said above, the Government of India were not aware of the actual contents of the boxes which had been deposited in Sikkim. Authority for the deposit of the treasure in Sikkim as well as its subsequent removal was given by the Dalai Lama to his own representatives and conveyed by them direct to the Sikkim authorities.

The Government of India came into the picture when we were requested late in 1959 by the Dalai Lama's representative to arrange for the escort of the boxes to Calcutta. In accordance with the normal rules and procedure, such escort was provided by the West Bengal Government. We have no precise information of the

38. Letter to Dange, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Central-South Bombay, Bombay State, and General Secretary, AITUC.

39. Tashi Namgyal.

40. Palden Thondup Namgyal.

custody or the disposal of these boxes in Calcutta. The Dalai Lama or his nominees will, of course, have to abide by the law of the land in regard to the sale of the treasure or investment of its sale proceeds in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

159. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Maps in Nehru's Book⁴¹

DISCOVERY OF INDIA

Ram Krishan Gupta:⁴², Khushwaqt Rai:⁴³

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government have procured a copy of the Chinese version of the book "*Discovery of India*";
- (b) if so, whether it contains any maps showing the India-Tibet boundary on the basis of the Chinese claims; and
- (c) if so, the nature of action taken in this regard?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan); (a) to (c). Yes; the maps therein were introduced by the publishers. The question of preventing such errors in future editions are under consideration.

Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether these maps have been examined and compared with the original maps and, if so, may I know how far do they differ from the original?

Sadath Ali Khan: I would like to clarify that the maps in various editions including the English one are small sketch maps. It may, however, be added that in the Chinese edition the boundary in the Ladakh sector is shown closely approximating to the traditional Indian alignment.

Ram Krishan Gupta: May I know whether the Government is prepared to lay a copy of this book on the Table of the House?

41. Reply to questions, 12 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 663-665.

42. Congress, MP from Mahendragarh, Punjab.

43. PSP, MP from Kheri, UP.

Sadath Ali Khan:⁴⁴ It is a Chinese book. It is in the Chinese language.

Speaker:⁴⁵ All that the hon. Member means to ask is whether a copy could be placed in the Library.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): It is available in the library of the School of International Studies.

Speaker: I will get a copy.

Renuka Ray:⁴⁶ Even if it is in Chinese, we could see the map.

Speaker: There are about a dozen copies of the maps that have been printed by the Government and kept in the Library. Hon. Members will compare and refer to them. So far as the book *Discovery of India* is concerned, I will find out if that book is available, and if it is not available, I will get a copy for the Library.

खुशवक्त राय : क्या मैं यह जान सकता हूँ कि यह जो चीनी संस्करण “डिस्कवरी ऑफ इंडिया” का छापा है वह अधिकृत रूप से छापा गया है या अनधिकृत रूप से?

[Translation begins:

Khuswaqt Rai: May I know whether the Chinese edition of *Discovery of India* was authorized?

Translation ends.]

Sadath Ali Khan: I know there are only one or two maps in the book.

Khushwaqt Rai: May I know whether this Chinese edition of *Discovery of India* was printed there with the authority of the author or not?

Sadath Ali Khan: The arrangements for the publication were presumably agreed to between the publishers of the English edition, that is The Meridian Books, Ltd., and the Chinese publishers.

44. Congress, MP from Warangal, Andhra Pradesh.

45. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

46. Congress, MP from Malda, West Bengal.

खुशवक्त राय : क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि यह जो इंगलिश कम्पनी है उस को यह अधिकार था कि वह दूसरे देशों में संस्करण छपवाये?

[Translation begins:

Khuswaqt Rai: May I know whether the publishers of English edition had the authority to publish editions in other countries?

Translation ends.]

सादत अली खाँ : प्राइम मिनिस्टर के सेक्रेटरीअट से इस इंगलिश कम्पनी को लिखा गया है वह आइन्दा ऐसे मामले में एहतियात बरते।

[Translation begins:

Sadath Ali Khan: The publishers of the English edition has been asked by Prime Minister's Secretariat to exercise caution in future.

Translation ends.]

Surendranath Dwivedy:⁴⁷ We could not follow the reply.

Sadath Ali Khan: The English publishers have been told to take greater care in this matter in the future.

Hem Barua:⁴⁸ In view of the fact that the author of *Discovery of India* is also the Prime Minister of India, a wrong map printed in the Chinese version of the *Discovery of India* might give a wrong impression that these maps have the official approval of the Government of India. Therefore, may I know what positive steps have the Government so far taken to stop the circulation of the book so that there might not be a wrong impression created the world over?

Speaker: The question is, has the Government of India taken any steps to see that further copies of this edition are not circulated.

Vajpayee:⁴⁹ They are circulated in China.

47. PSP, MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

48. PSP, MP from Gauhati, Assam.

49. A. B. Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, MP from Balrampur, UP.

Sadath Ali Khan: If the circulation, as the hon. Member said, is in China, well, it is the Chinese edition, and language. I am not able to answer that question.

160. In the Rajya Sabha: Confusion of Names in Ladakh⁵⁰

Location of Villages in Spiti Valley

Nawab Singh Chauhan:⁵¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government have conducted any investigation regarding the exact location of the three villages—Puling Sumdo, Chuva and Chuje—of the Spiti Valley in the district of Kangra which have been claimed to be Chinese territory in a letter received from the Chinese Premier in December last and if so, with what result?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): Yes, Sir. In their latest note of the 26th December 1959, the Chinese are obviously confusing Puling Sumdo (also sometimes marked as Poling) and Pullam Sumda. The former (Puling Sumdo) which has been mentioned as a trade mart in the 1954 Agreement lies in Tibet and there is no question of India occupying it. On the other hand, Pullam Sumda lies in the Nilang Jhadang area which is within Indian territory. The coordinates of Puling Sumdo are 31.20N and 71.27E while the coordinates of Pullam Sumda are 31.18N and 79.08E. During the negotiations for the 1954 Agreement, the coordinates of the former were in fact conveyed to the Chinese Government and therefore there is no room for any misunderstanding.

Chuva and Chuje are shown in sketch maps published by the Chinese for propaganda purposes in recent months. They are shown as lying north of the Spiti-Pare-chu junction. On our maps (1/4") no villages are shown in the area in which Chuva and Chuje have been shown on Chinese maps, but these places appear to lie in the Spiti area on the Punjab-Tibet border.

50. Reply to question, 15 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 648-649.
51. Congress, MP from UP.

161. In the Lok Sabha: Inviting Chou En-lai for Talks⁵²

Alleged Reversal of Policy Towards China

Speaker: I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Shri Asoka Mehta,⁵³ Shri M.R. Masani,⁵⁴ Shri Vajpayee and others on the following subject:-

“The situation arising out of the sudden and unwarranted reversal of Government’s declared China policy approved and endorsed by Parliament as evidenced in the Prime Minister’s latest communication to the Chinese Premier, accepting the Chinese proposal for an unconditional meeting between the two Prime Ministers.”

Do we discuss in an adjournment motion matters of policy? Also, do not we have opportunities now on the Address of the President, the debate on the Budget and so on?

Asoka Mehta: Sir, in the letter of the Prime Minister⁵⁵ that was placed on the Table yesterday it is said:

“Although any negotiations on the basis you have suggested are not possible, still I think it might be helpful for us to meet.”

A distinction is here made between “negotiation” and “meeting.” On this point, the House has discussed the matter over and over again, and the policy that the Prime Minister himself had put forward and that was endorsed by the House has been different. In his letter of 16th November,⁵⁶ the Prime Minister has said:

“It is our common desire that such a meeting should bear fruit and it is necessary, therefore, that some preliminary steps are taken and the foundations for discussion laid.”

Likewise, in the same letter he has said that there must be an interim understanding. Earlier still, in the earlier letter, the position was clearer still, where it was said:

“No discussions can be fruitful unless the posts on the Indian side of the traditional frontier now held by the Chinese forces are first vacated by them and further threats and intimidations immediately cease.”

52. Reply to questions, 16 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1166-71.

53. PSP, MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

54. Independent, MP from Ranchi- East, Bihar.

55. See item 156.

56. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 47-51. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

In the last Session, on the last day, you will recollect, we had a discussion, and on the 21st December the Prime Minister made it clear, while he gave us a gist of his reply sent to the Prime Minister of China, when he said:

"I would prefer to wait for his promised reply to my letter of 26th September⁵⁷ and our note of 4th November⁵⁸ before we discuss what should be the next step."

Throughout, therefore, Sir, the meeting if it was to take place was on the basis of certain conditions being satisfied, and the Chinese have been demanding all the time that the meeting should be unconditional.

The House, Sir,—on various occasions it had discussed this matter—has approved the stand that was taken by the Government in the past that any discussion, any meeting has to be on the basis of certain conditions, and now we find, Sir, that suddenly the Prime Minister has decided to have a meeting without any of these pre-conditions being fulfilled.

Far from any satisfactory reply having been received from the Prime Minister of China to the letter that has been sent by the Prime Minister and the note that we had sent in November, the reply received throws the whole frontier of India into the melting pot. As the note that has been given makes our position very clear, it is difficult to understand why the policy which we have consistently followed, that a meeting must be held only when there are possibilities of a fruitful discussion, should be changed. Fruitful discussions take place only when certain pre-conditions are fulfilled. A meeting without any kind of pre-conditions is fraught with grave danger.

This sudden change in policy, this acceptance of the demand made by China that the two Prime Ministers should meet,—I am sure they are going to meet where they are going to discuss something very serious, and discussion on anything serious without the necessary pre-conditions being met is something completely contrary to the policy that has been accepted by the Parliament—this sudden reversal of policy, demands a very serious consideration.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Speaker: Order, order. I have heard enough from the hon. Member. At this stage I am not going to allow any argument. I only want to know whether there is really a change of policy; if so, whether this House ought to have been consulted before such a change of policy has been undertaken. These are the two points. If I am satisfied *prima facie* I will allow a discussion. If I

57. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 34-46. Also available in SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.

58. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 19-24. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 654-662.

am not satisfied, of course, other opportunities may be availed of and not by way of an adjournment motion. These two points are simple. I am going to hear the hon. Prime Minister, whether there is really a change of policy.

Vajpayee: Sir, I would like to draw your attention to the President's Address. The President was pleased to state:

"My Government, therefore, pursues a policy both of a peaceful approach, by negotiation under appropriate conditions."

The Prime Minister has now invited the Chinese Prime Minister unconditionally. There is no relevance now to discuss the President's Address. A new situation has arisen, and the House should be given an opportunity to discuss it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry, Sir, that hon. Members have a feeling of any kind of reversal of policy. So far as I am concerned and my Government is concerned, there has been no reversal, and the identical line of approach which we have followed and which has been expressed in the President's Address is expressed in the note to the Chinese Government.

The hon. Member, Shri Asoka Mehta, quoted from something I had said, that a meeting will not be in these conditions fruitful. I have not here in front of me whatever I have said, either in this House or in the other House or in a Press Conference or anywhere. I have always taken up the position that it is our policy to meet anybody and everybody in order to find a way. That is the general proposition in which I have been trained for the last 40 years, and I do not think, certainly, it will be right for me, and I do not think it will be right for this House to accept any kind of policy which refuses to meet and discuss. That is the broad approach to every problem in which most of us have been trained in the past and we followed it with those whom we struggled against and we fought against.

Apart from that, Sir, the question is what our position in a particular matter is. Now, in this particular matter, when the Chinese Prime Minister invited me to meet him within, I think, seven or eight days at Rangoon, I pointed out that in that way the meeting will serve no purpose and, anyhow, I could not go there. I agreed, and I have been repeating it several times in this House, that I am always prepared to meet when it is proved, as the hon. Member has pointed out, that it will lead to some fruitful results. Now, when we consider all these developments, recent developments—we had received a reply which was published yesterday—it took us a long time, naturally, to find out the various facts, historical and others, and there was some delay—I was very anxious that that reply of mine, of the Government, to the Chinese Government should be in the possession of the House as soon as it met. But, unfortunately, there was some delay. The reply itself was prepared about the end of last month. We decided that it would be better for the Ambassador himself to take it rather than for us to telegraph it; and therefore, there was some delay. I could not place it right at the beginning of the

session or even earlier. There was about a week's delay.

Another fact, if you permit me to mention, is this, a curious misunderstanding. The letter that I have addressed to the Chinese Premier is, I think, dated 5th February while the note is dated, I think, 12th February. Obviously, hon. Members will realise that the letter was dated the day I signed it. The note which had been prepared before the letter,—obviously it is part of the letter—had to be dated when it was being delivered in Peking. So, it was dated a few days later, but the note came earlier. I had to wait—I could not help it—till it was delivered before I could place it before the House. As soon as I got the news that it was delivered, immediately I placed it on the Table of the House. This was done yesterday.

Now, the only question for this House to consider is whether there has been any reversal of the policy. I submit that there has been no reversal so far as my mind is concerned and so far as we are concerned. We have been considering this matter and we came to the conclusion: we sent this letter and that letter, which it should be remembered, is a part or a necessary complement of the long note we have sent, here we have firmly and clearly stated what our policy in these matters is. We find that having regard to all the circumstances we should not rule out the possibility of meeting—not, if I may submit, of negotiating on that basis and I have said in that note which is part of the documents—and we cannot rule out this meeting from both the points of view, of our past policy and present policy and other large considerations.

So, I submit there is no such reversal. Anyhow, these matters, I admit are important and vital and this House should have every chance of discussing them. They are, in fact, possibly being discussed even in connection with the President's Address. Possibly they might be discussed later also. I would be glad to have the assistance of this House in all these matters. They are too vital to be passed through in this way. It does not, I submit, give rise to an adjournment motion.

162. In the Lok Sabha: Tibetan Refugees ⁵⁹

Question:⁶⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government have formulated any scheme for rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees, at present lodged in Missamari Camp; and
- (b) if so, the details of the Plan?

59. Written answers to questions, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1346-47.

60. By Mafida Ahmed, Congress; Aurobindo Ghosal, FB(M); and P. K. Deo, Ganatantra Parishad.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri J. N. Hazarika): (a) and (b). A statement giving the information required is given below:

Statement

The scheme is intended to settle 1,000 families of Tibetan refugees on 2,000 acres of land at Bhaluckpung in North-East Frontier Agency and near the foothills of Assam. The total number of settlers is likely to be 1500. The thick jungles covering the site will be cleared by refugees themselves with the help of bulldozers and tractors. Timber and other material obtained from jungle clearance will be utilised, as far as possible, in the construction of houses for the refugees. Arrangements will be made to provide rations to the settlers for a period of one year at the end of which the first cycle of the crops will be completed and it is hoped that the refugees will become self-sufficient in the matter of food supplies. It is proposed to provide a limited number of livestock for which necessary veterinary aid will also be available. Care has been taken to provide for the medical needs and the education of the refugees. During off-season, when the settlers will be free from agricultural operations, they would receive training in handicrafts and small scale cottage industries.

The total cost of the scheme is estimated to be Rs. 12 lakhs. It is hoped that some of the relief organisations will make donations of (a) food and (b) agricultural implements.

163. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Road Construction in Ladakh⁶¹

Construction of Six Roads by Chinese in Ladakh

Question:⁶² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to a news report, datelined Bombay, contained in the *Manchester Guardian* of the 26th December, 1959 stating that subsequent to the construction of the Sinkiang Road in Ladakh, six more roads have been built by the Chinese on Indian soil; and
- (b) if so, the facts in regard thereto?

61. Reply to questions, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 1303-07.

62. By A. B. Vajpayee, Jan Sangh; A. M. Tariq, Congress.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, (b) As the roads reportedly built by Chinese are in the Indian territory now illegally occupied by the Chinese it is not practicable to verify the extent of other roads constructed by them.

Vajpayee: May I know whether Government have given thought to the necessity of making some sort of arrangement in order to keep themselves informed about what may be going on in those parts of Indian territory which are under Chinese occupation?

Speaker: Through any other agency?

Vajpayee: Yes.

Lakshmi Menon: The hon. Member is suggesting that we may have some kind of espionage system by which we can know about these things.

Speaker: No, no. What he means is that, as in the case of Goa where we are having a representative of some other Government to look into those things, it is possible to have any other Government look into this matter. It need not necessarily be under an espionage system.

Lakshmi Menon: That is suggestion for action.

Speaker: He is asking why it has not been done.

Lakshmi Menon: It can be done only if we do not have diplomatic relations with China. When we have diplomatic relations with another country, we do not ask a third agency to deal for us.

Vajpayee: May I know if our Ambassador in Peking⁶³ has been directed to ascertain from the Chinese Government regarding the authenticity of the report appearing in the paper?

Lakshmi Menon: That is a suggestion for action.

Vajpayee: I am asking on a point of fact, whether our Ambassador has been so directed.

63. G. Parthasarathi.

Lakshmi Menon: We have not only had reports in the newspapers, but the hon. Member would remember that even in Karam Singh's⁶⁴ report there was a reference to new roads being constructed there. What I was saying was that it is not possible to verify these reports.

Speaker: All that the hon. Member wants to know is whether through our own agency—if no new agency could be appointed there until we sever diplomatic relations—something has been done in this matter. It is not a suggestion for action. It is what is normally expected of Government.

Lakshmi Menon: Normally, whenever we have reports, they are referred to our Embassy. But so far we have not received any confirmation from Peking.

Surendranath Dwivedy:⁶⁵ The question whether this particular matter was referred to our Ambassador is not replied.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Ambassador in Peking has no sources of knowledge better than ours.

Speaker: Hon. Members evidently are under the impression that he could go there to verify.

Jawaharlal Nehru: He cannot go there. Normally, people are not allowed to go to various places even in China without permission. I do not think anybody is allowed to go to this area. Apart from that, there are no transport facilities available to anybody, unless the Chinese Government provides them.

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that we have diplomatic relations with China, has our Embassy in Peking been instructed from here to acquire information from the Chinese Government as to whether extra roads are built in this area or not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the very question. They have not been instructed by us, because we do not think in the circumstances that that kind of thing will bear any fruit. Our present relations with China, as is well known to the House, are strained, and to enquire from them on such a question is not likely to lead to any results.

64. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 8-22. Also available in SWJN/SS/55/pp. 442-457.

65. PSP, MP from Kendrapara, Orissa,

A. M. Tariq: The hon. Prime Minister has been kind enough to tell us that there are some difficulties due to which we cannot go there, nor has our Ambassador been able to find out anything from the Chinese Government. Are the Government of India aware of the fact that some foreign papers and some foreign journalists are building up some sort of stories and publicising them in the world creating scare and hatred among the people here? If so, what steps are Government taking to contradict such reports?

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can we contradict stories, even though we might think they are not based on much truth? We cannot contradict them without precise knowledge.

Ram Subhag Singh:⁶⁶ What is the distance or gap between our administered area and the Chinese administered area in Ladakh? If our administration extended upto the point where the Chinese are, we could easily have known where those roads are located.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no distance, broadly speaking. That is to say, the whole area, whether on the Chinese side or on our side, is not in the normal sense of the word administered. It is administered in a vague sense of the word, by check posts and other places under our control. Presumably, at some places not in every place—our check posts are a little distance away from theirs. So there is no gap, I do not think all along the line because it is a long line; but broadly speaking, there is no big area in between.

U.C. Patnaik:⁶⁷ May I know whether Government have tried to verify the statements made in this House also during previous discussions that there are a number of roads constructed from the Sinkiang-Tibet road inside our territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is the very question. I may say that according to our information, some roads have been constructed by the Chinese authorities in that area of Indian territory in Ladakh which is occupied by them.

Braj Raj Singh:⁶⁸ The Prime Minister was pleased to say that our territory is vaguely administered there, in the sense that we have got some check posts and all that there. May I know whether the territory occupied by China is also vaguely administered?

66. Congress, MP from Sasaram, Bihar.

67. Independent, MP from Ganjam, Orissa.

68. Socialist Party, MP from Firozabad, UP.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is what I submitted. On both sides, there is no regular administration which is normally there in a country. There are spots occupied by check posts, etc., and for the rest, there are wandering shepherds on both sides.

Braj Raj Singh: In the territory occupied by China also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Vajpayee: In view of the fact that Government have decided not to send their patrols to the border, may I know how they had been able to reassure themselves that the Chinese are not making any further inroads into our territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because we have our check posts. When they cross the check-posts, naturally it is known as the area is under the control of the check posts.

164. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Kidnapping of An American⁶⁹

Detention of an American in Chinese Consulate in Bombay

Ram Krishan Gupta, A. B. Vajpayee, B. C. Mullick, P. K. Deo, Rameshwar Tantia, Ila Palchoudhuri, Shree Narayan Das, Radha Raman, Raghunath Singh, A. M. Tariq, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, P. G. Deb, S. A. Mehdi, D. C. Sharma and Hem Barua:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to his statement made in Lok Sabha on the 30th November, 1959⁷⁰ and reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1069 on the 18th December, 1959 and state:

- (a) whether Government have completed investigation into the allegations of American Consulate, Bombay and counter-allegations by Chinese Consulate, Bombay regarding the kidnapping of their national; and
- (b) if so, the result thereof?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). We received from the Bombay Government, some days ago, the report of the Bombay police on their enquiries into the allegations made by the US and Chinese Consulate-General in Bombay. The police found, on the basis of the evidence recorded by them, that, *prima facie*, case had been made out of

69. Reply to questions from Congress and other MPs, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 1318-1320.

70. See SWJN/SS/ 54/pp. 550-555.

assault on and forcible detention of an employee of the US Consulate-General. Little evidence was, however, forthcoming in respect of the earlier course of events; and the circumstances in which the two employees of the US and Chinese Consulates-General appeared in a taxi at the place where the assault took place have not been sufficiently explained. In the circumstances, the Government felt that no useful purpose would be served by instituting formal proceedings in court. Instead, it would be sufficient if the Chinese official concerned went out of India. The Chinese Embassy was advised accordingly. The official has since left India and no further action is, therefore, proposed.

Joachim Alva:⁷¹ In view of this peculiar incident where both sides have their own story to tell and in view of the legal ineffectiveness in a case of this type where law courts could not settle the problem, may I know whether the External Affairs Ministry is contemplating drawing up a set of instructions for guidance of foreign missions in India for the future?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As the hon. Member himself has said, this was a very peculiar and extraordinary incident which one normally reads about in fiction but does not come across in reality. It is very difficult for the External Affairs Ministry to make rules to deal with these matters which are on the verge of fiction.

Radha Raman: May I know whether the report which appeared in the Press that the people concerned in one of the Embassies had put obstruction in the way of the police finding out the truth about the whole case, is correct?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is correct to this extent that at the earlier stages of enquiry not much co-operation was received from the Chinese Consulate-General and the person concerned also did not appear. Later, he did appear and gave his statement.

Vajpayee: Is it a fact that when the Bombay Police reached the Chinese Consulate, they found the American gentleman with his hands and feet tied down and if so, was it not sufficient ground to proceed against?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think it is correct—but I speak without absolute certainty—that the police found a person with his hands and feet tied down. It is true that, as has been stated in answer to the question, the police found prima facie evidence of assault and detention in the Chinese Consulate of an American national. That is true. But I cannot say the conditions in which they found him.

71. Congress, MP from Kanara, Mysore State.

Sonavane:⁷² May I know whether both the Embassies have agreed to drop this investigation and whether they have also agreed to the conclusion of the Government of India that the investigation should be closed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is open—it was open—for any party to institute a case in the formal legal manner. Neither of them have instituted such a case. That was left to the Government of India or, more particularly, the Bombay Government to take steps and the result of that enquiry—I repeat—was that while a *prima facie* case was established of assault and detention of an American national by the Chinese Consulate-General, many parts of the story were obscure and they did not think there is, in the circumstances, adequate evidence to proceed much further in the matter.

Hem Barua: Independent of the police enquiry made into this incident, may I know whether the Government have tried to make an assessment of the highly contradictory statements made by the two Consul Generals; if so, what is the conclusion that the Government have arrived at?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government, Sir, naturally, had to rely on the Bombay Government which is dealing with this matter, and I have stated the conclusion of the Bombay Government.

165. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Territory, Administered and Other⁷³

Sino-Indian Border Dispute

Hem Barua: Nath Pai:⁷⁴ and Ram Subhag Singh:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Defence Minister addressing a meeting of students and teachers at the University campus at Chandigarh on 5th February, 1960 said to the effect that “we are not prepared to hand over any part of our administered territory along the Sino-Indian borders.”
- (b) if so, what is the significance of the word “administered,” and
- (c) whether Government have made any policy decision of this nature?

72. T. H. Sonavane, Congress, MP from Sholapur, Bombay State.

73. Reply to short notice questions, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1340-1346.

74. PSP, MP from Rajapur, Bombay.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c). The Defence Minister spoke extempore for more than an hour and a full report of his speech is not available. But it is clear that the words referred to were used in a particular context. He laid stress on the inviolability of India's territory and said that India was not prepared to negotiate on the basis of surrender of any part of it.

He referred to Ladakh and stated that it formed an integral part of India.

Later in his speech, he referred to the N.E.F.A. area which, he pointed out, had been for long administered by us. In this connection, he said that this territory could not be argued about on the basis of the Chinese claim which was that the Chinese had been in possession of it and had actually administered part of it. In referring to the "administered territory" of NEFA, he was countering Chinese arguments in regard to it.

So far as India's policy on the frontier areas is concerned, this had been made clear and fully stressed by the Defence Minister without any distinction between the different areas.

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that there is no contradiction to this statement so far made, and in view of the fact that the Chinese justification for the occupation of the part of Ladakh, in spite of the Treaty of 1842, is based on the ground that that portion of Ladakh has been administered by China for four years or so and Indian administration has not reached that region, why is it that a statement of this sort that gives a handle to Chinese claim on our territory should be made by the Defence Minister which I am afraid, adds further to our difficulties?

Jawaharlal Nehru: A statement of this sort was not made by the Defence Minister. If a phrase is taken out of the context of the speech, that sometimes causes misapprehensions in peoples' minds. I have just now stated that he was actually countering the Chinese statement.

Surendranath Dwivedy: As it was such an important matter, why did the Defence Minister not contradict the press report when it was published all over the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. First of all, the whole thing occurred, I think, during the last two weeks. As soon as it occurred, the matter has been noticed and questions were tabled and the obvious way was to reply to the question here and in the other House.

Hem Barua: A reference is made to NEFA as an administered area and the Prime Minister knows it that there are certain areas in NEFA where our administration has not as yet reached, within the MacMahon line of course.

In view of this, when a reference is made to the administered territory of NEFA, when we are not going to surrender our territories, there is that apprehension that those regions which our administration is yet to reach, those regions are to be handed over to China. That is the impression that is created in the country,

Jawaharlal Nehru: I really do not understand where the apprehension is, except possibly in the minds of some hon. Members here. I see no apprehension, and the Government's policy is clear. And I have seldom read a report of a stronger speech by the Defence Minister than the one the Defence Minister made on that occasion; such reports I have seen. The hon. Member refers to some parts of NEFA, which are not administered as such. Well, what exactly he means by "administered" is not clear to me. Obviously, some high mountain peaks are not administered in that sense. It is obvious. But we talk of an area, not of selected high mountain peaks, or inaccessible areas and there is no doubt that NEFA as a whole, I say, is administered completely, and has been so for the last so many years.

Mr. Speaker: A doubt is created by the use of the word "administered." Whether our territory will be all right? "Administered" means that portion which is now administered.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I point out that he was countering the argument of the Chinese that they were administering, which is completely false? It is the claim by the Chinese that is being dealt with in a particular area.

Mr. Speaker: Very well.

Tyagi: The Prime Minister and his other colleagues seem to be thinking as if administration is something substantial which must reach a place, or not reach a place. As we understand, a territory which is within India is administered by us because of the very fact that it is within India. Administration does not mean that some sword has to be poked into that area at every point.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what I am trying to point out. Administration does not mean that every little spot is occupied by an official. That is a ridiculous meaning. There are mountainous areas, large areas, where there is no official but, nevertheless, it is within the administered area. The whole of Ladakh is within India, and has not been administered in the sense of an official sitting everywhere, but it is, nevertheless, within the larger area.....

Mahavir Tyagi: It is immaterial (Interruptions).

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not quite finished yet. This particular point arose, more particularly in regard to NEFA, because the Chinese have made quite extraordinary claims which have not a vestige of justification in regard to NEFA. They have said that they are actually administering part of it—they have said that—which is an amazing assertion to make, and that is being countered by the actual fact—that is in our reply to the Chinese Government too—that they are definite parts of our administered territory—Sadiya frontier tract, this, that and the other. Therefore, this reference to NEFA is not a legal argument.

Ram Subhag Singh: The hon. Prime Minister has taken some pains in distinguishing the NEFA area and Ladakh area, and this morning the Prime Minister said that in Ladakh the entire area is not really administered area. Having regard to this fact, may I know whether in future important pronouncements like this will be made after enough consideration and sufficient care will be exercised by the Government spokesmen?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as this particular matter is concerned, I do not know what the hon. Member is referring to. It is a very clear enunciation of the Government's policy. There is nothing in that that any member of this House who knows facts, even if he may differ on something can take exception to. The difficulty arises sometimes in bits of things being extracted from a speech published in a newspaper which does not give the full text.

Surendranath Dwivedy: What about the impression it creates?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are we to censor all the newspapers, as the hon. Member suggests? I am not going to have censorship.

Ram Subhag Singh: This is a fact. It is not a newspaper report. The Governor of Punjab was presiding over that meeting. The fact may be verified from him if the newspaper reports are incorrect.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have stated something on my authority. No verification is necessary when I am sure(Interruption)

Ram Subhag Singh: It is the students who were attending that meeting.

Speaker: We have all misunderstood it.

Khadilkar: Administration, in particular in the context of this speech, leads to some doubt because a lot of territory, particularly in Ladakh area, though not physically administered by us, was politically under our jurisdiction as we have said. So, reference to administration leads certainly to doubt and lends

support to the Chinese argument when they are advancing it again and again, namely, that we were not holding actual possession because we had no administration. Therefore this certain doubt arises and it should be promptly removed.

P. R. Patel rose—⁷⁵

Mr. Speaker: All matters are now set at rest.

U. C. Patnaik: May I ask one question?

Speaker: Enough questions have been answered. The hon. Prime Minister has said that this word 'administration' has been used with respect to NEFA where they claim that they were in possession. It was not intended for Ladakh. But if newspaper picks out the word 'administration' and uses it for Ladakh, it has been sufficiently explained now..... (Interruption)

Goray: When the hon. Defence Minister is here why should he not clarify? Let him say what he said.

Hem Barua: I do not want the hon. Prime Minister to change his pack-horses in the midstream, but I would ask him to ask his Ministers to be a little careful while making statements of this sort which might damage the interests of the country.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In agreeing with what the hon. Member says that Ministers should be careful may I, with all respect, say that other hon. Members should also be careful?....(Interruption).

Hem Barua: They have enunciated Government policy in a wrong way.

U. C. Patnaik: Because of the statements that are being made from time to time, namely that not a blade of grass would grow in these areas, we are very much concerned over the statement of the hon. Defence Minister. People feel that there is a move to surrender these areas to the Chinese. (An Hon. Member: No). It may not be true, but still there is that suspicion growing. May we request the Government to prevent that apprehension seeing that Ministers do not make such statements in future without due considerations?

75. MJP, MP from Mehsana, Bombay State.

Mr. Speaker: He did not admit that the present statement had been made without due consideration.

166. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Propaganda in Border Areas⁷⁶

Hem Barua, D.C. Sharma, Amjad Ali, Narayan Das, Radha Raman and Khushwaqt Rai:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 123 on the 19th November, 1959 and state:

- (a) whether enquiries have been completed in the matter of insidious propaganda being carried on by some Chinese traders and laundrymen who have opened shops recently in many places in border areas?
- (b) what action has been taken as a result of these enquiries; and
- (c) whether such propaganda has been stopped as a result of action taken?

Sadath Ali Khan: (a) to (c). Government have not come across any specific case of such propaganda, but are vigilant against any such attempt being made.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that cyclostyled copies of letters purported to have been written by an association formed by a body, the "Anti-Indian Expansionist Association of the People's Republic of China", are circulated in this country in which an undisguised attack is made on Mr. Nehru and his China policy and which goes on to accuse Mr. Nehru of "expansionist ambitions and practically instigating the revolt of the Tibetan rebels" and, if so, whether the Government have tried to comb out the sources of this nefarious propaganda, and if so, what success have the Government achieved so far in this matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I shall reply to this from memory. An odd sheet like this did come to our notice. It was an anonymous, cyclostyled sheet, and we tried to enquire. We could not trace it anywhere. It has not been distributed widely. Very few people know about it. In fact I think it came to us by post, as far as I remember. It is a very objectionable sheet. But it is very difficult to attach that to any propaganda. What I mean is, sometimes, people who want to get other people into trouble put across these things. One cannot catch hold of them. Certainly, it

76. Reply to questions from Congress and other MPs, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1329-1333.



The Prime Minister appreciated the "desire to negotiate" found in Mr. Chou En-lai's letter.—News.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 3 JANUARY 1960)

is not that it has no effect, but what I mean is, it is not widely distributed. Maybe a few persons got it by post anonymously. It is difficult to deal with such matters.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that the West Bengal police discovered some Chinese magazines at Kalimpong, which question the integrity of Indian territory and, if so, what are those magazines and the details thereof? It was only on the 8th January.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe, presumably the West Bengal police took possession of them.

Hem Barua: They took possession, but I just want to know the character of these magazines. Whether the Government here are aware of the character of these magazines, the number of copies seized, and whether this has been a regular feature in Kalimpong where they are circulated. This sort of magazines question the territorial integrity of this country.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some such papers were circulated originally, I think. In the recent past, there has been no such circulation. It is fairly strict. If any such case comes to the hon. Member's notice, we shall gladly take steps.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : सीमा क्षेत्र के सिवा क्या इस प्रकार का चीनी प्रचार देश के और स्थानों में भी हो रहा है। और क्या इस प्रकार का साहित्य और स्थानों पर भी बाँटा जा रहा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरू : किस प्रकार का साहित्य बाँटा जा रहा है यह कहना तो मुश्किल बात है। लेकिन जो हमारे यहाँ विदेशी एम्बसीज़ हैं वे अपने देश की ख़बरें दिया करती हैं कि वहाँ क्या कार्रवाई हो रही है, और यह एक बेज़ा बात है। और उनको ऐसा करने का अधिकार है। जब वह उससे कुछ आगे बढ़ें और हमारे देश पर कुछ हमला करें तो ग़लत बात हो जाती है। और हमने उनको रोका है और कई दफ़ा रोका है, एक से ज़्यादा एम्बसीज़ को रोका है। और उसका असर हुआ है। आमतौर से ऐसा नहीं होता, लेकिन अगर इत्तफ़ाक़ से ऐसा हो तो उनका ध्यान दिलाया जाता है।

[Translation begins:

Seth Govind Das: Is this type of Chinese propaganda being carried on in places other than the border areas also, and is this kind of literature being distributed in other areas also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to say what type of literature is being distributed. But foreign embassies in India do relay news back to their respective countries about events here and they have the right to do so. When they go beyond this and attack our country, it is wrong; we have stopped them, we have stopped them several times, and we have stopped several embassies, and it has had its impact. Generally, it does not happen, but if by any chance it does happen, their attention is drawn to it.

Translation ends.]

Manjula Devi : May I know whether any case of anti-national propaganda in NEFA in particular has been brought to the notice of Government?

Mr. Speaker : Anti-Indian propaganda in NEFA.

Jawaharlal Nehru : I have not beard of any propaganda in NEFA, of this type, and I do not think it is very easy for anyone to do it there either.

Manjula Devi : May I know whether any restrictions are placed with regard to the unauthorised existence of the Chinese in Assam and their unrestricted movement all over Assam?

Jawaharlal Nehru : If the thing is unauthorised, that means restriction and action is taken there. But so far as NEFA is concerned, the hon. Member might be assured, it is protected by all kinds of rules and regulations which apply not to the Chinese only but to all foreigners; and no one can go there without a permit and those permits are not easily given. In some parts of NEFA they are not given at all even with difficulty.

So far as other parts of NEFA are concerned, there is a certain freedom of movement in some areas. There too, in the inner line, the freedom of movement does not apply. In Kalimpong and some other areas, every foreigner has to register. Every newcomer gets a registration certificate for a week, and after that, except for special reasons, he cannot stay there.

Hem Barua rose—

Speaker: I have allowed a number of questions.

Hem Barua: My question follows from the previous answer. In view of the fact that these magazines were discovered in Kalimpong and in view of the fact that the Prime Minister has said that every foreigner in Kalimpong has to register, may I know whether these magazines were discovered with any registered foreigner or where?

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I remember, they were found in some bookshop. I am not quite sure about that.

Hem Barua: Found by whom?

Mr. Speaker: Have foreigners got bookshops there?

Hem Barua: Yes, Sir. I want to know whether the owner of the bookshop is a registered foreigner or not.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say straightaway whether he was a registered foreigner.

167. To the Dalai Lama: Tibetan Refugees⁷⁷

February 22, 1960

Your Holiness,

I have seen your letter of January 30⁷⁸ regarding Tibetan refugees and I am glad to say that our own broad approach in dealing with the question of their settlement in India is very much the same as has been suggested by you. You may rest assured that the recommendations which you have made will receive our careful and sympathetic consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

168. In the Lok Sabha: Defence of China Policy⁷⁹

Motion on Address by the President—contd.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker,⁸⁰ Sir, this subject has been under debate in this House for a full week and a large number of Members have spoken on it, some in favour of the motion and some in opposition to it. There are, I believe, about 240 amendments tabled; and, in the course of discussion, a large number of subjects have been touched upon. But, by and large, it may be said that this discussion has been almost a discussion on foreign affairs; and in regard to foreign affairs too, rather limited to our border issues with China and even that has been further limited to the invitation I have issued to Premier Chou En-lai in this connection. Therefore, Sir, I think, perhaps, it would be better for me also to concentrate on a few of the important issues raised—more important points raised—rather than perambulate over the whole field of these 240 amendments.

I do not deny that some of the other matters which have been mentioned in this House in the course of the debate are important from certain points of view; but, I cannot, within any limited space of time deal with these scores of matters. Now, therefore, I shall begin by dealing with this very important issue relating to foreign affairs, relating to our border, relating to the intrusion of Chinese forces on our territory and recent steps which we have taken in regard to this matter.

77. Letter. File No. 29(78)BST/59, p. 52, MEA.

78. See Appendix 12.

79. Reply to the five-day debate on the President's Address, 22 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2102-2142.

80. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

The way this debate has been conducted, and some of the statements made in this debate, have raised other matters too in relation to this particular subject. That is to say, it has been said by hon. Members—I only repeat—that there has been a charge. Not only a charge of reversal of policy has been advanced; but, rather it has been said that the Government, and particularly I suppose I, as being the Foreign Minister, have been unfair to Parliament, and have not been quite honest, that we are dying down, we have surrendered, we have submitted to some kind of national humiliation. It has even been said, that there is no instance in history like this and our sincerity has been doubted. That, of course, raises the matter onto a different level from the criticism of a certain policy. I hope to deal with that criticism, but I wish to point out, at the commencement, that if the Government is charged, as it has been charged by some hon. Members opposite, with submitting to anything that may be considered “national humiliation” or “surrender,” then it is a matter of the highest importance for this house and this country to be clear about it.

(Mr. Deputy-Speaker⁸¹ in the Chair)

No Government which even remotely is responsible for anything that may be considered “national humiliation” is deserving of continuing as a Government. No Foreign Minister or Prime Minister who is even indirectly connected with anything which means dishonour of India in any respect has any business to continue in his office. Therefore, it is a matter of very serious import what the view of this House and of the country is on this subject.

Now, may I add something which was not said in this House in this connection and which is reported in this morning's papers by the Press? I do not wish, normally, to quote from the Press without verification, but as I have to speak on this subject now, and it is relevant, I am taking the liberty to refer to this matter. It is a report of a speech by one of the respected Members, of this House, of the Opposition side, Acharya Kripalani,⁸² who, it is said, has said that India had been “betrayed by leaders of the present Government.” Further it is stated he has said: “How can we do anything when our honour is in the hands of dishonourable people?”

Now, Sir, that is a clear charge, and if there is, as I said, even any remote justification for that charge, then, it is not for me to stand up here and take the time of the House but to retire to my shell and leave it to others who are more honourable to conduct the affairs of this country. I know that our respected friend, Acharya Kripalani, sometimes allows his words to run away with him;

81. Sardar Hukum Singh.

82. J. B. Kripalani, PSP, MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

sometimes he says things which he might perhaps regret later, and I do not know if this was one of his outbursts at the spur of the moment or a definite charge after thought. But even a thing like this said at the spur of the moment from a person in his position has implications of far-reaching character, and no Government, nor can this House treat this matter as a light utterance said at the spur of the moment. Sir, it is no matter of joy to me to refer to this, coming from an old colleague, but the House, I hope, will appreciate that to be charged with dishonourable motives and to be charged to be parties to "national humiliation" is something that is very painful. Individuals apart, there are people in this House, many of them, who have spent a good part of their lives in trying to uphold the honour and freedom of India, and if in the afternoon of their lives they are told that they have betrayed the honour of India and submitted to humiliation their country, which they sought to serve with such ability and strength as they had, then the matter goes beyond parliamentary debate into some other field.

It will hardly be suitable or fitting for me to stand up before this House and claim its indulgence for a defence of my motives or honour. After, broadly, 50 years of being connected in some form or other with India's service, if that kind of charge can be made, well, it is open to anyone to make it and it is open to anyone to believe it. I do not propose to say anything about it.

Now, Sir, it is said that I have been unfair to Parliament, that I did not say anything about this to the Rajya Sabha, I did not say anything about this invitation and this was not mentioned in the President's Address. First of all, may I say, as the House knows, that the President's Address is a statement of policy of the Government? It should be remembered, it is the Government that is responsible for it, and it is not right or proper for our respected President's name to be brought in debates like this. If the President's Address has anything wrong in it or objectionable in it, it is the Government to blame not the President, and it is open to hon. Members to criticise or condemn Government because there is some such statement in it which they disapprove of.

Surendranath Dwivedy: Nobody has criticised the President.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am venturing to say that it should be realised because—nobody has criticised the President, but the President's name is brought into the picture and, incidentally or accidentally, it becomes a subject of controversy—it is not right.

Secondly, Sir, I propose to give some dates, because it seemed to me that some people had in their mind that we have been juggling about with dates or with one occurrence following the other and trying to suppress the facts, sometimes in the Rajya Sabha debate or in the President's Address. Now, apart from what I am going to say, I hope the House realises that it would be extraordinarily folly for me to say something and to say something else a week later or five days later.

It is ridiculous. I could not consciously be guilty of it; of course I might make a mistake or something. I could not, according to all the canons of propriety and diplomatic procedure, say something in this House or the other or refer to it in the President's Address, when that matter has not borne fruit by delivery of a letter to the person to whom it was addressed. I could not do it. It is highly improper. I tried my very best to get these procedures through of sending a reply so that I should be in time to place those papers on the first day this House met, the Parliament met. Unfortunately, there were delays right through. A good part of the month of January we worked on the subject, and the result of our labours is embodied in the note that was presented to the Chinese Government earlier this month.⁸³ Many people were involved in these labours. The month of January is a very heavy month for us. In the middle of the month, there was the Congress Session and other things happened and then came the Republic Day celebrations and in the course of these Celebrations, eminent guests came here. There was Marshal Voroshilov; there was the Prime Minister of Nepal; there was, later of course, Mr. Khrushchev and then the Prime Minister of Finland. It was a very heavy month for us and I was very anxious to expedite this matter. It required a great deal of investigation—not to justify our claim to ourselves—but to state the facts in an organised way so as to bring conviction to any person who read them, and, we hope, even to the mind of the Chinese Government. The result of that was the note. That was considered. As Foreign Minister I had naturally to consider it on several occasions. Later, it was put up before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet which considered it at length on several occasions. Having considered and finalised that note, the question arose about the answer I should give because the Chinese note contained a repetition of the invitation to Premier Chou En-lai for us to meet. We gave thought to it and we came to the conclusion not to refer to it as such in that note because it was thought, after considering the whole case from our point of view, that a separate letter should be sent. Now all this was finalised—the note was finalised—round about 31st January and about the same time it was decided to have this letter sent. It was considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. I do not exactly know the date but it is immaterial. Within those two or three days all the papers were ready together. Naturally, they were parts of the same process of consideration and decisions and I sighed that letter on the 5th February. I was not going to sign the other paper because it was going to be signed by our Ambassador,⁸⁴ prior to delivery to the Chinese Government. We could of course have sent that note and letter by telegram but then we thought it better that the Ambassador should deliver it himself and therefore, the Ambassador had to take it from here. It was given to the

83. See Appendix 25.

84. G. Parthasarathi.

Ambassador and he ultimately took it and the matter was finished so far as I was concerned on the 5th of February. The Ambassador took it—I am not quite sure; I think he went for a brief visit to Madras for a day or so and he came back and took it—on the 8th and he left Delhi on the 9th and delivered this letter on the 12th in Peking—the note and the letter. Therefore, the note is dated the date of delivery although in actual fact this was a single transaction. In fact, the note preceded in a sense the letter. If you read that letter itself, you will see that it refers to the note which was going to accompany it. Now the letter is dated the 5th and the note the 12th because it was signed there but it emerged from here at the same time.

Some people imagine that this was some kind of a very deep diplomacy, good or bad, so as to arrange the dates in such manner, before Mr. Khrushchev's visit or overlapping it or something like that. I confess that I am not so clever in these matters. I was anxious that this should be, as I said, finished before Parliament met and I might place all these papers before this House and the other. But the decision that it should not be sent by telegram but rather the Ambassador should himself take it inevitably involved a few days' delay to reach there. This House met on the 8th February. That very morning our Ambassador took it from us and we gave him a few days to reach and he delivered it. The moment we knew he had delivered it—the Prime Minister of China was not available and it was as a

"Non - Alignment"



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 14 FEBRUARY 1960)

matter of fact delivered to the Foreign Minister because we did not wish to lose time—we placed it, on Monday next, before this House and the other.

I might mention another thing here. Mr. Khrushchev was coming here a little later; I think he arrived on the 11th of this month and my first talks with him were on the 12th. It had absolutely no relation to this matter of delivery or writing; it had been previously considered and settled. In the last few weeks we have had the privilege and honour of welcoming very distinguished and very important leaders, world leaders—President Eisenhower, Mr. Khrushchev, Marshal Voroshilov, Prime Minister of our neighbour country, Nepal, and the Prime Minister of Finland. All kinds of speculations appear in the newspapers as to what I discussed with President Eisenhower or later, with Mr. Khrushchev. Now obviously, I cannot, in answer to questions here or elsewhere, give out the content of confidential talks; it will be impossible for any talks to take place with other leaders if those talks were reported in this way, publicly. Nevertheless, I shall go some distance, to some extent, in telling the House about the approach I made to these talks, not the content of the talks.

For instance, I had many hours' talks with President Eisenhower and naturally we discussed a large number of questions beginning always with the world situation, the prospects of the summit meeting, disarmament, lessening of tension in the world and going on to individual areas of the world and discussing them. Fortunately for us, we have no problem with the United States to discuss; we have no problems with the Soviet Union to discuss—no controversies or problems. So we discussed broad issues.

(Mr. Speaker in the Chair)

I was asked the moment President Eisenhower went away. Did you ask him help for the Five Year Plan? These matters are being discussed by our representatives with the representatives of other countries and of the United States. They are more or less public matters. But so far as I am concerned, I thought it highly improper that I should embarrass our distinguished guest by asking him to do this or that for us. That is not my way of approaching these questions. And although some people did not perhaps believe it—it is a fact that we discussed everything including our Five Year Plans—I did not ask him precisely and definitely to come and help us. He knows exactly our needs. At that moment it was not the right thing for me to do. It is a minor matter because we have understood; he understood me and I understood him. I do not normally go about making demands, especially from distinguished guests who come here.

So also with Mr. Khrushchev. Our talks lasted—I do not know—for three or four hours or may be it was more than that; five hours altogether, and we discussed every subject within our ken. Again, we started all our talks always now-a-days with the summit, what is going to happen there, with disarmament, the prospects

of disarmament for the reduction of world tension, plus, both with President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev, the tremendous revolutionary upheavals happening in Africa, a most important thing in the world today, and with other world questions with which we are not directly related but we are related because they affect the world.

People thought no doubt that I would talk at length with Mr. Khrushchev about our troubles with China and that I would appeal to him or beg of him or request him to come to our help or bring pressure on China. I am rather surprised that people should think so. At any rate, that is not my idea of diplomacy or of treating a distinguished guest in this way. As a matter of world survey and our own problems, I did refer to our border troubles, with him, and very briefly in half a dozen sentences perhaps. I told him that this is our case; it is all for your information. Because I felt that not to refer to it was itself wrong when we were discussing our problems. But I did not ask him to do this or that for us; I did not ask him to bring pressures to bear. That, I thought was none of my business. It is for them to consider what they are going to do and how they are going to do it. There the matter ended. It was a brief talk on this subject, maybe lasting a few minutes.

The only thing that I can say about these talks is this. Whether it was President Eisenhower or whether it was Mr. Khrushchev, they were good enough to be exceedingly friendly to India, to us, and to our aims and objectives. That is all that I wanted and it would have been embarrassing for me,—and for the other party,—to try to put questions to either of them and demand an answer. That is not the way, I think, the right way, to behave.

So, this question of our answer to the Chinese Government had no relation to Mr. Khrushchev. It so happened that the answer had been sent three or four days before. Naturally the letter and the note had already gone, and it was delivered just about that time.

I should like to refer to another matter. In the course of the criticisms, some hon. Members referred, and referred repeatedly particularly to one item,—to the failure of our diplomats in China and the failure of our defence, not now, but in the last ten years. I would wish that our diplomatic personnel were not mentioned in this way in our debates. They cannot of course say anything nor indeed can we say very much or lay on the Table of the House as to what were the reports that they sent or not. It is not quite fair. I would however say this: that broadly speaking, persons in our diplomatic service, more especially our senior diplomats, have a very high position in the diplomatic world. They compare very favourably with their brother diplomats from other countries. They are respected everywhere and respected not merely because they convey messages from us—anybody can do it—but because they are men of worth, of understanding, understanding our point of view and understanding the other point of view, and they have done great service to us.

I would say this. So far as China is concerned, because we have always attached great importance to the relations of India and China, we have sent our senior most and best men there. It is a record of our highest class men going there. One of them who was there at the crucial moment of the change of Government there, with the success of the revolution, is now a Member of Parliament.⁸⁵ The ones who went before him or after, especially after, have been our senior and experienced diplomats,⁸⁶ and we are very grateful to them for the very fine work they have done in exceedingly difficult circumstances.

So far as our defence is concerned, that is a larger issue. But during this period of ten years or so, that have elapsed, the responsibility of defence for anything that has happened is of the smallest. In fact, it is not at all their responsibility. Whatever basic policies we have followed are the responsibilities of the Government, or, to limit them still further, they are the responsibilities of the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister; if you like, of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. But in the final analysis, certainly they are responsibilities of the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister. Therefore, while this House is completely justified in criticising the Foreign Minister on the ground of policy, I do not think it is quite fair to drag in others who had no responsibility and no immediate contact with that policy.

Now, one thing has surprised me; that in the course of this long debate, reference has been made so often to this letter of invitation. I do not remember—I may be wrong of course—any hon. Member referring to the long note which accompanied that letter. The note was, as I said, dated the 12th of February, and signed by the Ambassador on that date. The letter contains no policy. It is the note that contains the policy of the Government of India in regard to this affair. It is a long note which took weeks of consideration, hard thinking, revision, etc., and finalising. No reference was made to it. You talked about reversal of policy; you talked about national humiliation and all that. But the paper that contains that policy was not referred to at all in this House. It was a carefully drafted document and that has been set aside, and the mere fact taken that we have invited Premier Chou En-lai. It seems to be very odd. That letter was just a kind of addendum to the note. It is the note that contains the policy, that contains our clear enunciation of where the Government of India stands in this matter. Now, as nobody has referred to it, I presume....

Dr. Sushila Nayar.⁸⁷ No reference was made by the Opposition, but it was referred to by us.

85. Sardar K. M. Panikkar.

86. R. K. Nehru, 1955-58.

87. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jhansi, UP. See also p. 95, fn. 30.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry; I stand corrected.

Sucheta Kripalani:⁸⁸ If I may say so, even Shri Masani had a word of praise for it.

Surendranath Dwivedy: It was referred to generally, but there was no disagreement on the contents of that note.

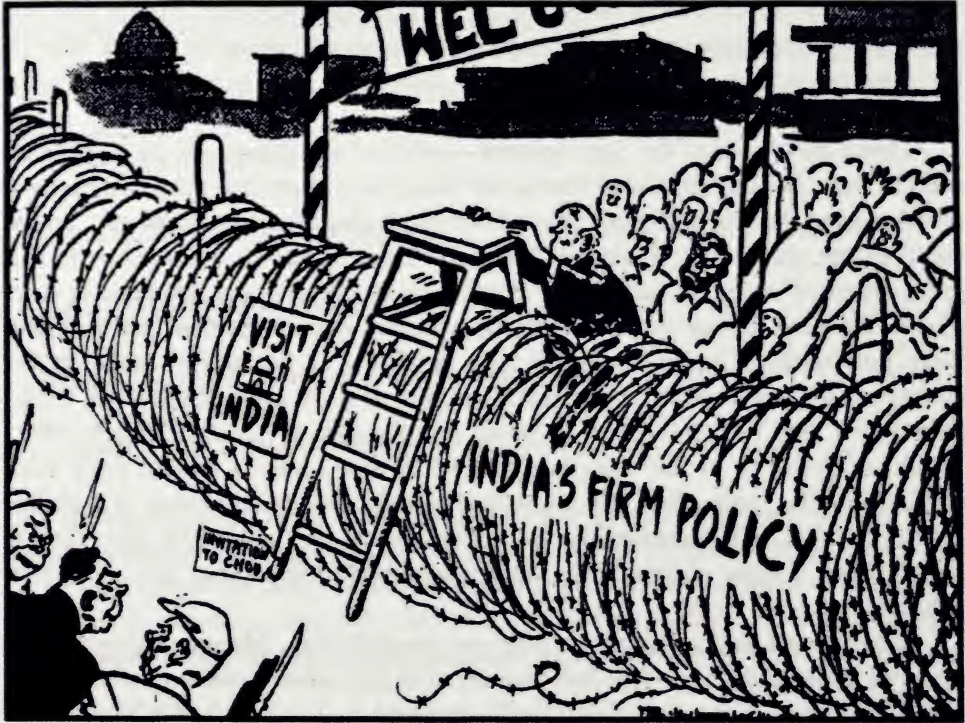
Braj Raj Singh: Because it was appreciated. (Interruption),

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry. My point is, when you talk about policy, so far as policy is concerned, it is contained in that note and note only. You may object to my invitation, if you like. That is a matter of opinion, but it has nothing to do with policy. They used big words—reversal of policy—and in big terms—what Shri Masani said, what Acharya Kripalani said and to some extent what Shri Asoka Mehta said and others said. Surely one should say whether one agrees with the policy laid down in the note or not. As I said, it may be a wrong step, in the opinion of some Members, that I invited the Chinese Premier, criticise it if you like, but that is not a step of policy. One must distinguish between these two things.

Now, I should like to refer to another matter. They have said that I have gone back on what I have said. I do not wish to weary the House by quoting what I have said previously on this occasion, but because this charge has been made so much I am compelled to do it. Broadly speaking, I have always said—not only about Premier Chou En-lai, but everybody—that I am always prepared to meet anybody, subject to convenience, subject to something; but I shall never say “no.” Of course, sometimes a meeting may be more desirable and sometimes less desirable, but I never say “no” to a meeting, because that is the training I have had throughout my lifetime.

I have always distinguished between adhering to a policy and refusing to deal with the opponent or the enemy. If I have faith in myself, my people and my policy, I can meet anybody and discuss it. It is only people who lack faith in themselves who dare not talk about something to somebody whom they dislike. Politics is not a matter of likes and dislikes: if you dislike somebody's face, you would not see him. We represent great countries. When one country is faced with conflict or possible conflict with another country, it is no good condemning this country or that country. A people and a country should never be condemned. I lay it down as a proposition. Its policy may go wrong; its Government may be opposed, but we should never condemn a whole people.

88. Congress, MP from New Delhi, Delhi.

FIRM BUT FLEXIBLE

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 18 FEBRUARY 1960)

Rajendra Singh:⁸⁹ Who has condemned? To whom are you referring?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is one of the basic things that I have learnt. We never—some people might have in the opposition benches—condemned the British people throughout our long struggle. We fought them—we did not condemn them—and we made friends with them when the time came.

I have proceeded on this basis always and more especially in this particular case of India and China, which raises world issues of enormous significance, two mighty countries in Asia facing each other in conflict with each other, having this tremendous dispute which, as I said previously, may not be a matter of weeks or months, but may be a matter of years and generations, if necessary. These are big things, because neither China can put us down nor can we put down China. It is patent. If that is so, one has to proceed thinking, not of short exhibitions of temper, but on the long-term basis, how we are to maintain our

89. PSP, MP from Chapra, Bihar.

honour, dignity, integrity and everything that counts for us, and yet always, keep the door open for some way out of this conflict. It may take years before you can pass through that door or anybody else can, but it should never be closed. That is my experience from such history as I have learnt and such experience as I have gathered.

I have met many of the great leaders—political and other—of the world and tried to learn from them, I have read some books also about this subject and most of all, during the last half a century, I have lived through historic epochs. To no small extent, many hon. Members here and I have ourselves been actors in the great drama of India. So, with such experience as we have got, we have to face issues. We have to face an issue today of a greater magnitude than any we have faced previously. It is not casual talk I am indulging in, because as I said, in the context of history, two of the biggest countries of Asia and of the world, I say, have come face to face with each other, angrily face to face with each other. What are going to be the consequences? I do not know. I cannot peep into history, into the future. But I do know that when such a thing occurs, it requires all the wisdom, all the strength and perseverance of a nation to face such a contingency. I have pleaded for that wisdom and at the same time, tact and patience.

What have I said about this matter previously? Hon. Members quoting my previous statements, have said that I would meet him when a meeting would bear fruit. Even there, I never denied that I will not meet him. I said on the 5th November:

“This business of meeting. My general approach, our general approach, again if I may refer to my dim and distant Gandhian past, is always to meet, always to discuss, to avoid strong language, but to be prepared always for strong action in so far as one can be prepared, and above all avoid, getting excited and afraid.”⁹⁰ With all respect, I would venture to present these sentiments of mine to some hon. Members opposite.

Then, on the 16th November, I wrote to Premier Chou En-lai:

“I am always ready to meet and discuss with Your Excellency the outstanding differences between our countries and explore avenues of friendly settlement. . . It is necessary, therefore, that some preliminary steps are taken and the foundation for our discussions laid.”⁹¹

On that very day, 16th November, I spoke in the Lok Sabha as follows: “Premier Chou En-lai also suggested in his letter that the Prime Ministers might hold talks in the immediate future to discuss the boundary question and other outstanding issues between the two countries. I have always expressed my willingness to discuss any matter in dispute. But, if such a meeting is to bear

90. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 227.

91. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 47-51. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

fruit, as we want it to, we should first concentrate our immediate efforts at reaching an interim understanding, as suggested.”

So, I should like the House to observe that at no time have I said that I will not meet. It always depends on certain circumstances, in a changing situation. (Interruptions)

Rajendra Singh rose—

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not prepared to give in. Allow me to proceed.

An Hon. Member: Sit down!

Rajendra Singh: Look at the behaviour of some hon.Members!

Speaker: The hon. Member will resume his seat.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have listened to strong language from the opposite side, objectionable language and unparliamentary language, if I may say so, and I would beg of them now to listen to some parliamentary language. (Interruptions)

Hem Barua: When he says there has been strong language from the opposition, it means that there was first strong language from the other side.

Speaker: The proceedings will show where strong language has been used.

Jawaharlal Nehru: On the 27th November, I said in the Lok Sabha:

“It is true that, much as one might desire a meeting, that meeting itself, unless it is held under proper circumstances or a proper atmosphere, with some kind of background and preparation, may lead to nothing. It may fail; it may do harm. It is a matter of judgment. It is true that any such meeting which has the faintest resemblance to carrying out the behests of another party is absolutely wrong. I do not wish to delay anything. I am not trying to escape from the very idea of a meeting. I want it. I welcome it as early as possible, but there must be some preparation, some ground for it.”⁹²

In the Rajya Sabha, I said on the 22nd December:

“The point that is brought out throughout that letter (the letter of Premier Chou En-lai) is a strong desire to meet. So far as I am concerned, whenever the time comes, whenever it is suitable, I shall avail myself of that opportunity, because the issues are too serious for any other course to be adopted.”⁹³

92. See SWJN/SS/54/p. 539.

93. See SWJN/SS/55/p. 354.

In my reply to Premier Chou En-lai on the 21st December,⁹⁴ I said:

"I am always ready to meet and discuss with your Excellency the outstanding differences between our countries and explore the avenues of settlement. How can we, Mr. Prime Minister, reach an agreement on principles when there is such complete disagreement about the facts? I would, therefore, prefer to wait for your promised reply to my letter of September 26 and our note of November, before we discuss what should be the next step. I wish to add that it is entirely impossible for me to proceed to Rangoon or any other place within the next few days."

Then, at a Press Conference, on the 8th January a question was asked of me:⁹⁵

"Do you project a meeting between yourself and Chou En-lai at some date near enough?"

The answer was:

"I am not projecting the meeting at present, but I cannot rule it out. It depends on circumstances because, as I said, we do not, I hope, act in terms of closing any doors which would help. I don't rule it out at all but, at the present moment, that is not in view."

That is to say, the meeting. I was asked further about the conditions for a meeting. My reply was:

"I don't think it will be proper for me to lay down conditions 1, 2, 3 and 4, this must be done, this kind of thing. When two countries take up those rigid attitudes, then any question of considering a matter becomes difficult. All kinds of things happen. National prestige is involved, apart from other things."

Finally, a straight question:

"Does it follow that you would be prepared to meet Mr. Chou En-lai unconditionally?"

My answer:

"It means, first of all, that I am prepared to meet anybody in the wide world. There is nobody whom I am not prepared to meet. That is number one. The second is, one wants to meet people when one thinks that the meeting will produce results, good results, and not bad results. These are the two main considerations. One does not rush to a meeting simply because a meeting is talked about. A meeting may be mistimed, misjudged and, therefore, produce bad results. On the other hand, if there is any chance of a good result, a meeting should be agreed to.

So, it is difficult for me to say precisely when, where and under what conditions, a meeting might take place, but I cannot rule it out."

94. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 58-59. Also available in SWJN/SS/55/pp. 321-323.

95. See SWJN/SS/56/item 6.

Here is a series of quotations from what I have said in the Lok Sabha, in the Rajya Sabha and in the press conference, and you will see the same stream of thought running in my mind—never refuse the meeting and try to get the meeting in the best of circumstances, as good circumstances as possible, and consider from time to time whether it is more desirable or less desirable.

When Premier Chou En-lai invited me to meet him within a week or so at Rangoon, apart from the physical difficulty of my going to Rangoon, I reacted against this proposal—I did not like it—for a variety of reasons. I did not quite see why I should go to Rangoon or anywhere else for that meeting but, above all, I did not like this, well, shall I say, “come next week” business; and above all, the invitation to the meeting was contained in a document, in a letter which laid down the Chinese view-point, and it wanted some principles, etc., settled so as to meet to discuss some principles. Now, if I had accepted that meeting, it would not have committed me, of course, to anything, but the background was the Chinese letter to me. That would have been the background, although I was not committed to it. I wanted to clear that up. I was not going to him with that document, because I did not agree with that document, and I wanted to wait as I have said, for a subsequent longer letter in reply to my letter of September 24th. That is why I said “I shall consider this question later.” So, when the letter and other papers came and we considered this and we drafted a reply to be sent, we felt—I felt and my colleagues in the Cabinet Committee felt—that since we have discussed this for a considerable time, it would be desirable in the balance to propose a meeting in India between Premier Chou En-lai and myself. Now, my letter to him does not commit him to anything, that is our case, just as his letter has not committed me. But it does make a difference on the basis “after this letter we meet,” a considerable difference, to my meeting after his letter.

Hem Barua: Where is the difference in facts?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Hon Members opposite, well, I do not challenge their greater wisdom in these matters. ...

Hem Barua: I am not referring to our wisdom. I want to make one submission. Whatever the Prime Minister has read, is that a vindication of the criticism levelled by the Opposition? We said that no purpose would be served by a meeting to discuss the principles unless and until differences on facts are resolved. Till then we should not meet. Where are the differences on facts; we wanted to know that. We did not say that he should not meet Premier Chou; but, at the same time, facts are there to be resolved.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am very sorry that my reading out all this has not been completely absorbed by the hon. Member's mind yet. That is my difficulty. My

difficulty is, and I am quite frank with you, that there are certain vested interests opposing any settlement between India and China. I am quite frank. (Interruptions)

Rajendra Singh: I condemn it.

Hem Barua: Where is the question of vested interest...(Interruptions)

Goray: The only vested interest is our love for this country. There is no other vested interest.

Tyagi: It is a political interest.

Jawaharlal Nehru: By vested interest. I mean mental, psychological interest, and not vested interest....

Hem Barua: The Prime Minister has failed to clarify this issue. Whenever he accuses our wisdom or our intellect, we have not yet submitted to that accusation. He failed to make the issue clear before us.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Am I, Sir, as I have done in fact, meekly [sic] to its ten to charges of dishonour and unfairness?

Some Hon. Members: Shame, shame. (Interruptions)

Jawaharlal Nehru: Is it the idea of the opposition that I should patiently listen when they say that I am bringing about national humiliation? I would rather be unwise than be a traitor to this country. These are charges brought against me and if I speak calmly on this subject in this House, it does not mean that I do not feel strongly about this subject. I honour this House and its conventions; therefore, I speak calmly. I am angry at the kind of things that have been said in this House, not only angry at what has been said from the other side but from this side too. I think it is unbecoming.

Rajendra Singh: You concede that now.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let him go on.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am endeavouring to reply....

Rajendra Singh: We concede that you are the first patriot in the country. We do not challenge your patriotism.

An Hon. Member: Order, order.

Hem Barua: Why should they say "Order, order"?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not interrupt a single Member when he spoke, except....(Interruptions) I cannot understand why Hon. Members cannot listen patiently when they do not like something.

Speaker: I have always said that the Hon. Minister must be allowed to go on, and if they have any serious points of doubt, at the end of the speech, if I consider that any clarification is necessary, I shall allow one or two questions.

Hem Barua rose—

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of any clarification. I am not giving in to anybody. Sir, I appeal to you, if I do not give in, can another Hon. Member get up and go on interrupting me?

Speaker: No.

Jawaharlal Nehru: For six days or five days I have listened to this debate, and except once....

Speaker: I can only say this much. No side should cast aspersions on the honesty or the motives of the other side. All of us are engaged in the common endeavour to see that this matter is amicably settled.

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I enquire, when we are called dishonourable persons, when we are said to betray the country, is that an aspersion or not?

Speaker: It is.

Hem Barua: I did not dispute the honesty....

Speaker: Order, order, I am anxious that neither side need attribute motives to the other side. The doubt is as to what are the changed circumstances which have necessitated such a kind of policy of requesting that he may come here. That is a legitimate ground and the hon. Minister may explain it. Beyond that, to say that the hon. Minister has let down the country, or done something else, or attributing motives is not right, nor is it necessary for this side to say that others have a vested interest.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What I said was this. I should like to explain myself. Some hon. Members—I am not referring to all hon. Members of the opposition, but certainly some individuals here—are so passionately committed to the cold war attitude. That is what I call a vested interest, that is, this cold war attitude of Shri Masani, for instance, Shri Masani and I, I regret to say, are farther removed than any two human-beings can be, in thought, Shri Masani dislikes any kind of a step taken by any country, not by India alone, which might reduce tension. You see it is a basic attitude. While I proceed with this, I will say this. It is not a question of vested interest of property and money but of mental commitment to certain ideologies. Now, for instance, take another vested interest of the other kind, that is, of the Communist Party.... (Interruption)

Braj Raj Singh: Poor fellows!

Jawaharlal Nehru: They quite fail to understand a national movement, a national feeling, a national upsurge in the country....(Interruption). Here are two. (Interruption). That is what I meant. This cold war attitude, I think, not only now but always is a wrong attitude.

Ranga:⁹⁶ Attitudes are common to all....(Interruption).

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am making a general statement that the cold war approach is always and, I say, inevitably a wrong approach whatever happens. That does not mean weakening in meeting an opponent or an enemy. Of course, not. But that mental attitude towards cold war is the one basic lesson that I, and I hope others, learnt from Gandhiji. I do not mean to say that I have acted up to that lesson always. That is my feeling. I lose my temper and do all kinds of things.

Ranga: We are all comrades in the same way.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But I do believe that that is a right attitude when dealing with individuals, groups or nations. More particularly when you have to deal with the conflicts of big nations that attitude has very far-reaching consequences. When you have to think of that in the context of the world today you have to be very careful. Any man with the least sense of responsibility should realise this attitude, which increases tension, bitterness and hatred, is not a good attitude. It may end ultimately in the destruction of the world and so on. So, I was venturing to say that this mental attitude is wrong. It may be honestly held. I do not say that

96. Congress, MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

people who indulge in cold war are dishonest. But it is an attitude which comes in the way, apart from its being basically wrong, because the cold war is based on violence and hatred. The hatred may be justified in the sense that the other party may be wrong. But nevertheless it is a wrong attitude.

Secondly, apart from being a wrong attitude, it closes one's mind and prevents considering a changing situation as it changes. We have got a fixed mind which was fixed, let us say five or ten years ago. The situation may change but we apply the same canons of interpretation to it. So, I would venture to say that in regard to these border issues if this House approves of the note that we have sent that is the policy. That is the policy note. I take it, if I understand it, that people so approve it. I am not quite sure of hon. Members of the Communist Party as to whether they approve it or not. I do not know because their approach is somewhat different. But there it is.

The Communist Party has been carrying on a big propaganda that the two Prime Ministers must meet. If there is anything which would prevent any meeting it is that propaganda of theirs so far as I am concerned because it is obvious that their objective in their propaganda is something entirely different from my proposal. There are trying to hide, if I may use the word without disrespect, their opinions and feelings on this subject, not to express them clearly enough—some of them, not all—by shouting, "Let the two Prime Ministers meet." Then they need not say anything about the question. But it is not on that basis or on that argument that I have proceeded. After all, I have to explain.

I do not know if this meeting will take place. I hope it will. But anyhow I thought it my duty and in the Committee my colleagues thought it our duty to take this step. We took it after full consideration of its consequences. Then if we took that step people objected to it saying, "What? You say that he will be our honoured guest." What else, may I ask? How else can we treat anybody whom we invite to this country? How else? Here again comes that cold war mentality of hatred. No reason, no logic, no graciousness and things are said here which, if I may say so, bring little credit to India. It brings little credit to India to say these things, which could be repeated, about the leaders of great nations with whom we may be in conflict. How do we speak of those leaders?

May I say what I have just now said, that we must never speak ill of a whole people. So also, we must not speak ill of the leaders who represent those people. For the moment they are not individuals. They represent those people. I may be a person with many failings and you may condemn me. You may do many things. But I feel sure that even those who have not a particular soft corner for me will resent if any outsider insulted me, the Prime Minister of India, because then I become a symbol of this Parliament of India apart from my failing. So, others are also symbols and something should not be said which bars any consideration of any problem, which closes people's mind and which brings in too much passion and anger. That is all that I have to submit. That does not mean our not criticising

the policy of another Government or opposing it or fighting it.

I think it was Shri Masani and perhaps some other hon. Members too who talked about forming a bloc of South Eastern Asian countries, of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and India. I do not know if this is some kind of revival of the old idea of a third force.

Braj Raj Singh: That is not.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is not,

Brai Raj Singh: Can't be.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whatever it may be, I should like the House to consider that this kind of thing means nothing at all. First of all, I am happy to say, we are in the closest friendly relations with these countries with Nepal, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon etc. This kind of reference to other countries in this fashion is often found rather irritating by those countries as if we want to dragoon them into something. They do not like it. They are independent countries, very friendly to us often with common interests. But the moment any element comes in "Oh! they want to exercise some pressure on us Oh! they are in trouble; they want our help"—whatever it may—there is this element of making them do something which they may not like to do. That is never a right approach to any country, if I know anything about relations between two countries. There are all kinds of pressures—pressures on all countries, on our country, on their countries. To imagine that they would yield to some pressure, is not correct. They have to judge according to their situations, internal and external politics. The main thing that we aim at is friendly relations, cooperative relations and I am glad that we have got them.

I do not wish to say much regarding defence, that is, the border question. We have already informed the House that we have to adopt in regard to defence not only a short view, the immediate dangers, to protect ourselves, but the long view also. We cannot exhaust our energy, our strength, in some short view and have nothing left for the long view. So, both views have to be taken, and undoubtedly they involve burdens on us, and I am sure the House will agree to our carrying those burdens because, after all, the basic policy of every country, the basic foreign policy of every country is to protect itself; other policies come later. I have talked about various approaches to foreign policy, but the basic approach of foreign policy is always to guard the interests of the country, other things follow it. Of course, we want to guard those interests, not in a narrow way, not in that type of ultra-nationalist way which does not look at the world, but we want that to fit in with world developments and world peace and all that; and in fact, in the long run it is those world interests that also come to our help.

So, looking at defence from this point of view, it is not for me to tell you, and I cannot tell you, what exact steps we take on our borders, because that kind of thing is not said in the public, but we are taking all the necessary steps available to us on our borders. We are trying to build roads, airports etc., whatever it may be.

I think it was Shri Bhakt Darshan⁹⁷ who again repeated this business of foreign aircraft flying over our territory. I believe he said that some ex-servicemen, ex-soldiers had told him so. Now, I can assure him that our Air Force is very vigilant in this matter, and our Air Force has assured us that no such thing has happened. Apart from the fact that our own aircraft are flying frequently there—it is very difficult for an average man to distinguish aircraft at 30,000 feet; no doubt, it is 30 to 40 thousand feet—apart from that, this is a route by which the Soviet service flies to India twice or three times a week, I forget how often—the TU 104—and they see the strange thing coming. Apart from that, when Mr. Voroshilov and Mr. Khrushchev came here, there were so many flights in that connection to bring them, their parties, to bring things for them, take back things, constant flights, and therefore they probably mistook this for some kind of foreign, enemy aircraft which was intruding on our air space.

I need not say much about the situation in the Naga Hills Tuensang Division. I think that certainly it is infinitely better than it has been in the past. Nevertheless, it is true that sporadic troubles take place and it is exceedingly difficult to put an end to them. But the major improvement there is not more or less of this kind of sporadic trouble, but a change, I think, in the mind of the Naga people, which is the real, basic, helpful thing that is happening, and I hope that will bear fruit.

Now, I should like this House to consider our problems in that larger context of the world. We can never forget the world, we are too closely knit to it to separate ourselves, and in the world today the major thing that is happening is this approach of the leaders of rival countries trying to find a way out, trying to go ahead with disarmament and solve or lessen the tension which exists. This is of tremendous significance because, if this is not done and if the world continues in any other way, then all our problems will be solved by vast destruction which is not the destruction of war, but practically, if these atomic and nuclear weapons are used, a curse on the world from which it cannot recover even—this atomic radiation spreading out and creeping everywhere. Therefore, these are of the utmost importance, and therefore we should endeavour in our own way to help. We cannot do very much, we are not among the World Powers in the sense of military prowess or financial prowess; nevertheless it so happens that we have gained some prestige in the world as a people, as a country which is devoted to peace, and that is one reason also why the problems affect us, whether they are

97. Congress, MP from Garhwal, UP.

of Pakistan, or whether they are of China.. We have to face these problems bravely, we have to face them with strength, not giving in, not surrendering, but we have always to remember that our language and approach fits in with the temper of the world which aims towards peace today. So, we have today to look at it in this big way.

One of the big things that is happening today in the world, one of the very big things, is the revolutionary ferment in Africa. Recently we had this French Atomic test in the Sahara. Well, it is a deplorable thing, I think, deplorable by itself, deplorable because it begins another series of atomic tests and we must regret it, and we have tried our best, and the United Nations, indeed, have expressed themselves previously against it. But far bigger than this French atomic test in Africa is what the people of Africa are doing today, rising up, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly if you like, but nevertheless in a state of tremendous upheaval. That is what is happening, and it is obvious that so far as we are concerned, our hearts and our good wishes must go out to them in this tremendous upheaval.

In this connection, all kinds of new problems will arise in Africa affecting the world. One of the biggest problems has been the racial problem. The House knows how the South African Union Government has fixed its policy on the basis of racial discrimination and a master race and apartheid etc. We have suffered, the people of Indian descent have suffered from it, but far more the Africans have suffered from it. Now, what is going to happen in Africa when the greater part of Africa consists of independent nations standing on their dignity, not accepting in the slightest degree any kind of racial discrimination, well, the future will show. But obviously, things will not remain as they are today.

In this connection, may I say that I welcome the recent statement made by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Macmillan,⁹⁸ addressing the two Houses of Parliament in Cape Town. It was, in so far as policy is concerned about racial discrimination, a clear and forthright statement. Naturally we feel strongly about this, and I earnestly hope that what Mr. Macmillan has said will be the firm policy in all the countries over which Britain holds sway.

I would wish that some of the leaders of the African people who are in detention or in prison, leaders of note, leaders of influence without whom no settlement can be made, are released, because unless they are released there can be no settlement of these problems.

Then I would say just a word about Goa. The first thing is that I should like to assure the House, because there appears to be some misapprehension, that we are going to take no steps which in any sense might prejudice the liberation of the Goan people. We have been, to some extent, rather restrained from taking any further steps, because we have been waiting, to some extent, for the decision of the World Court. The problem before the World Court has nothing to do directly

98. Harold Macmillan. He addressed both Houses of Parliament on 3 February 1960.

with Goa; it has to do with Nager Haveli. Nevertheless, it has been a restraining factor in our consideration of this important problem. That decision, I hope, will come within a month or so.

Another subject which has been dealt with at some length in the debate, or at any rate, referred to repeatedly, was the question of corruption. Now, if you deal with the question of corruption, there can be no two views about it, that every possible and feasible method should be employed to deal with it, to suppress it and to put an end to it.

Shri Asoka Mehta seemed to imply that I denied that there was corruption. Of course, he has got a very wrong impression. What I have said repeatedly is that while there is a good deal of corruption in our administrative services and elsewhere, I do think that the references made to it give it greater importance, that is, it appears by these references to be more widespread than actually it is. I certainly think that in the higher services the standards are fairly high. I do not deny that cases occur. In fact...

Braj Raj Singh: Not very high.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In fact, since we established a Special Police Establishment to deal with this matter, they have had a good deal of success in this. I do not know if hon. Members pay much attention to monthly hand-outs that are put in the Parliament Library from the Special Police Establishment as well as annual reports. Anyhow, a new annual report will be coming out, I think, in a month or so.

Rajendra Singh: I submit that the integrity of the Police Department, however high it may be, is not above suspicion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member may also suspect sometimes the judiciary. I am not saying that only the police should deal with it, but it is the police that start cases, our Intelligence Departments. If they are not good, change them. But you cannot deal with them in an ad hoc way.

Anyhow, I should like to give some brief report. I am placing a note on the Table of the House, a note called Review of the Work done during the year 1959' by the Special Police Establishment. ["Placed in Library. See No. LT-1919/60"].

The number of cases relating to bribery, corruption etc. was 917 in 1959, including pending cases from the year before. 1671 cases were investigated during 1959. Of these, 264 were sent for trial, 501 were reported for departmental action, and 101 were dropped for want of proof. Of the cases sent to trial, 190 resulted in conviction of the 363 sent for departmental proceedings, 325 resulted in punishment, 1164 public servants, including 207 gazetted officers were involved in the new cases of 1959. 118 Government servants were convicted in courts, including 10 gazetted officers. Among private persons convicted, as the House

well knows, were Ramkrishna Dalmia⁹⁹ and Haridas Mundhra. Monthly press releases are being issued about the work of the Special Police Establishment, and copies of these are sent to the Library of Parliament. I shall place a note on this.

The question that was really arising is about the proposal to have a tribunal, standing independent tribunal. I have ventured to say in the other House and here too in answer to questions that I do not think this is desirable or feasible. Some very eminent people with high qualifications, judicial and other, have also advised me that this is not a feasible proposition even under the Constitution of India. Apart from the constitutional difficulty, I cannot understand—there may be other ways—how this particular proposal can be said to be a helpful one. I think that if a tribunal sits down and invites applications from all over, then complaints will simply paralyse the administration, and there will be hardly any work done, and all the mind of the country and everything will be involved in these arguments, charges and counter-charges. So, I cannot understand that particular proposal. I can, of course, understand, any specific charge which has been made being investigated by any suitable tribunal, whatever it may. That is a right thing.

You have, at the present moment, a certain apparatus, whatever it may be, police etc., the law and so on. Anybody can take a person to a court for it, although I must confess that that apparatus is a slow-moving one. We want to expedite it. We want your help, your suggestions to do it. If any other proposal is there for us to consider, let us consider it. But one thing I cannot understand is this. A specific proposal, a specific charge, can be investigated. But one cannot investigate charges which are not charges but just vague declamations.

I remember, I hope I am right, that my hon. friend Shri Tyagi many years ago talked about corruption and my old colleague Shri C. D. Deshmukh replied to it saying it is no good making these vague charges, bring the specific instance, and I shall enquire.

Tyagi: I was on these benches then, not a Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Naturally, if he had been a Minister, he would not have said that. But there it is. Wherever it is, one can enquire into charges that are made. There are procedures. This Government, and this House, in fact, have taken action in regard to enquiries about big action, in the past, involving some of the most important persons in the land.

Braj Raj Singh: Certain charges have been made during the course of the debate. Is the Prime Minister prepared to constitute some sort of tribunal for enquiring into those charges?

99. Founder of Dalmia-Jain Group of Industries.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am glad the hon. Member has reminded me of what he said, I remember he referred to the U.P. Minister, and a contract being given to his son.¹⁰⁰ Is that the case?

Braj Raj Singh: Of course. I was not allowed to name the Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I had forgotten about that matter. So, I am grateful to my hon. friend. When this matter was raised, as is usually done by me. I immediately wrote to the Chief Minister and to the Minister concerned and others. While we were enquiring into this matter, which enquiry I continued, a case for libel or a kind of defamation was started against the persons who made the charges. Those cases are still going on. This matter was also referred. I think, to the Election Commissioner, in a slightly different context. That is also going on. However, I proceeded with my own way of enquiry. Whether it is satisfactory or not, it is for the House to judge. I did not wish to interfere when the case was going on in the law courts, but I got all the charges, with such evidence as could be stated by those who made the charges; I had answers to these charges; I did not look into them; I did not think myself competent to do so. Having got all that, I sent them to the Law Minister, and the Law Minister examined them very thoroughly and wrote a long note on it which I sent to the Chief Minister; and it was shown to the people who made the charges; it was shown to the Governor. I was in a difficulty. I could not publish it because the case was going on. That is my difficulty. And it is still going on. But, in that particular note, I must say, since I am asked, although I do not wish to come in the way of the law.....

Dr. Sushila Nayar: It would not be right for the Prime Minister to express an opinion when the cases are sub judice.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am inhibited from saying it.

Speaker: He need not give us the benefit of his conclusions at this stage.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that I sent all this....

Easwara Iyer:¹⁰¹ On a point of order. It would be unfair for the Prime Minister to say anything about a matter which is pending in the court. If he says that there is nothing in the charge, then the court may be influenced.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That has been my difficulty during all these months. Otherwise, I would have said many things, but I am merely saying this.

100. See item 29.

101. Independent, MP from Trivandrum, Kerala.

Ram Krishan Gupta:¹⁰² May I know whether any such case has been received from the Punjab?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have received. In the past year or two, quite a number of things have come and they have been examined and reports have been issued. It is true one or two cases have come fairly recently—by 'recently', I mean in the last few weeks—and they are being dealt with now.

Tyagi: I wonder if the Prime Minister has the authority to investigate cases which are forwarded to him by private persons about Ministers in the States. It is only a private matter.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a question of legal authority. My investigations only go to the extent: is there a *prima facie* case to be dealt with or otherwise I cannot go beyond that? I cannot punish a person.

Speaker: I may say at once that it is the responsibility of the Centre to constantly watch—not to interfere—the manner in which the constitutional machinery works in the States.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

The other day a leader of the Swatantra Party, Shri V. P. Menon, said that he knew of partiality and impropriety occurring in the case of Congress Ministers. Whenever I see any such thing, I write to the party concerned: "Give me some information". Immediately I had a letter sent to Shri V. P. Menon to enquire what this was about. He did send a reply which was not very helpful. He said, "I would like to look at the files etc." As it is, he is prepared to make a statement without looking at the papers! However, I have inquired into this matter. This matter is twelve years old—the matter to which he referred—that is, 1948. It was a matter connected with his own Ministry, of which he was Secretary¹⁰³ and Sardar Patel was the Minister. I think it referred to some Ministers of the old Madhya Bharat Government and Vindhya Pradesh Government. I won't go into details. But we inquired into it. We decided to start prosecutions; in fact, I am not quite sure if they were not started. The matter was then considered fully. I think it was referred to the Solicitor-General and the Attorney-General. It was considered by Sardar Patel, of course, and Shri Rajagopalachari.¹⁰⁴ They both sent up a note to me, a

102. Congress, MP from Mahendragarh, Punjab.

103. Secretary and for some time Adviser, to the Government of India, Ministry of States, 1947-51.

104. C. Rajagopalachari.

final note, saying "we considered fully these cases; there is no substance in them. This was the report of the Attorney-General too, and they should not be proceeded with". I accepted their advice, the advice of senior colleagues and the Attorney-General. What could I do? They were all rather petty cases, petty in the sense that there was some confusion about travelling allowance etc. They were withdrawn.

Another case was about a gentleman of the name of Sardar Narmada Prasad Singh. He was later involved in a much bigger case about insurance scandals and he absconded, and remained absconding for a long time. Then he was apprehended and he spent some time in prison.

I mention this, that here after twelve years Shri V. P. Menon makes a statement.....

Dr. Sushila Nayar: The gentleman concerned in the case was in the PSP at that time.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Maybe. It does not matter.

Here Shri V. P. Menon, a prominent member of the Swatantra Party, throws out this charge of how Ministers have been misbehaving and committing improprieties. And when we go into this matter, we find it was a matter of twelve years ago when Shri V. P. Menon was Secretary of that Ministry, Sardar Patel was there, Shri Rajagopalachari was consulted, so was the Attorney-General, and a certain action was taken. It does seem to be rather unfair that these charges should be bandied about—thrown about—in this way.

I have taken a lot of time, but there is just one major matter about which I should like to say something, that is, planning. Shri Asoka Mehta said that the President's Address had given no indication about the outline of the Third Plan and when it would be available to the House. The National Development Council meeting is going to take place on the 19th and 20th of March. It is hoped that before the end of April, the Planning Commission will publish a Draft Outline of the Third Plan for consideration by Parliament. Meanwhile, as the House knows, there is an Informal Committee of Members of Parliament of all Parties which meets sometimes to consider the Third Plan. The tentative approaches to the Third Plan—I would repeat they are tentative; some of this information has appeared in the Press; I am repeating it more authoritatively—the tentative approaches of the Third Plan are (1) increase in national income of at least 5 per cent, per annum; (2) total investment of Rs. 9,950 crores; (3) in the public sector, investment of about Rs. 5,950 crores, with a total developmental outlay of Rs. 7,000 crores. The latter figure compares with Rs. 4,800 crores of the Second Plan as originally drawn up. In the private sector, including agriculture, small industry, housing as well as organised industry—investment of about Rs. 4,000 crores. This compares with the present estimate for the Second Plan of Rs. 3,300 crores.

At this stage, the plan for industry is being drawn up from the point of view of the economy as a whole, not public sector-private sector. What we require are physical targets. Distribution as between public and private sector would come later, keeping in view naturally the broad policies of Government in regard to such matters. Our approach broadly is that there is a broad policy, but then there is a pragmatic approach. We want to do the job and the sooner we do it the better, keeping in view that broad policy. Now Government are considering the lines along which the general public should be given an opportunity to contribute to a limited extent to the capital of State enterprises in industry and allied fields.

It is obvious that this requires a very great effort, and I repeat something the Planning Commission has said—it is so obvious, but still I repeat it because it is important—namely, the following conditions have to be fulfilled: (1) increase in agricultural production, (2) all public enterprises being carried out with economy and efficiency, yielding the maximum returns feasible, (3) in construction programmes, the cost being kept to the minimum, (4) administrative efficiency and speed, and (5) maintenance of prices at reasonable levels.

Now, Sir, I really am ashamed to take up so much time of the House, but they will bear with me for a little while more. We have come up against problems in a particular context for which there is no parallel. There is a parallel of industrial development, there is a parallel of planning in the Communist countries, but there is no parallel of this kind, of combination, of a measure of planning with this apparatus. That creates certain difficulties, in the highly developed countries, it was institutional reforms leading to the Welfare State, including a system of progressive taxation which was able to defeat growth of inequality, because normally when industrialisation takes place, if it is left unimpeded and unchecked, it leads to greater inequality. The rich become richer, the poor may not become poorer, but the gap widens.

I am saying this because, it is very obvious, in this House some persons quite unconnected with modern thought and modern conditions talk about *laissez faire* and going back to an economy where there is no kind of planning or control. As I said, in those western countries and highly developed countries—I mean “western” or anywhere—there were institutional reforms leading to the Welfare State, these including a system of progressively high taxation, because, otherwise, without these checks the inequalities would have increased. The pressures from trade unions and this and that are supposed to keep down these. Otherwise, the contrast between riches and poverty would have grown. That is why we are compelled. If we leave things to chance, we would grow industrially in a sense; but we would grow at the expense of the gap between the rich and the poor widening and not lessening. Therefore, come in the various types of institutional changes and controls.

Of course, in a nation we can control whatever the difficulties. But in the international sphere, I am talking about economy in the international sphere—

obviously, there is no controlling authority and so international inequalities are growing. In spite of our efforts, rich countries are getting richer and richer and poor countries are making much slower progress.

In the communist countries, the main thing we have seen is the relentless and cruel mobilisation of man-power. They mobilise their people and achieve results undoubtedly. We do not wish to do that. But, now the question before us is nevertheless the mobilisation of man-power not to that extent but to a considerable extent.

In the course of this debate, reference was made by some hon. Members to the speech delivered by the Governor of the Reserve Bank.¹⁰⁵ I think the question the Governor raised is an important question and we have to bear that in mind because this spiral of wages and prices, etc. is a dangerous thing for us to get into. Not only our Plans are affected but there can be practically no planning at all. We can only deal with these matters by evolving social policies, not by leaving things to chance, by evolving social policies aiming at desired ends. That is planning. The free market that is talked about by Shri Masani and his colleagues and laissez faire are just primitive ways of dealing with complicated situations.

Just a word. I think Shri Braj Raj Singh referred to the Nalagarh Committee Report and....

Some Hon. Members: A. P. Jain.

Braj Raj Singh: Myself.

Jawaharlal Nehru: anyhow I should like to assure him that I am informed by the Planning Commission that it has been accepted broadly and it has been included in the next year's programme, I do not know how far in detail.

I think Shri Asoka Mehta referred to an article by Mr. Lippmann,¹⁰⁶ an American columnist.....

An Hon. Member: Shri Khadilkar.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Shri Khadilkar. That article was a very interesting one, as often Mr. Lipmann's writings are. I should like to read two or three sentences from that article because they do pose a problem for us to consider. He says, writing about India:

"What troubled me was the disparity between the revolutionary objectives of the Third Five Year Plan and the mildness, the almost Victorian mildness and the

105. H. V. R. Iengar. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 3.

106. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 4 & 50.

normality of the Indian political system. I asked myself whether the gigantic economic revolution can be carried out by Parliamentary politicians and civil servants without the dynamism and the discipline or an organised mass movement."

It is an American conservative liberal rather, not any firebrand who is writing this. And, this is a problem which is before us and we shall have to solve it.

We have to face gigantic problems, tremendous enterprises. We plan for them and the planning itself, I venture to say, is not bad. It aims at big things. But the question comes, is this apparatus of ours—I am not referring for a moment to the basic parliamentary apparatus but rather to the way it functions—is it adequate. I think that the basic apparatus is adequate or can be made inadequate. But I think we must realise that the way it is at present functioning is not adequate. I say so with extreme respect to the way we function in this Parliament—I am all for parliamentary democracy and I do believe that, apart from minor changes here and there, that is a good system specially suited to us. So, I am not challenging that basis. But I do wish to say that we are functioning more and more in a—what Mr. Lipmann says—Mid-Victorian way, not realising the urgency of our problems and are arguing, throwing our problems like shuttle-cock from one place to another.

Our other apparatus too is a good apparatus but a slow-moving apparatus. We are trying hard to think of how we can expedite that apparatus—our administrative apparatus—how to give more responsibility to people so that they can decide quickly. In the old days, the British days, the problems were simpler and they evolved their perfectionist apparatus with checks and counter-checks and all that. Now, we have got the same apparatus with unpleasantly complicated social problems and the checks and counter-checks are so much that tremendous delays occur. The only way to deal with this—and in this matter ultimately the communists and the capitalists both agree—is to expedite matters by giving a responsibility to people—dispersal of responsibility. It may go wrong; it may be a loss; but there is no greater loss to a nation than delaying. Even the cost in money is very great but the real cost is that you do not come to grips with the major problems you are dealing with.

I have ventured to take a lot of time of this House. On various matters, in the ultimate analysis, whether it is the border trouble or whether it is anything else, it is our economic growth that counts. That is the only thing that gives us strength to face danger from abroad and danger from within. And that lead can only be given by this House unitedly, not by trying to pull each other down, but, in these basic matters, by giving a united lead to work for the benefit of the country.

169. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Incursion in Ladakh¹⁰⁷**Reported Occupation of the Salt Lake in Ladakh by Chinese**

Speaker: I have received notice of another adjournment motion from Shri Braj Raj Singh, relating to the reported occupation of the Salt Lake in Ladakh by the Chinese. What is this matter about? Is it not already covered in the previous discussions? He has said:

“It is reported by one of the foremost political parties in Jammu and Kashmir that the Salt Lake in Ladakh has been occupied by the Chinese and the local Indian population there is not getting the salt...”

Has there been a fresh encroachment or fresh aggression?

A. M. Tariq: This was denied by the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁰⁸

Braj Raj Singh: I want the Prime Minister to enlighten the country about the conflicting and contradictory reports emanating from the Government of India and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. According to the report, “the people of Zaskar, who had been using salt from Chantham have been refused access to it by the Chinese military and those who had gone to Chantham for salt were beaten up.” The report also said:

“A considerable number of unknown people in the guise of Buddhist monks have entered Zaskar from the Tibetan side.”

Speaker: Is this lake situated in the area which was occupied sometime ago, with respect to which there had been a discussion in the House?¹⁰⁹ Or is it a new act of aggression?

Braj Raj Singh: This is a place which is our territory, territory in our occupation. (Interruptions) There is a contradiction in the report of the Government about this.

The report says:

“Commenting on a Jammu report that the Chinese had occupied the Chantham salt mines in Ladakh, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman said on Friday that the Government of India were making inquiries.”

107. Reply to questions, 22 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2094-2096.

108. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed.

109. See also item 175.

On almost the same day, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir told the State Assembly that the reports were quite baseless and there was no truth in them. My point is how did the Government of India not know about this and how did they make a statement here without ascertaining facts from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir? Without ascertaining facts from other sources, they made a statement here which were contradictory to the statement of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there is any contradiction. In this motion for adjournment itself, reference is made to the denial by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and the statement made by the External Affairs Ministry. The External Affairs Ministry made the statement after receipt of information from the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and such other sources as they have here. They have both denied them.

The hon. Member talked about some Chinese in the guise of Buddhist monks going to this particular area. That has been denied. That particular area he referred to is roughly 150 miles in the heart of our territory. So there is no question of border incursion. Nobody can say that some disguised persons may not go there. I cannot suddenly deny it, that somewhere in the mountainous area one or two disguised persons are there. But, our information is, no such thing has happened; and it is based on information received from the Jammu and Kashmir Government who are dealing with this matter. I have before me a letter from the Chief Minister; and, I think, he made a statement in his Assembly yesterday or the day before yesterday on this very subject. So, I do not quite know what more I am to add except one thing that even the climate today is against any such thing happening. It is practically difficult. In the middle of the cold weather people wandering about there is exceedingly unlikely. But, as I said, factually it has been denied by the Jammu and Kashmir Government on the information at their disposal.

Speaker: All that the hon. Member has stated is that he has no independent information except what has appeared in the statement of some political parties. He only wanted some clarification and the clarification has been given by the hon. Prime Minister. He depends for this information on the information given by the Prime Minister of Kashmir that there has been no such occupation of the salt lake. Some casual Bhikkus coming there does not indicate any aggression or occupation.

In view of the statement, it is not necessary to pursue this matter. I am not giving my consent to the adjournment motion.

170. In the Lok Sabha: The Dalai Lama's Treasure¹¹⁰

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am intervening very briefly, because the hon. Member who was just speaking¹¹¹ referred to certain treasures which, according to him, were carried by 900 mules to India. I have, as a matter of fact, agreed to answer a question in this regard, but I think the matter should be cleared up so far as we are concerned.

It was in 1950 that representatives of the Dalai Lama approached the Sikkim Durbar for being allowed to bring some boxes and to deposit them in the Sikkim Durbar. The Government of India had practically nothing to do with it. We vaguely heard about it and we took no objection to their depositing some boxes. We did not know what the boxes contained. The 900 mules, I suppose, refer to that, because no mules have been seen since then in this connection. We have enquired about it. In 1950, a number of boxes were brought and deposited with the Maharajkumar of Sikkim. Lately, some months back, we were asked for permission for escort, so that these boxes might be sent to Calcutta to a bank. And the West Bengal Government gave the escort, and they were flown over, I believe, from there near Gangtok to Calcutta to deposit in some bank. We had no direct connection with this matter, except providing this escort, and we have certainly expressed the hope that this money—whatever the money may be; we have no idea what it is, how much it is—that it is meant to be invested and the income from it be used for the Tibetan refugees; that is what we have heard. It is desirable that it is so used.

Chintamani Panigrahi: What is the amount?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no idea at all, what the amount is. It is not a question of money, whatever it may be some jewellery, whatever it may be. I have no idea. That is all I wish to say.

S.M. Banerjee: I want to know the number of boxes that were escorted.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose somebody must know it. I do not know at the present moment.

S.M. Banerjee: Excuse me for my intervening. It was in the newspapers that eight boxes were carried.

110. Reply to questions, 23 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2328-30 & 2350-53.

111. Chintamani Panigrahi, Congress, MP from Puri, Orissa.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Eight?

S.M. Banerjee: It was in the newspaper that eight boxes containing valuables have been taken. We do not know what they contained.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think there were a large number of boxes, small and big. I do not know the exact number, but there were a large number of boxes.

171. In the Lok Sabha : Tibetan Refugees¹²⁵

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): Yesterday, some Members of the Opposition while discussing Supplementary Demand No. 18 wanted to know more about the Demand and also what we are doing with regard to the Tibetan refugees. To begin with, I am very happy to announce that this Supplementary Demand is not really due to bad budgeting, but as a result of unforeseen circumstances.

We had already come to the House for a grant of Rs. 10 lakhs in August last. The House was kind enough to sanction the grant. I would like the House to know that this was only an ad hoc grant because at that time we did not know the magnitude of the problem that we had to face. The Tibetan refugees were coming in large numbers, but even so we had never imagined that the number would mount up to the present figure of over 16,000. So far, we have already spent Rs. 14,73,562 and 8 np. That is the total expenditure incurred on the Missamari camp up to 31st October, 1959.

A question was also asked whether these amounts include the expenditure on the Dalai Lama as well. Out of this, about Rs. 6,13,000 is in respect of the amount already spent by the U.P. Government for the Dalai Lama and his party.

We were also asked whether this is going to be a regular feature of our Budget or whether we would stop asking for money for the Tibetan refugee with Rs. 39 lakhs odd. Hon. Members know that over 16,000 people who have come out to India have come away with conditions which they had found very difficult to face. It is not likely that these people will return to their original homes. The Government is fully aware of the situation and the need to face it and is making arrangements for their training, for their rehabilitation and for their settlement and absorption in our country.

125. Reply to questions, 23 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2328-30 & 2350-53.

Yesterday a question was also asked as to what arrangements we are making for their rehabilitation. Having found that it was necessary to rehabilitate them, we have done certain things which were already explained to the House on previous occasions by me. That is, the young people are put in schools. Those who are dedicated to a religious life have been provided with religious education and those who are old and infirm have been provided with suitable accommodation and facilities to pursue their studies in perfect peace.

We have also made arrangements for their rehabilitation in various ways. Some of them are artisans and we have got production centres in which they ply their traditional arts which have an artistic value. We are also giving training to those who are anxious to learn these arts. Thousands of able-bodied men are taken for road-making in various part of India. I do not know whether hon. Members would like to know how they are dispersed. They are doing road work in Sikkim, in Punjab, in Himachal Pradesh and in Uttar Pradesh.

We are also thinking of settling them on land. One of the hon. Members raised the question whether it was advisable to settle them in the frontier areas. One of the previous speakers, Shri Bhakt Darshan, has already given the explanation. These people are settled not very near the border but in those areas where climatic conditions are more suitable for healthy living and also where land is available. For our own refugees who have come from East Pakistan, Government have the Dandakaranya scheme for the simple reason that the available cultivable land in India is limited and we have to reclaim lands which are forest lands now in order to provide cultivable land for those who wish to settle on land.

Chintamani Panigrahi: What is the number engaged in road construction?

Lakshmi Menon: I will tell you. On road work in Punjab 500 persons; on forest work 400 persons; on road work in Himachal Pradesh 1,000; in U.P. 100; and, I think, about a few thousands in Sikkim also. These numbers were, I think, given in this House on various occasions. For fuller details, I may say, there are also projects which are under examination and consideration. A handicraft centre for 250 persons in Dhramsala; settlement on land in Ladakh for 500 persons; in Siang division of the NEFA area for 1,000 to 1,500 persons; settlement in various areas of Himachal Pradesh for about 200 persons.

For settlement in Ladakh, we are thinking of reclaiming about 1,000 acres which will depend upon the available water supply, etc. All these things are being done. I would like to remind this House that this is going to be a recurring feature of our Budget. And, in the Budget Estimates, I am sure, hon. Members will have an occasion to know the actual amount estimated for the rehabilitation and resettlement of these refugees.

We were also asked whether the refugees are still coming from Tibet. Unfortunately, they are. Not in large numbers, but still they are coming. Up to 2nd November, 2,209 refugees came to Bhutan; but most of them are dispersed in India and at present, there are 200 Tibetan refugees in Bhutan. I am giving all these figures because the hon. Member Shri Dwivedy specifically asked for the numbers that have come from Bhutan and how they were dispersed. It is understood that 10 to 15 refugees are daily coming into India and this in spite of the precautions taken by the Chinese Government at the border.

As I pointed out, our supplementary demand for Rs. 39,89,000 also includes the expenditure incurred by the U.P. Government for the Dalai Lama. We are trying our best to reduce the administrative expenditure so that the amount allotted may be really used for the purpose for which it is allotted. On these grounds, I hope the House will vote the supplementary demands.

172. In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetan Refugees¹¹³

Tibetan Refugees in the Missamari Camp

Jugal Kishore:¹¹⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of Tibetan refugees who are at present living in Missamari Camp in North East Frontier Agency Area?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): According to information available 4,205 Tibetan refugees were living in Missamari Camp in Tezpur district of Assam on 18th February, 1960.

Jugal Kishore: May I know, Sir, whether any monetary or other kind of help is given by the Government of these refugees?

Lakshmi Menon: Sir, the entire expenditure on the refugees in the camp is borne by the Government of India.

Jugal Kishore: What is being spent monthly on these refugees by the Government?

Lakshmi Menon: Sir, I haven't got any figures relating to the monthly expenditure, but up to the 31st of October, 1959 we had incurred an expenditure of Rs. 14,73,562.08.

113. Reply to questions, 24 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1623-26.

114. Congress, MP from Punjab.

Jugal Kishore: May I know Sir, whether these refugees do some work in the camp?

Lakshmi Menon: Yes, Sir, there is a regular programme of dispersal and resettlement.

Tajamul Husain:¹¹⁵ May I know, Sir, if it is the policy of the Government to spend money on the Dalai Lama whenever he goes on tour?

Lakshmi Menon: Sir, the Government has made some provision in connection with his tour in India.

Tajamul Husain: My question is whether it is the general policy of the Government to bear the expenses of his tour. That is my question which has not been answered, Sir.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of any general policy in regard to these matters. Whenever any such question arises, it is considered on its merits, and this is the first time that it has arisen in this country.

Maheshwar Naik:¹¹⁶ May I know, Sir, whether the Government have in hand any proposal to rehabilitate those Tibetan refugees stationed in the camp?

Lakshmi Menon: Sir, I answered that question only a moment ago.

Faridul Haq Ansari:¹¹⁷ May I know, Sir, whether any refugees are still pouring into this camp.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, in small numbers they dribble in.

Bhupesh Gupta:¹¹⁸ It appears that considerable assets, including gold bullion, had been brought into this country by the Dalai Lama himself or on his behalf. Since the Dalai Lama has only life interest in this property, because it goes to the next Dalai Lama, it should be related to the welfare of the Tibetan people and the refugees also. May I know, Sir, whether, in view of that particular position—the Dalai Lama has only life interest in this property and to some extent it belongs to the State—the Government have approached the

115. Congress, MP from Bihar.

116. Congress, MP from Orissa.

117. PSP, MP from UP.

118. CPI, MP from West Bengal.

Dalai Lama and his entourage to part with some of this money, at least to begin with, so that it could be spent for the purpose of relief to the Tibetan refugees? This is my question, and I would like to know the actual position from the Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the hon. Member presumably refers to some moneys or some bullion which came into Sikkim ten years back and with which the Government of India had nothing to do at that time, but lately we were asked to provide for escort to have those boxes, whatever they contained, removed to Calcutta; and the West Bengal Government gave that necessary escort.¹¹⁹ I understand that this money or this jewellery or this bullion is being converted and is being deposited and invested, and what the hon. Member has said—this money being used for these refugees—is already in our mind.

Dr. D.H. Variava:¹²⁰ May I ask one question? When a foreign national is given asylum in some country, is it the diplomatic procedure that he should be given also maintenance in all cases or only in certain cases? What is the actual diplomatic procedure in regard to this matter, Sir?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, this is not a diplomatic matter at all. A foreign national who comes here is not a diplomat, and this has to be judged in the circumstances of each case. It is for the Government to decide what has to be done under certain particular conditions or when it permits a person to reside and what facilities are given to that person. There can be no fixed rule about these matters, Sir.

Bhupesh Gupta: It seems that there was—and it was clear as the Prime Minister readily admitted it—movement of some wealth including bullion from one country to another. Now may I know Sir, whether, before helping this movement, Government found out as to in which capacity the money was being brought into India, I mean whether the Dalai Lama was bringing this money in his capacity as head of a local Government or in his capacity as a private person? And if he was bringing it in his capacity as a private person, may I know, Sir, whether the normal rules and regulations under the Foreign Exchange Act and various other Acts were observed?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Is the hon. Members referring to what happened ten years ago? I do not think any particular rule was applying to this matter. The Maharajkumar of Sikkim and the Dalai Lama then came to an agreement and

119. See also item 170.

120. Congress, MP from Bombay State.

these assets were deposited with the Maharajkumar of Sikkim, and there they had been all these ten years. And now the normal rules presumably apply.

M. Valiulla:¹²¹ Are there not customs rules relating to import of jewellery into India?

(No reply)

Jaswant Singh:¹²² I would like to know—as the Prime Minister said a little while ago that how this money will be used on refugees or otherwise will be kept in mind—whether it will be kept in the mind of the Government of India or in the mind of the Dalai Lama just in the same way.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as we are concerned, we have treated these boxes, the contents of which we are not aware of, as the private property of the Dalai Lama, and we understand that the Dalai Lama will use the assets for this purpose.

286. In the Rajya Sabha: Ladakhi Muslims¹²³

Repatriation of Ladakhi Muslims from Lhasa

S. Panigrahi:¹²⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether six Ladakhi Muslims of Kalimpong have approached Government for the repatriation of 121 Ladakhi Muslim families now staying in Lhasa; and
- (b) if so, what steps are being taken by Government for their repatriation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). Yes, Sir, as will be seen from the White Papers the Government of India have made several representations to the Government of China to allow these families to return to India. The Chinese authorities have, however, raised difficulties and so far none of the Kashmiris have been able to return to India. Our efforts to secure their voluntary repatriation to India are continuing.

121. Congress, MP from Mysore State.

122. Independent, MP from Rajasthan.

123. Written answers to questions, 24 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 1672-73.

124. Congress, MP from Orissa.

173. In the Lok Sabha: Ladakh¹²⁵

हेम बरुआ : प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री :

क्या प्रधानमन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) क्या यह सच है कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में पाकिस्तान के प्रतिनिधि ने सुरक्षा परिषद को लिखा है कि पाकिस्तान से परामर्श किए बिना चीन के साथ लद्दाख के बारे में कोई समझौता न किया जाये और

(ख) क्या यह सच है कि भारतीय प्रतिनिधि ने कहा है कि पाकिस्तान की यह माँग स्वीकार नहीं की जा सकती?

[Translation begins:

Hem Barua and Prakash Vir Shastri:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that Pakistan's Representative to the United Nations has written to the Security Council that no agreement should be arrived at with China about Ladakh without consulting Pakistan, and
- (b) Whether it is a fact that the Indian Representative has said that this demand by Pakistan cannot be accepted?

Translation ends.]

Sadath Ali Khan : (a) and (b). Copies of Pakistan Permanent Representative's letter dated December 3, 1959 addressed to the President of the Security Council and our reply are placed on the Table of the House.

Hem Barua : In view of the fact that this Ladakh dispute has been brought to the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan, are we to understand that India's attempt to solve this problem with China independently of the Security Council is being impeded?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Nothing is being impeded.

Hem Barua: This Ladakh dispute is a dispute between India and China at present. But this has been brought before the Security Council specifically by the Permanent Representative of Pakistan and we have also replied to that on 22-12-59. Since it has come within the purview of the Security Council.

125. Reply to questions, 25 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXIX, pp. 2676-77.

I want to know whether this very fact has impeded the independent solution of the Ladakh problem with China, on the part of India.

Jawaharlal Nehru : I have just now said that nothing is being impeded.

174. In the Lok Sabha: Afro-Asian Conference on Tibet¹²⁶

H.N. Mukerjee: Prabhat Kar:¹²⁷ Raghunath Singh: Rameshwar Tantia:¹²⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state?

- (a) whether there is any truth in press reports that a three-day convention of Afro-Asian countries on Tibet is to be held at New Delhi in April 1960;¹²⁹
- (b) if so, who are the sponsors and what are the terms of reference of the said convention; and
- (c) whether Government have given approval to the idea of the convention?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan): (a) to (c). In pursuance of the resolution passed at the All India Tibetan Convention held at Calcutta in May, 1959 it is understood that an Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet is proposed to be held in India. The Convention which was due to begin in February 1960 has since been postponed and may be held later in this year. The Convention is being organised entirely under non-official initiative and the Government of India are in no way associated with its arrangement, nor are they required to accord their approval to the holding of such a Convention.

H.N. Mukerjee: In view of certain widely circulated reports in the Press about a leading public figure, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, contacting representatives of African and Asian States and also the Prime Minister for interview, may I know whether the Prime Minister and his Government have made it clear to the sponsors like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan that such activities are not approved by the Government of this country?

126. Reply to questions, 25 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2691-93.

127. CPI, MP from Hooghly, West Bengal.

128. Congress, MP from Sikar, Rajasthan.

129. Three-day Afro-Asian Convention of Tibet opened on 8 April 1960 to demand the liberation of the Tibetan people from Chinese subjugation.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is true that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan came to see me twice, I think, about this and I told him that I did not wish to come in his way, but we were not happy about this development.¹³⁰

Chintamani Panigrahi: May I know whether the Prime Minister is aware that after meeting him, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan also met the various ambassadors now residing in India, so far as the Afro-Asian countries are concerned, and if so, whether the Prime Minister is aware that the Afro-Asian countries were influenced by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to co-operate in holding this conference in India?

Speaker: The question is, whether he has been taking further steps in this regard.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I?

Speaker: Shri Jayaprakash Narayan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of what steps he has taken. I think it is true that he met some ambassadors of the Afro-Asian countries here. Also, I believe, he sent some representatives to their countries to meet people there.

Renu Chakravarty:¹³¹ I presume an assurance has been given that visas will be given to the foreign delegates who will be attending this conference.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In such cases, no general assurance is ever given. The most that we can say is that each case should be examined in respect of each applicant. There may be, of course, a general refusal when necessity arises, but generally we consider the applications for visas on an individual basis.

Raghunath Singh: May I know whether this organisation is sponsored by any political party of India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. So far as I know, it is an organisation *sui generis*. A political party may support it, but it is a different matter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with this organisation to be able to give a proper answer really.

130. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 358.

131. CPI, MP from Basirhat, West Bengal.

Joachim Alva:¹³² There are some persons who belong neither to Asia nor to Africa, but who have come as visitors to this country and they overstay here. When asked, they say that they work for Tibetan refugees. How do they overstay here?

Speaker: What has that to do with this conference?

P.R. Patel:¹³³ The people of different countries of Asia and Africa are agitated over the question of Tibet. So, if they meet here, in India, why should not the Government have a friendly attitude towards that conference?

Speaker: The question is, why the Government of India should not have a friendly attitude towards this conference which is intended to settle the Tibetan question here.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have a friendly attitude to any conference which intends to do that or likely to do that. What the function of this conference is, it is not for me to say. But the results of their efforts are not likely to settle any question.

175. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Infiltration in Jammu and Kashmir¹³⁴

Ram Krishan Gupta, Raghunath Singh, N. R. Muniswamy, P.C. Borooah, D. C. Sharma and Bishwanath Roy:

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Chinese have occupied the Chanthan Salt Mines in Ladakh and the people of that area have been refused access to salt mines by the Chinese military;
- (b) whether it is a fact that a considerable number of unknown people in the guise of Buddhist monks have entered Zaskar from the Tibetan side;¹³⁵ and
- (c) if so, the nature of the action taken in this regard?

132. Congress, MP from Kanara, Mysore State.

133. MJP, MP from Mehsana, Bombay State.

134. Reply to Short Notice Questions from Congress and other MPs, 25 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 2694-97.

135. See also item 169.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c). This subject has been referred to three times, if not more, and statements were made on the adjournment motion and, I think, in the course of debate too. However, this is the answer. The salt mines in Chanthan area and the Salt Lakes are in the North-East corner of Ladakh, which is in illegal occupation of the Chinese forces. There have been no reports of persons from our side having attempted to proceed there to collect salt and having been refused access.

As regards intrusion of Chinese in the guise of Buddhist monks in the Paddar and Zanskar areas, the J & K. Government have already contradicted the reports. It is most unlikely that any Chinese could have come to this place after negotiating one or two snow-bound high ranges and traversing some 100 miles of our territory.

Ram Krishan Gupta: On the 22nd February the hon. Prime Minister stated that this particular area was roughly 150 miles in the interior of our territory. In view of this fact, may I know what is the position at borders of this particular area?

Jawaharlal Nehru: These reports relate to two entirely separate areas, and that produces some amount of confusion. As I said in answer to this question, the salt lake area is that area which is at present under illegal occupation of the Chinese. The other area is away in the interior, hundred miles away, and it is physically an extraordinary proposition for people to cross over the high mountain ranges and come to the other area. That is part of the Jammu province.

Speaker: The hon. Member refers to the salt lake mine in Ladakh.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is one area; that is, as I said.....

Speaker: In the illegal occupation.

N.R. Muniswamy: May I know whether it is a fact that the working committee of the Praja Parishad of the Kistwar Tehsil has demanded of the Government of India not to leave the Paddar area unprotected since it is in the vicinity of Ladakh where campaign in favour of the Panchen Lama is going on?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Which area?

N.R. Muniswamy: Paddar area.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That raises the entire issue of Chinese occupation there. I cannot answer it. We have debated that. It is not a matter which can be answered in a sentence or two. We have discussed this matter several times.

Raghunath Singh: With reference to part (b) of the question, what steps have been taken to prevent the arrival of Chinese spies under the guise of Buddhist monks?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What steps are normally taken to prevent spies coming in. Spy is an individual, and the very act of his spying means that he comes under false pretences. Spies do not come with a flag saying "I am a spy." Therefore, though one tries to prevent it, a person may come on false pretences. I cannot guarantee that. Every country has their spies in other countries.

P.C. Borooah: May I know whether the Chanthan salt area in Ladakh was in use by them from a long time?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give any information as to what is happening in that area, because it is under illegal occupation by the Chinese.

Ram Subhag Singh: The hon. Prime Minister says "I cannot say definitely", and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State stated that the Chanthan mine area is being operated by them, as it used to be previously. May I know whether the persons attached to the Chanthan mines are mining salt at present, as usual, or not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe there is still that confusion about different areas. There is a certain area which is under the illegal occupation of the Chinese. Obviously, when it is in the illegal occupation of the Chinese, we are not mining there.

Speaker: Is there any other mining area?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are bits here and there. But I am talking of the lake in the area which is occupied by the Chinese.

Vajpayee: There are certain other salt mines, apart from the area which is under the occupation of the Chinese, and the reports relate to that area.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is that which is contradicted by the Kashmir Government.

176. In the Lok Sabha: Chou En-lai's Letter of 26 February 1960¹³⁶

Letter from H.E. Mr. Chou En-Lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Addressed to the Prime Minister

Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to lay on the Table of the House a copy of the letter dated 26th February, 1960 received by me from Premier Chou En-lai. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-1933/60.]

This letter has already appeared in the public press this morning, and it was at the instance of the Chinese Embassy here. I thought that before we handed it over to the Press, I should place it before Parliament, and fortunately there was no delay involved.

In this letter, as will be noticed, my invitation to Premier Chou En-lai to come to India for talks has been accepted. I had suggested the second half of March. He has said that the month of April would suit him better. So far as we are concerned, we are equally agreeable to the month of April, and we shall proceed to get a definite date fixed as soon as possible. I am likely to leave India by about the end of April, possibly on the 30th April, to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. That will not come in the way, that is the very last day of April. So, I hope that a definite date will be fixed for this for Premier Chou En-lai to come here for these talks, and I feel sure that when he comes here, he will receive the courtesy and hospitality which India always gives to distinguished guests.

Braj Raj Singh: Since we are here in a democracy where Parliament must always be supreme, could the Prime Minister suggest to the Foreign Embassies stationed in Delhi that whenever such letters are received, they should show the courtesy of Parliament being informed first and then issue to the press?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is an extraordinary proposal. It has nothing to do with the supremacy of Parliament. Even if I had given it to the press, there will be no discourtesy to Parliament. I felt it was proper for me to bring it here, but it is not merely a question of the Chinese Embassy doing it here. The letter was, no doubt, issued in Peking to the Chinese press and other foreign agencies.

Braj Raj Singh: It was issued here in Delhi also.

136. Reply to questions, 29 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXIX, cols. 3163-64.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know that. I am merely pointing it out. It appeared, I am told, in the broadcasts from London last evening. So, it becomes world news immediately, and for me to ask the Chinese Embassy here to wait for our Parliament would be rather extraordinary.

As a matter of fact, I might say that our own All-India Radio people who knew about this yesterday asked me if they could give it in their 9 o'clock news. I said: "You better not; I should like to place it before Parliament first." I could tell them that, but I cannot control the BBC and all the world agencies.

177. In the Rajya Sabha: D. N. Chatterjee's Statements in Washington¹³⁷

D. N. Chatterjee's Statement About China

Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether his attention has been drawn to a reported speech made by Shri D.N. Chatterjee, the Indian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, at a dinner organised there by the Harvard Club and held at the Occidental Restaurant towards the end of November, 1959;
- (b) whether it is a fact that in his speech Shri Chatterjee spoke about the likelihood of a "major show down" between our country and China adding: "And by major show down he means a war that might bring the Great Powers into the conflict";
- (c) whether he also said that "India is aligned with the West"; and
- (d) if the above press reports are not a correct version of Shri Chatterjee's speech, whether the Prime Minister will lay on the Table of the House a copy of the full text of the speech?

Lakshmi Menon: (a) to (d). Yes. Reports of a speech towards the end of November 1959 by Shri D.N. Chatterjee, then the Indian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington have appeared in the press. As we are informed the speech was impromptu, mainly on the economic reconstruction of India, and was followed by questions on matters of current interest. Among the answer to question were references to India's policy of non-alignment, her adherence to peace, freedom, justice and human values and to her democratic system of Government. Statements attributed to the Indian Charge d' Affaires about India's alignment with the West and "a war that might bring the great powers

137. Reply to questions, 29 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 2091-2096.

into the conflict" do not seem to have been correctly reported. As the speech was impromptu no transcript of it is available but a note recorded by the Chargé d'Affaires is placed on the Table of the House.

[Note begins:

NOTE RECORDED BY SHRI D.N. CHATTERJEE

On November 28 I addressed the Harvard Club at a luncheon function organised by the Club Committee. I spoke impromptu for about half an hour and then answered question from the audience. I did not have a prepared speech.

2. In my speech, such as it was, the question of China, Tibet, etc., did not come up at all. As far as I remember my speech was mainly on the economic reconstruction in India and on the gradual emergence of a new society in our country. I also dealt briefly with our foreign policy of non-alignment, touching on the futility of military alliances particularly for a country like ours.

3. When the question period opened some members of the Harvard Club criticised (with due politeness) the seeming attitude of acquiescence on our part in Chinese intrusion into our territory. The point of all these questions was that instead of sending notes to Peking we should send troops to the border. While dealing with these questions I stated, among other things, that we were capable of defending our own borders and were determined to do so, but that nothing would distress us more than that, out of the border incidents, should grow a major conflict involving great powers. I made it clear that it was not the intention of India to initiate measures which might bring about "a major showdown" between India and China. This point came out as some one asked whether we would bomb China.

4. As regards India being "aligned" with the west, I may say that while talking about our foreign policy of non-alignment, I explained that we did not exist in a kind of vacuum but that we had firm ideas about Peace, Freedom, Justice, and human values. An important feature of our non-alignment policy related to our refusal to have military alliances particularly with either of the contending "blocs", I said that India was "aligned" with the Charter of the United Nations and that India had marked preference for the democratic system of Government. It is possible that some members of the press have interpreted my remarks to mean that India is "aligned with the west." If that has been the case the interpretation is unwarranted. End of Note.]

Bhupesh Gupta: I would like you to kindly refer to paragraph 3 of the note. It says:

"The point of all these questions was that instead of sending notes to Peking we should send troops to the border."

There was another question about bombing China. It appears from the record note of Mr. Chatterjee himself that at no point did he stress that the policy of the Government of India in general and the Prime Minister in particular was one of peaceful negotiation and one of settlement. In the recorded statement, nowhere do we find the words peaceful or settlement or both occurring. May I know, Sir, whether such a statement or exposition of the policy in the light of this question is in consonance with the policy of the Government of India and of Prime Minister Nehru?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a long question, Sir. The note recorded by our Chargé d'Affaires—I have read through it—does not contain anything opposed to our policy. May be some emphasis was given to one aspect or another. It should be remembered, as stated in the answer, that questions are asked and the original statement probably did not say anything or much about this matter. This dealt with other questions; questions are asked and he has to answer questions, questions not related to the whole policy but a particular point and I do not see anything in this note, as far as I have been able to make it out, which is opposed to our policy.

Bhupesh Gupta: Then it will be my endeavour to try and make the Prime Minister see that there is something in it.

Mr. Chairman: Put a question.

Bhupesh Gupta: How can I put a question, Sir, without relating it to the circumstances. Here is what he says:

“I made it clear that it was not the intention of India to initiate measures which might bring about ‘a major show down’ between India and China. This point came out as someone asked whether we would bomb China.”

Am I to understand, Sir, that if the Prime Minister were in the United States of America and if he had been asked a similar question, he would have given an answer of this kind without referring to the basic policy of peaceful negotiation and settlement?

Chairman: Mr. Gupta, your question is, “If the Prime Minister were in the United States and if he had been asked such a question, would he have given such an answer?” There are so many hypotheses.

Bhupesh Gupta: All right, Sir, I shall put a question. May I know whether the Government of India has given any instruction to their envoys and emissaries, especially in the United States of America, that if such provocative questions suggesting bombing of China, etc., are asked, they should answer in particular

way? Have they given any directive? If so, I would like to know the nature of the directive?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Do you expect me to answer this extraordinary question, Sir?

Bhupesh Gupta: If I remove the hypothesis, then it becomes an extraordinary question. Anyway, Sir, may I know whether the Prime Minister's attention has been drawn to the last portion of Mr Banerjee's—I am sorry Mr. Chatterjee's statement. I know he is a Bengali and pro-American, I know that.

Mr. Chairman: No remarks.

Bhupesh Gupta: He was speaking to a particular audience, Sir. May I know whether the attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to the note of Mr. Chatterjee wherein he himself admits this? He says:

"It is possible that some members of the press have interpreted my remarks to mean that India is aligned with the West."

If the reply is in the affirmative may I know whether Government have examined the papers which published such reports to see what the Indian authorities there could do to remove any kind of misinterpretation of the speech?

Chairman: Look here, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, it says:

"It is possible that it may be so interpreted."

If that is so, then he says,

"The interpretation is unwarranted."

Bhupesh Gupta: The possibility is there, Sir.

Chairman: And the possibility is repudiated in the last sentence.

Bhupesh Gupta: I got this from the United States. Some people read about this and sent it on to me. That is the reason why I tabled this question. I did not know it myself. May I know whether the Prime Minister's attention...

(Interruption.)

Sir, has the P.S.P. taken the responsibility of replying to questions addressed to the Prime Minister? I never thought so but the hon. Member seems to be chasing me.

Anyway, Sir, may I know whether, in view of this answer, the Prime Minister has found out from the Indian authorities in the United States of America if Mr. Chatterjee or some body acting on his behalf immediately contradicted this kind of interpretation put across in some local newspaper?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, I did not find out and I do not think it necessary to find out.

Faridul Haq Ansari: My hon. friend seems to object to the troops being sent to the border. He seems to say that no troops should be sent to the border. May I know whether it is the policy of the Indian Government not to defend the Indian border against foreign aggression?

(No reply)

Bhupesh Gupta: In this connection, may I know as to whether it had been suggested that the troops would be led to the border by Acharya Kripalani?

(No reply)

Mr. Chairman: Questions are over.

178. In the Rajya Sabha: Chinese Disguised as Buddhist Monks entering India¹³⁸

Entry of Chinese into Paddar Area in the Guise of Buddhist Monks

Nawab Singh Chauhan:¹³⁹ Harihar Patel:¹⁴⁰

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news item published in the *Times of India*, Delhi, of the 20th December, 1959, to the effect that the Chinese agents in the guise of Buddhist Monks have infiltrated into the Paddar area of Jammu adjoining Ladakh, and that the area of Ladakh adjoining Paddar has been occupied by the Chinese;¹⁴¹ and
- (b) if so, how far it is correct?

Lakshmi Menon: (a) and (b) The reports are not correct.

138. Reply to questions, 29 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 2063- 65.

139. Congress, MP from UP.

140. Gantantra Parishad, MP from Orissa.

141. See also items 169 and 175.

नवाब सिंह चौहान : क्या इस सम्बन्ध में वहाँ कोई ऐसी पार्टी भेजी गई है जो उसकी जाँच करे?

[Translation begins:

Nawab Singh Chauhan: In this connection whether any party has been sent to enquire into it?

Translation ends.]

Lakshmi Menon: Sir, we have no information and also no report has been received from our check posts about such surreptitious movements, and it has been denied by the Kashmir Chief Minister also.

नवाब सिंह चौहान : मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जो अखबारों में इस तरह का समाचार छपा है, क्या उसकी जाँच कराई गई है? अगर हाँ, तो उसका क्या नतीजा निकला?

[Translation begins:

Nawab Singh Chauhan: I mean to say that whether any inquiry has been done following reports in the newspapers; if so then what came out as a result?

Translation ends.]

Lakshmi Menon: Sir, enquiries were made and we were told that these reports were of a mischievous nature, originated by the Praja Parishad leaders.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask, Sir, whether the Government is satisfied about the arrangements regarding intelligence in this particular area?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, that question is rather difficult to answer satisfactorily, but this story is so inherently improbable that without any intelligence arrangements any intelligent person can say that it is exceedingly unlikely. Apart from that, I can tell you that this area is far in the interior—within 150 miles. It is not a border area; it is far in the interior. Secondly, in order to reach there one high mountain pass has got to be traversed. Therefore, that is inherently improbable, and I do not think what two or three persons disguised as Buddhist monks can do there. But if you ask me absolutely precisely “Has anybody come there?” well, how can I say whether any individual, somehow or other, has managed to come there? Of course, I am quite sure in my mind that nobody has come to this particular area.

(d) Pakistan

179. To K. M. Sheikh: Indo-Pakistan Border Conference¹⁴²

February 2, 1960

My dear General Sheikh,

It was very good of you to send me your letter of the 26th January, which I appreciate very much, I am happy that the Indo-Pakistan Border Conference met with such success.¹⁴³ Sardar Swaran Singh has told me that this was largely due to your efforts and leadership, and I should like to express to you my grateful thanks.

It was a pleasure to meet you, and I hope that pleasure will be repeated.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

180. In the Lok Sabha: Indo-West Pakistan Border Conference¹⁴⁴

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, the statement that I intend making is about the results of the Minister-level Indo-West Pakistan Border Conference. It is rather longish. May I lay it on the Table?

Speaker: It may be laid on the Table.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I beg to lay it on the Table. (Placed in Library, See No. LT-1871/60-).

Speaker: I shall circulate copies of that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has, I believe, appeared in the papers.

Speaker: Completely?

142. Letter to the Interior Minister of Pakistan.

143. In Lahore, 4-7 January 1960 and in New Delhi, 8-11 January 1960. For details of the Agreement, see items 180 and 182.

144. Statement, 9 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 111-113.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think so but not in these words.

Speaker: If it is possible, I will circulate it to the hon. Members. Or, the hon. Members can take copies from the Notice Office.

Amjad Ali:¹⁴⁵ Would it matter very much a summary only of this is given orally by the Prime Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has appeared in the papers. Yet, I shall read out the operative parts and leave out the rest.

The Conference arrived at mutually agreed interpretations of the Radcliffe Award in respect of four disputes on the Punjab (India)—West Pakistan border. These are:

(a) Area of the Hussainiwala Headworks: It was agreed that the Indo-Pakistan boundary in this area should be the pre-partition boundary between Ferozepur and Lahore districts.

(b) Area of the Suleimanke Headworks:

It was agreed that an adjustment should be made in the pre-Partition boundary of Ferozepur and Montgomery districts, in consideration of the fact that the Headworks had been awarded by Sir Cyril Radcliffe to Pakistan. Measures for mutual cooperation in the maintenance of the Left Marginal Bund were also agreed to.

(c) Chak Ladheke: The Government of Pakistan dropped their claim to this area.

(d) The village of Theh Sarja Marja, Rakh Hardit Singh and Pathanke: The Government of India dropped their claim to these villages.

These are the agreements arrived at.

As regards the dispute raised by Pakistan in respect of Kutch (India)—Sind (Pakistan) boundary, it was agreed that both Governments would collect additional data and hold further discussions at a later date.

It was also agreed that ground demarcation operations on some 70 miles of the Punjab (India)—West Pakistan border, which yet remain undemarcated, should be completed by the end of April, 1960, and that return of all areas in adverse possession of either Government in this sector should be completed by 15th October 1960.

This is really the substantial part. The rest is all about who attended and all that.

145. PSP, MP from Dhubri, Assam.

181. In the Rajya Sabha: Jayaprakash Narayan and Pakistan¹⁴⁶

Jayaprakash Narayan's Talk with the President of Pakistan

A. N. Bose:¹⁴⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan¹⁴⁸ was present during Shri Jayaprakash Narayan's talk with the President of Pakistan¹⁴⁹ a few weeks ago; and
- (b) if so, whether he was there on invitation?

Lakshmi Menon: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Indian High Commissioner was present at the specific invitation of the President of Pakistan.

Dr A. N. Bose: Was the upshot of the interview reported to the Foreign Office, and if so, was anything objectionable found in that interview?

Chairman: His question is, was a report made by our High Commissioner to our External Affairs Ministry, and if so, was there anything objectionable?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would not like, Sir, to deal with confidential interviews that have taken place. We receive naturally reports from time to time from our High Commissioner, and they are meant to be confidential.

Bhupesh Gupta: It seems to be quite an interesting thing that when the interview took place between Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and the President of Pakistan at the latter's invitation the Indian High Commissioner was present. May I know whether the newspaper report that in that interview discussion took place for a Defence Pact between India and Pakistan is corroborated by the report which the hon. Prime Minister has received from the High Commissioner on these talks?

Lakshmi Menon: How does the hon. Member know about the report?

Chairman: He talks about a press report.

146. Reply to questions, 10 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238-239.

147. PSP, MP from West Bengal.

148. Rajeshwar Dayal.

149. Ayub Khan.

Lakshmi Menon: No, Sir, because when the press interviewed Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, he declined to disclose the subject-matter of the discussion with the President of Pakistan.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is not a fact that following this interview there was considerable re-reporting in the press here and also in Pakistan that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan was sponsoring the idea of a Defence Pact between these two countries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that question as to what is in Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan's mind.

Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether in this connection Mr Jayaprakash Narayan has sent any of his ideas in writing or otherwise to the Prime Minister?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ideas about this interview or about that subject?

Chairman: Next question.

182. In the Lok Sabha: Mangla Dam¹⁵⁰

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : श्री राम कृष्ण गुप्त : श्री दी.चं. शर्मा : श्री स.मो. बनर्जी :
श्री अजीत सिंह सरहदी : क्या प्रधानमन्त्री 16 नवम्बर 1959 के तारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 2 के उत्तर के सम्बन्ध में यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :
(क) क्या यह सच है कि जब से हमने सुरक्षा परिषद को विरोध पत्र भेजे हैं पाकिस्तान ने मंगला बांध के निर्माण कार्य को तेज़ कर दिया है और
(ख) क्या उस क्षेत्र के निवासियों ने जहाँ यह बांध बनाया जाने वाला है, धीरे-धीरे उस स्थान से हटना आरम्भ कर दिया है?

[Translation begins:

Prakash Vir Shastri, R. K. Gupta, D. C. Sharma, S. M. Banerjee, and Ajit Singh Sarhadi:

Question: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to

150. Reply to questions from Congress and other MPs, 17 February 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XXXVIII, cols. 1321-1324.

Starred Question No. 2 on 16 November 1959 and state:

- (a) Whether it is true that ever since we sent a protest letter to the Security Council, Pakistan has speeded up the work on Mangla Dam, and
- (b) Whether the residents of the area, where this Dam is going to be built, have gradually started vacating it?

[Translation ends.]

Lakshmi Menon : (a) and (b) Government have no further information to give.

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : पिछली बार प्रधानमन्त्री जी ने यह बताया था कि मंगला बांध के बनने पर मीरपुर नगर के अतिरिक्त 122 गाँव हिन्दुस्तान के उजड़ जायेंगे और करीब एक लाख आदमी बेघर-बार हो जायेंगे। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उस सारे स्थान पर जहाँ यह बांध बनाया जायेगा तो भारत का कितना भू-भाग ऐसा है जोकि इससे पाकिस्तान के अधिकार में चला जायेगा?

प्रधानमन्त्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मन्त्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) :- मैं प्रश्न पूरी तरह सुन नहीं पाया। लेकिन फिर भी अगर आप कहें तो मैं जवाब दे दूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य एक बार और अपना प्रश्न दोहरा दें।

श्री प्रकाश वीर शास्त्री : पिछली बार प्रधानमन्त्री जी ने यह बताया था कि पाकिस्तान मंगला बांध बना रहा है। उसके बनने पर मीरपुर नगर के अतिरिक्त 122 गाँव उजड़ जायेंगे और करीब एक लाख आदमी बेघर-बार हो जायेंगे। तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि मंगला बांध के बनने पर कितनी वर्ग मील भारत की धरती पाकिस्तान के अधिकार में चली जायेगी?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आखिरी सवाल का जवाब तो यह है कि मंगला बांध के बनने से कोई भी ज़मीन पाकिस्तान को नहीं जायेगी यों बिलफेल वह सारी ज़मीन पर काबिज़ है, हालाँकि ग़लत काबिज़ है। तो इससे कोई नई ज़मीन तो उसके पास जाती नहीं अलबत्ता उस ज़मीन के एक हिस्से में मंगला बांध का पानी फैलेगा और वहाँ यह नतीजे होंगे जो कि माननीय सदस्य ने कहे।

[Translation begins:

Prakash Vir Shastri: On the last occasion the Prime Minister had said that after the construction of the Mangla Dam, apart from Mirpur town, about 122 Indian villages will be submerged, and about one lakh people will be rendered homeless. I want to know how much area of India's territory would pass under Pakistan's control where this dam is being built?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not hear the question properly I can reply if you so wish.

Speaker: Honourable Member may please repeat the question.

Prakash Vir Shastri: On the last occasion, the Prime Minister had said that Pakistan is building the Mangla Dam. Apart from Mirpur town, this will submerge 122 more villages, and about one lakh people will be rendered homeless. So, I want to know how many square miles of Indian territory will go to Pakistan after the Mangla Dam is built.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The answer to the last question is that no territory will go to Pakistan after the building of the Mangla Dam. At present they are in occupation of the whole area, albeit illegitimately. So no new area will go to them; but the water from the Mangla Dam will undoubtedly submerge some of this area, and the results will be the same as the Honourable Member has indicated.

Translation ends.]

Speaker: Evidently, the hon. Member wants to know how much area of our territory will be submerged; he is not asking how much will go away to Pakistan.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not exactly know, but, obviously, a broad idea is given. When it is said that the town of Mirpur and 122 villages will be submerged, we get a broad idea of the submergence. I could not give a precise idea in acreage.

Ram Subhag Singh: May I know whether the question as to whether this Mangla Dam should be constructed or not will be included in the consideration of the distribution of the water from the western rivers under the auspices of the World Bank?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I ventured to reply to a similar question sometime back. This question may be divided up into two parts. One part involves the question of Kashmir and the territory, as we say, forcibly occupied by Pakistan. That is the larger issue. The other part is the construction of dams etc. and their use for canal water. That is a question which can arise even between two countries who want to profit by such purpose. That does not involve any transfer of territory. Often between two countries such a proposal is made jointly or severally and some agreement is arrived at as to the benefits etc., of that, and they agree to certain submergence of their own territory. That does not involve any transfer of territory. In this particular matter, because it is connected with the major Kashmir

issue, we have taken objection repeatedly and brought this matter up before the United Nations, Security Council, and all the papers in regard to it have been placed previously on the Table of the House.

Damani: May I know how far our treaty on Indus Basin water is going to be affected by this project?

Speaker: The quantity will be lessened.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the quantity will not be lessened, the quantity will be put in a reservoir to be used. That will be controllable. It is not that the water flows away; it will be kept in a reservoir for use when needed.

Speaker: How much will we suffer?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That, Sir, depends on what the agreement is. The various proposals made in the past and even in the present have been about a division of the various rivers in the Punjab. In that division this river goes to Pakistan, so that from that point of view, if that is agreed to, we do not suffer for lack of water.

S.M. Banerjee: I want to know whether any reply has been received to our various protest letters to the Security Council; if so, may I know whether they have taken any action and what that action is?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The letters we have sent to the Security Council have as usual been circulated to all the members of the Security Council. Pakistan has put in counter letters which have also been circulated.

S.M. Banerjee: May I know the reaction of the various countries? If both the letters have been circulated, could we ascertain the reaction of the various countries to those letters, whether it is in our favour or not?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not able to say.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that the Mangla Dam dispute is essentially a part of the Kashmir dispute; if so, whether the solution of the Mangla Dam dispute is interlinked with the solution of the bigger issue, and, if the answer is in the affirmative, may I know what steps Government have taken to see that this problem is solved independently and is not inter-linked with the bigger issue?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just ventured to explain, Sir, that this involves two

aspects. There is, as the hon. Member has said, the Kashmir dispute which involves the sovereignty over this area, and we claim that sovereignty. The other is the distribution of certain waters, which may be dealt with apart from the question of sovereignty by agreement or otherwise. Therefore, I cannot deal with the first question, it is a big issue; the second is one which might be dealt with without affecting the sovereignty of a country.

(e) Nepal

183. In Honour of B. P. Koirala¹⁵¹

Prime Minister, Excellencies and Friends,
You have just heard from the Prime Minister of Nepal some reference to the old and new contacts between India and Nepal. It has been our good fortune in India to have friendly relations with all countries. Even sometimes when difficulties have arisen, we have tried to maintain these friendly relations and we have deliberately set before ourselves the policy of being friendly with other countries, even though we might differ from them. There is no other way I believe. At any rate, that is the policy, as you know, which we have adopted.

While that applies to all countries, I think I can say with some assurance and a great deal of truth that our relations with Nepal have been something rather special, not of my making or anybody's making, but because of history, tradition, geography, cultural contacts and the like, and therefore, inevitably it had to be that India and Nepal should be intensely interested in each other's present and future and should grow ever closer.

In the course of the last nine or ten years many changes have come to Nepal and India. Very soon after we attained our Independence and before these new changes had come over Nepal or the beginnings of the change, we were anxious to reassert our friendly relations with Nepal. The then Government of Nepal was of the old type, it was not our concern what Government another country has; that is, we may prefer something or not, but it is entirely that. And even then, in those days, as most people will know, soon after our Independence, we approached the Government of Nepal for a renewal, or renewed treaty of friendship, and that treaty was signed, I forget the exact date, about ten years or eleven years ago.¹⁵²

A little after that, a change came over Nepal, and the internal structure of Government underwent a considerable change. That process of change continued

151. Banquet Speech in reply to Koirala's speech in honour of Nehru, 27 January 1960.

152. On 31 July 1950. See SWJN/SS/16 pt I/p. 485.

for some time, and in this case it took a big turn, I cannot say a final turn, but anyhow a major turn, a year or more ago when a new Constitution was adopted by Nepal and His Majesty the King of Nepal¹⁵³ promulgated a new Constitution and elections took place as a result of which the party represented by the Prime Minister obtained a great majority in their Parliament, and naturally the leader of that party, that is the present Prime Minister of Nepal, took up this high office.¹⁵⁴

While, as I said, it was not for us to, shall I say, desire changes in another friendly country, that is entirely the business of the people of that country; nevertheless, it is perfectly true that we welcome this change greatly, because we felt that it was the right thing for Nepal to develop on democratic lines and thereby come nearer to us in our general outlook and so it has been that we have been close to each other broadly speaking in our broad external outlooks, whether from the national or international point of view, we have been very largely in agreement and without any effort on the part of either to influence or push the other country. By the very nature of circumstances, our past and present, our outlooks. We have largely marched in step in these national and international affairs. That itself shows how close our mutual interests are apart from our outlooks; and that is bound to be so in two neighbouring countries like India and Nepal. Therefore, that is an assurance about the future also.

So, whatever may happen in the future, good fortune or even ill-fortune sometimes, we stand together and share both of them, and in sharing them, try to help each other to share the burden and join in celebrating the victories of our internal policies, which bring a growing measure of welfare to our respective peoples.

It has been a very great pleasure for us to welcome an old friend and yet a young friend to India whom we have known for many years in various capacities and now as the Prime Minister of this democratic Government of Nepal. While thanking him for all that he has said about our country and about me, I should like to assure him of our continuing earnest good wishes for his country and people and for him personally. And so, I ask Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the good health of the Prime Minister and the charming lady to my right.

153. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah, on 12 February 1959.

154. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 361.

184. To B. P. Koirala: Aid to Nepal¹⁵⁵

January 28, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

At the request of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, the Government of India have agreed to provide financial assistance to the extent of Rs. 18 crores as grants for the development plans of Nepal during the period ending 1966. This sum will consist of:

- a) An amount of Rs. 10 crores to be made available for new schemes of economic development, which may be agreed upon between the two Governments.
- b) The anticipated savings of Rs. 4 crores out of the sum of Rs. 10 crores already provided under India's Second Five Year Plan, and which would ordinarily have lapsed.
- c) In addition, the Government of India also undertake to construct the Eastern Kosi Canal (Chatra Canal) in Nepal which is estimated to cost between Rs. 3 and 4 crores.

As regards (a) above, we have received a memorandum from His Majesty's Government of Nepal outlining the schemes for which additional assistance is required. This memorandum may form the basis of discussion between the representatives of the two Governments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

185. For B. P. Koirala¹⁵⁶

प्रधानमन्त्री जी और मित्रो,

पहले तो मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि आप समझें कि कुछ शब्द कहने का मेरा पेशा हर जगह है। लेकिन यह सही है कि अक्सर इस बात में मैं फँस जाता हूँ कभी-कभी मजबूरी से, और कभी-कभी खुशी से। यह मौका ऐसा है खुशी से करने का। तालियाँ, दूसरी बात यह है कि प्रधानमन्त्री जी, कोइराला जी, अक्सर इस दौरान में यहाँ उन्होंने कहा है, कुछ माफ़ी सी माँगी है कि वो हिन्दी ठीक नहीं बोल सकते। तो आपने उनकी आजमाइश इस वक़्त कर ली और कितनी सुंदर भाषा में हिन्दी भाषा में इस वक़्त वो बोले हैं वो आप और हम सब समझ सकते हैं। मुझे कुछ खुशी और ग़रूर होता अगर मैं वैसी हिन्दी बोल सकता जैसे आप बोले हैं।

155. Letter.

156. Speech at the Constitution Club, New Delhi, 28 January 1960, AIR tapes, NMML.

तीसरी बात, यह कि एक पहलू पर कोइराला जी ने जोर दिया। और मैं समझता हूँ बहुत मुनासिब और ज़रूरी जोर दिया। हम सब कहते हैं कि हमारा रिश्ता नेपाल से, भारत की जनता और नेपाल की जनता का रिश्ता पुराना है, भूगोल का है, ज्योग्राफी का है, हिमालय पहाड़ का है, संस्कृति का है, धर्म का है, बहुत सारी बातें बहुत पुरानी चली आती हैं। और इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि उससे एक मज़बूत जड़ सम्बन्ध की है, क्योंकि ऊपर के वाक्यात बदलें भी तो वो बुनियाद कायम रहती है। यह तो सही है, लेकिन फिर भी जब दो देशों का सम्बन्ध होता है तो इन बातों का असर पड़ता है। लेकिन आखिर में जो चीज़ उस सम्बन्ध को बढ़ाती है या बढ़ती है वो उस वक़्त के हालात हैं, उस वक़्त के हालात और किस दृष्टिकोण से वो दो देश चलते हैं। और आजकल के ज़माने में दृष्टिकोण से तो एक माने में एक ही हों, लेकिन कुछ होता है अंदरूनी, राष्ट्रीय, कि हम अपने-अपने देश में किस रास्ते पर चलें। कुछ होता है कि हम दुनिया के बड़े मसलों पर किस तरह से निगाह डालते हैं। यानी कुछ तो नेशनल प्रश्न होते हैं, कुछ इंटरनेशनल प्रश्न होते हैं। और आखिर में एक देश अपनी नीति बनाता है यह समझ के कि उस देश का, उसकी जनता का लाभ कैसे होगा? ज़ाहिर है, कितनी ही हम लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कहें, आखिर में देश अपने लाभ को देखता है और विशेषकर जब एक प्रजातंत्रवादी हो, डेमोक्रेटिक हो तो कोई गवर्नमेंट चल भी नहीं सकती जो अपने देश के लाभ को सामने न रखे, पक्की बात है।

तो इस मसले को इस तरह से हमें देखना है कि भारत का और नेपाल का अपना अलग-अलग लाभ किस बात में है, किस रास्ते पर चलने से, कैसे रिश्ते रखने से, कैसी नेशनल नीति बनाने की, कैसी इंटरनेशनल, अलग-अलग कैसे? और अगर वो दो बातें मिलती हैं दोनों की, जैसा कि कोइराला जी ने कहा, तब फिर वो किसी एक दूसरे की राय से अलग हो जाता है, राय का तो असर होता है, जो नेता हो। लेकिन फिर वो चीज़ एक ऐसी है कि वाक्यात ने पैदा की, जिसको कोई आसानी से हटा नहीं सकता। तो जिस बात पर प्रधानमन्त्री जी ने जोर दिया वो इसी बात पर कि पुरानी परम्परा तो है, वो ठीक है, लेकिन आजकल का क्या सिलसिला है? आजकल क्या दृष्टिकोण है दोनों देश का अलग-अलग और क्या उनकी ज़रूरियात हैं? और क्या उनका ध्येय है, क्या लक्ष्य है और अगर वो कमोबेश मिलते हैं तब ज़ाहिर है कि एक-दूसरे से सहयोग होगा और बहुत तरह से साथ मिलकर चलना होगा। इस बात पर उन्होंने जोर दिया और मुझे अच्छा लगा कि इस बात पर, विशेषकर जोर दिया और खाली पुरानी बातों पर नहीं।

हमें यह भी याद रखना चाहिए कि एक देश, कि जहाँ प्रजातंत्रवादी देश हो और जहाँ एक आज़ादी हो लोगों के कहने की, लिखने की, तो हर तरह की चीज़ें कही जाती हैं, लिखी जाती हैं, ऐसी चीज़ भी कही जाती है और लिखी जाती है जो देश की नीति के विरोध में हो। क्योंकि अब्बल तो हमेशा कुछ न कुछ ऐसे लोग हो सकते हैं। दूसरे प्रजातंत्रवादी देशों में आप जानते हैं कई दल होते हैं, कई पार्टियाँ होती हैं, कई गिरोह होते हैं और जो विरोधी दल कहलाते हैं, आपज़िशन में उनका किसी क़दर पेशा होता है दूसरी बात कहने का जो गवर्नमेंट कहे। क्योंकि नहीं तो अगर हर बात में हों में हों मिलाये तो फिर उनकी जड़ निकल जाती है विरोधी दल की, किसलिए हैं वो।

अब आप देखें हमारे देश को, भारत को, अक्सर लोग बाहर से आते हैं और देशों से और मेरा भी उनसे मिलना होता है। और उन्हें कुछ आश्चर्य होता है यहाँ आकर कहते हैं हमने तो कुछ समाचार पत्रों में, और जगह बातें जो पढ़ी थीं भारत की नीति की निस्वत और भारत के हाल की

निस्वतः जो इस समय है। उससे हमें फिक्र हुई थी, परेशानी हुई थी कि यहाँ तो बहुत विरोधी बातें कहीं जा रही हैं। लेकिन यहाँ आके हमने देखा कि हालत अच्छी है जो हमने पढ़ा था वो नहीं है। और जनता एक तरफ देखती है और उसी के साथ यह भी उन्होंने कहा कि यह भी हमने देखा कि कितनी तुम्हारे यहाँ आज़ादी है कि लोग जो चाहें कहें, विरोध करें और जोरों से विरोध करें। तो हमें नहीं जाना चाहिए इस बात में कि कोई शस्त्र भारत में, या नेपाल में कोई व्यक्तिगत रूप से क्या कहता है, क्या लिखता है? क्योंकि देशों में जहाँ प्रजातंत्र है और आज़ादी है यह सब मौक़े मिलते हैं। हमें ज़्यादा गहरी तौर से देखना है।

हिन्दुस्तान एक बड़ा देश है चालीस करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं। और अब चालीस करोड़ में यह समझना कि हरेक एक राय का है वो तो गुलत बात है। हम चाहते भी नहीं कि एक राय का हो, क्यों हो एक राय के सब? क्योंकि देश बढ़ते हैं इस तरह से कि वाद-विवाद हो त्रुटियाँ दिखाई जाएँ। हाँ कभी-कभी ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा दिखा दी जाती है वो या जो नहीं भी होती वो भी बना दी जाती है। लेकिन यह अच्छा है कि ऐसी आज़ादी हो। और उससे हमें धोखे में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए कि क्या हाल है।

अभी इस दो-तीन दिन में, दो-चार दिन में हमने यह गणतंत्र दिवस, रिपब्लिक-डे मनाया। और उसके आगे पीछे भी जो बातें होती हैं, और आप सबों ने देखा और जो हमारे हज़ारों मेहमान और लोग बाहर से आये थे उन्होंने भी देखा। कुछ लोगों का उत्साह, लोगों की खुशी, कुछ लोगों के असली दिल का हाल नज़र आया। क्योंकि उस वक़्त कोई बहस व मुवाहसा नहीं था। तो उससे उनके ऊपर असर हुआ कि यह जो बातें हम सुनते थे उसमें इतनी अहमियत नहीं है जितनी कि बाज़ लोग कहते थे। तो इसलिए ठीक है कि हम इस बात को सोचें, याद रखें कि असली बुनियाद फ़ायदे और लाभ देशों के किस बात से हैं, उसी से सम्बन्ध होता है। और जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ और जहाँ तक कोइराला जी ने कहा वो समझते हैं, हमारे, जिस तरफ हम देखते हैं, हमारा दृष्टिकोण है। और यानी अंदरूनी हालात में और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय हालात में, वो इतना मिलता-जुलता है कि कोई आये या कोई जाये उसको कोई बदल नहीं सकते वाक़यात हैं। फर्ज़ कीजिए कि हिन्दुस्तान में हम एक नीति पर चल रहे हैं अंदर, पंचवर्षीय योजना, फाइव इयर्स प्लान वगैरह, अपने एग्रीकल्चर इंडस्ट्री के बारे में, हम अपने मुल्क को जितनी जल्दी हो सकता है बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, नये तरीक़ों में जो इंडस्ट्री वगैरह के हैं, इंडस्ट्रीअलाइज़ किया चाहते हैं जिससे ज़्यादा धन-दौलत पैदा हो, जिससे जनता की भलाई हो। क्योंकि आखिर में जनता की भलाई, कुछ महज़ एक कानून कर देने से या ऊपरी कोई कार्यवाही से नहीं होती। आखिर में परिश्रम से होती है कि जो जनता पैदा करेगी अपने परिश्रम से, उतना ही उसको मिलेगा। हर देश को आखिर में कितनी सहायता मिले? अपने परिश्रम पर भरोसा करना होता है।

तो हमसे इस ज़माने में यकीनन ग़लतियाँ हुई, कमज़ोरियाँ हुई, सब कुछ हुआ। लेकिन हमने एक सिलसिला चलाया, एक दरिया को बहाया, शुरू कर दिया, बहा दिया हिन्दुस्तान में, जो किसी के रोके नहीं रुकता है। न बहुत ज़्यादा उसको बदल सकता है, थोड़ा बहुत इधर-उधर हो कुछ। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि हालाँकि एक तरफ हमारे सामने पहाड़ की तरह सवाल हैं जैसे कि और जितने बड़े पहाड़ हैं उतने ही यह नतीजा उससे निकाल सकते हैं हम कि हमने कितनी तरक्की की है। क्योंकि जब कोई मुल्क तरक्की करता है इस रास्ते पर, तो उसके सवाल बढ़ते जाते हैं, सवाल उन्हीं मुल्कों में नहीं होते या छिपे होते हैं। जोकि जमे हुए हैं। हमने हिन्दुस्तान को उखाड़ने

की कोशिश की, उखाड़ने से मतलब यह नहीं कि उसकी पुरानी जड़ें उखाड़ें। लेकिन इस बात का कि हिमालय का ज़िक्र यहाँ इन दिनों बहुत हुआ कि हिमालय का रिश्ता हमारा है, नेपाल का वो भी एक ज़बर्दस्त रिश्ता है। तो जैसे हिमालय एक अटल चीज़ है, वैसे ही मैं आशा करता हूँ और यकीन रखता हूँ कि नेपाल और भारत की मैत्री और सहयोग भी अटल रहेगा। तालियाँ।

[Translation begins:

Prime Minister and Friends,

First of all, I do not want you to get the impression that it is my profession to say a few words everywhere. But it is true that I am often stuck with it, sometimes helplessly and at others very willingly. This is one of the occasions when I am very happy to speak [Applause]. Secondly, Prime Minister Koiralaji has often apologised on this trip for his inability to speak Hindi well. You have just heard him speaking. All of us know how beautifully he speaks. I would be happy and proud to be able to speak Hindi as he does.

Thirdly, Koiralaji has emphasised one angle, and in my opinion, rightly so. We often talk about the long-standing relations between Nepal and India, of geography, culture, religion and the Himalayas, etc... There is no doubt about it that the relations are deep-rooted and superficial differences cannot shake that. But changing circumstances have an impact on relations between two countries. Ultimately, two countries can come closer or grow distant through the circumstances which prevail at a particular time and the attitude of each to various problems, our national and international policies, etc... It is obvious that a nation's policies are formulated to serve the national interests best. However idealistically we may talk, ultimately a country has to look to its national interest and particularly in a democratic set-up, no government can afford to ignore them. This is absolutely clear.

Therefore, we must take into account the national interest of India and Nepal and evolve our policies, national as well as international. If there is a similarity of interests, then the bond becomes stronger, as Koiralaji pointed out, and nobody can shake that very easily. So, what the Prime Minister has tried to emphasize is that the old traditions are very well but what is significant is the circumstances of today, the attitude of both the countries towards various issues, their needs and goals, etc. If there is a similarity of interests, it is obvious that there can be cooperation between the two in many areas. He has laid emphasis on this which I liked because he has not confined himself to the old ties.

We must also remember that in a democracy, where people enjoy freedom of speech, all sorts of things are said and written which may be completely opposed to the national policy. For one thing, there are always people with different points of view. Secondly, there are many parties which are in opposition. The duty of the opposition is to oppose the government's point of view. They cannot afford

to agree with everything that the government says.

Very often visitors from foreign countries come to me and say that they were perturbed and amazed at the kind of things that are said in the newspapers about India's policies and the condition that exists in the country. But they find that what the newspapers say is not correct. They also say that people in India have great freedom to say what they like. But we must not get carried away by what is said by individuals about Nepal or India but go deeper into the matter. India is a large country with a population of forty crore. It is wrong to think that all forty crore of them can be of the same view. We do not want that that should be so. A country progresses only when there is a healthy debate or mistakes are pointed out. Sometimes this is carried too far and things are cooked up. But freedom is a good thing. We need not get carried away by exaggeration.

We have just celebrated Republic Day with great pomp and pageantry. Thousands of foreign visitors came to witness these celebrations. They showed up the people's state of mind and their enthusiasm. There was no question of arguments at the time. The visitors from outside realised that they should not attach too much importance to what is said by some newspapers.

Therefore, as Koiralaji has pointed out, it is proper that we should pay more attention to where our national interests lie. The attitude of both Nepal and India towards various internal and international situations is so similar that superficial differences cannot change the basic facts. For instance, India is trying to implement her Five Year Plans to improve agriculture and industrialise the country, adopt new technological methods, to increase the national wealth and make the people better off. Ultimately, the condition of the people can improve, not by passing laws or some superficial activities, but by hard work. The harder the people work, the more they will achieve. Ultimately, the people have to become self-reliant.

We have made mistakes during the years gone by and weaknesses have crept in. But we have started a process in India which cannot be stemmed, and nor can it be deviated very much. There is no doubt about it, that though on the one hand there are gigantic problems before us, they reflect the progress that we are making. When a country progresses, problems are bound to crop up. There are no problems in a country which is stagnant. We have tried to shake the country out of its old lethargy. But that does not mean that we wish to uproot the country from its ancient moorings. I hope that the relations between India and Nepal will be as firm and unalterable as the Himalayas; that has been mentioned so often recently [Applause].

Translation ends.]

186. Joint Communiqué¹⁵⁷

At the invitation of the Government of India, His Excellency Mr. B.P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal, accompanied by Shrimati Sushila Koirala, His Excellency Mr. Surya Prasad Upadhyaya, Home Minister, and senior officials of His Majesty's Government of Nepal, have been visiting India from the 17th January and will go back to Kathmandu on 31st January, 1960. During their tour they have visited industrial establishments and development projects, the National Defence Academy and many other places in India. They have also been present in New Delhi on the occasion of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Republic of India. They have been welcomed everywhere with popular enthusiasm reflecting the close friendship and neighbourly relations and the community of culture and outlook subsisting between Nepal and India.

The Prime Minister and the Home Minister of Nepal have had frank and cordial discussions with the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Government of India. The discussions covered a wide range of subjects, including the present international situation as it affects the two countries, economic and other matters affording opportunities for co-operation between His Majesty's Government of Nepal and the Government of India.

SIMILARITY OF APPROACH TO PROBLEMS

These discussions have revealed afresh a similarity of approach to international problems by the two Governments and their desire to co-operate with each other in regard to them. The two Governments attach great importance to the furtherance of peace in the world and are determined to work to this end. They trust that the efforts being now made by the great powers for the lessening of world tensions and a settlement of international conflicts through peaceful methods will lead to success. The two Prime Ministers recognised that Nepal and India have a vital interest in each other's freedom, integrity, security and progress and agreed that the two Governments should maintain close consultation in matters of common interest.

The Prime Minister of India assured the Prime Minister of Nepal of the Government of India's sympathetic interest in the plans of His Majesty's Government, for the social and economic regeneration of Nepal by democratic means. The two governments are already co-operating in schemes of economic development and they propose to continue and accelerate this co-operation. At the request of his Majesty's Government, the Government of India have readily agreed to afford financial assistance for Nepal's development programme to the

157. 28 January 1960. From *The Hindu*, 29 January 1960.

extent of Rs. 14 crores. The Government of India has also undertaken to construct the East Kosi (Chatra) Canal at a cost of rupees three to four crores. Thus, the Government of India has expressed their readiness to assist the development programmes of Nepal to the extent of Rs. 18 crores. This amount includes rupees four crores out of the previous grant, which is not likely to be spent during the First Plan period. It was further agreed that adequate arrangements should be made in order to coordinate and expedite the execution of projects financed under these programmes:

Advantage was taken of the presence of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of Nepal to have a broad discussion on the terms of a new treaty to replace the existing Treaty of Trade and Commerce. The two Governments agreed that the new treaty should provide for the separation of Nepal's foreign exchange account and the regulation by the Government of Nepal of their foreign trade. In view of the close connection between the economies of India and Nepal, the two Governments agreed to work out details which would facilitate the expansion of Nepal's trade with India and other countries and promote co-operation between India and Nepal in the field of economic development.

187. To B. P. Koirala: Good Wishes¹⁵⁸

February 12, 1960

I have just received your letter of February 10. Thank you for it. We were very happy to have you and your wife and your Home Minister in India for a few days. This enabled us and our people to show the friendship and high regard we have for you and for Nepal. For us, the freedom and prosperity of Nepal is as dear as that of India. Indeed mutual interests demand that.

The overlapping, to some extent, of your visit to Delhi with President Voroshilov's came in the way somewhat of our welcome to you. Nevertheless, I was happy to be able to have talks with you and your Home Minister. I attach importance to our keeping in touch with each other in these difficult days.

With all good wishes to you and to Nepal,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

188. To Harishwar Dayal: Briefing for Nepal-China Border Talks¹⁵⁹

Your telegram 408 of February 25.¹⁶⁰ It is very likely that the Chinese will approach the Nepal-China border discussion on the lines of their recent agreement with Burma. The main features of the Burmese Agreement are –

- (i) No reference has been made to the McMahon Line border on the north but, in fact, in the agreement, this border is referred to as a traditional customary line and has been described in detail from point to point. A Joint Committee consisting of representatives of two countries will demarcate the border on the basis of local survey.
- (ii) In regard to other disputed areas, the Joint Committee would determine the specific alignment of the boundary line in these areas with reference to rival claims of the two sides on the basis of previous discussions.
- (iii) One particular area which was given a perpetual lease by China to Burma will now form part of Burmese territory on the ground that there is a road constructed by the Burmese across the territory connecting two parts of Burma.
- (iv) The Joint Committee will carry out delimitation and demarcation along the boundary so fixed and draft a treaty. This treaty will supersede all earlier treaties concerning the boundary between Burma and China.

2. We are not sure if at present there are any definite boundary disputes between Nepal and China and what discussions have taken place in recent years between Nepal and Tibet on this subject. However, our advice would be as follows.

- (1) The Nepalese should adhere to their stand that their boundary was never in dispute. It is traditional and well known and based on unchanging geographical features. They should not agree to the position that the boundary has not been delimited in the past and has to be agreed upon afresh between the two sides.
- (2) The Nepal delegation should give the Chinese at the start of their discussion a detailed description of the boundary describing it from point to point and call upon the Chinese to accept this. If the Chinese raise any question or produce alternative description, Nepal should take time to study the disputes, and not leave them to be decided by a joint committee of the two sides. While there could be no objection to a discussion in Peking by the representatives on both sides to ascertain Chinese viewpoint, decision can only be taken at the level of Governments. If the Chinese dispute any part of the boundary as described by the Nepalese, they should be called upon to describe the boundary precisely as they claim,

159. Telegram to the Indian Ambassador to Nepal, No. 1026, 27 February 1960.

160. See Appendix 39.

so that points of dispute are precisely known. The Chinese usually avoid precise discussion and definition.

- (3) Judging from the Chinese maps, it may be inferred that they may raise disputes in regard to four places—(i) Simikot area, (ii) Mustang, (iii) Rasua Garhi, (iv) Kimatankha and Thudam in the Dhankot area. Embassy has already got full material on these disputes. If Nepal Government wants this material, Embassy should supply copies of our note after necessary addition. In any case, even in regard to these disputes, it would be advisable not to attempt a settlement on spot unless the Nepal Government is quite sure of facts and implications.
- (4) There is no particular connection between boundary discussions and Non-Aggression Treaty. In a similar Treaty between China and Burma, there is an article to the effect that each contracting party undertakes not to take any part in any military alliance directed against the other contracting party. Since Nepal's policy is one of non-alignment, a formal undertaking in a Treaty does not appear to be necessary. It should be sufficient for the two sides to reiterate in an agreed joint communiqué their adherence to a policy of non-alignment and their determination to decide all disputes by peaceful means. Similarly, Article 4 of Sino-Burmese Treaty refers to the strengthening of economic and cultural ties between the two countries. It is for Nepal to consider whether this policy should be embodied in a formal Non-Aggression Pact.
- (5) Regarding the Chinese Embassy in Kathmandu, we agree that it should be used as a bargaining counter in discussions about the frontier.
3. We are preparing a more detailed note on the Nepal-China border including a description of the border. This will be ready by the time you arrive.
4. You should communicate our advice personally to KOIRALA. No formal note should be given to the Foreign Office.

(f) USSR

189. To G. B. Pant, Morarji Desai, V. K. Krishna Menon, and S. K. Patil: Invitation to the USSR¹⁶¹

A joint communiqué on the occasion of the visit of President Voroshilov and others to Delhi will be issued in tomorrow morning's papers.¹⁶² The Soviet leaders were anxious to include in this a rather long paragraph about their previous invitation to our President to visit Russia and his inability to come then. They had repeated this invitation, and our President had accepted it.

2. We suggested that we do not usually mention such invitations in our joint communiqués. If they wished to mention it, they could do so in their press conference. They agreed, and so this paragraph was left out.

3. At this evening's party, Mr. Kozlov told me that they wished to invite especially our Home Minister, our Finance Minister, our Defence Minister and our Food and Agriculture Minister to visit the Soviet Union. He further added that they would like to invite others also if I could suggest the names.

4. I told him that it would probably be difficult for the Home Minister to travel abroad because he had not been keeping good health. All of us anyhow were very busy with the Parliament session for some months, and the Finance Minister would be particularly engaged. But I had no doubt that the Ministers he had named and others would be happy to visit the Soviet Union when an opportunity offered itself.

190. Joint Communiqué¹⁶³

Marshal K.E. Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, USSR, Mr F. R. Kozlov, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mme Furtseva, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet, USSR, were in India from January 20 to February 6, 1960, on a goodwill visit at the invitation of Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, and the Government of India. They were accompanied by Mr V.V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Minister of Culture, USSR, Mr A. I. Imamov, Minister of Culture of the Tadjik SSR, Mr V.I. Likhachov, Head of the South-East Affairs, USSR, Mr V.I. Avilov, Deputy Chief of the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR, and Col. V. Yachekalov.

161. Note to Home, Finance, Defence, and Food and Agriculture Ministers, 5 February 1960.

162. See item 190.

163. 5 February 1960. From *The Hindu*, 6 February 1960.

During their travels in India, Marshal Voroshilov, Mr Kozlov and Mme Furtseva were accompanied by Mr Benedictov, Ambassador of the USSR in India, Shri K.D. Malaviya, Minister of Mines and Fuel, and Shri K.P.S. Menon, the Indian Ambassador in the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet representatives were given a warm reception by the Indian public in Delhi and in all other place which they visited. These popular demonstrations of welcome and goodwill were an expression of the regard and friendliness of the Indian people towards the people of the Soviet Union, and evoked a cordial and generous response from the Soviet visitors. The Soviet guests expressed deep thankfulness and appreciation to the Government of India and the Indian people for a warm and hearty welcome. From their side they were happy to have had the occasion to convey personally to the people and the Government of India the feelings of sincere brotherly friendship which the people and the Government of the Soviet Union have towards them.

In Delhi, Marshal Voroshilov, Mr F.R. Kozlov, Mme Ye. Furtseva and others accompanying them were present at the celebrations on the occasion of the Republic Day of India. Thereafter they made a rapid tour of the country, collectively or in groups. Besides the large cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Bangalore, their journey took them to many places of interest, including, in particular, Suratgarh, where a large mechanised State farm has been established with the aid of machinery and equipment given as a gift by the USSR. Bhilai, where a steel plant built with Soviet co-operation has gone into production; and Cambay, where exploration for oil is going on with Soviet technical assistance with progressively encouraging prospects. In the course of their tour, they also visited community centres and a number of industrial and other developmental projects. They thus had an opportunity of seeing for themselves the results of the great effort that India is making, in all fields of economic and social activity, to develop her national economy and raise the standard of living of her people as rapidly as possible.

Marshal Voroshilov, Mr Kozlov and Mme Furtseva met and had talks in a friendly, cordial atmosphere with Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, and other members of the Government of India. Their talks with the Prime Minister covered matters of mutual interest to the two countries, including major aspects of the current international situation, and touched also on India's development plans, present as well as prospective.

Both sides expressed their gratification at the development of the relations between India and the Soviet Union in a spirit of goodwill and friendship as a result of their common adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence and active pursuit of peace. These provide an expanding basis of co-operation between the countries in the international field in the interest of world peace. The two countries, moreover, are united in their conviction that disputes between nations must be solved by peaceful means alone, and not by recourse to arms.

“SUMMIT MEETING” WELCOMED

Both sides noted with satisfaction the recent trend towards a lessening of international tension, and welcomed the agreement reached on the holding of a “Summit Meeting” in May next. This meeting and the exchanges of visits by the leaders of the Big Powers have raised high expectations throughout the world. The Indian and the Soviet sides expressed their earnest hope that the forthcoming meeting would result in substantial progress in the solution of the problems facing the world today and thus pave the way for the achievement of further success by co-operative international effort.

IMPORTANCE OF DISARMAMENT

Both sides stressed the importance of disarmament as an essential prerequisite to a permanent and lasting peace and to the banishment of the fear of war. Through disarmament also lay the path to world prosperity, for the technical skills, the productive effort and the human and material resources released from the manufacture of armaments, could be diverted to peaceful purposes, and more specially to the development of countries which have lagged behind in the race towards material progress. Though discussions had been going on for years, little had been accomplished by way of advance towards an international agreement on disarmament, but the prospects seemed more favourable at the present time than ever before. Reference was made in this context to the proposal recently, put forward by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev for total and universal disarmament, and the Prime Minister of India acclaimed the proposal as a courageous and far-sighted one which demanded the close attention of all other countries. The Government of India welcome the latest substantial reduction of the armed forces of the Soviet Union as an important step towards peace.

CESSATION OF NUCLEAR TESTS URGED

Both sides stand for the prohibition of thermonuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction. Similarly, they are in favour of a very early agreement between the great powers possessing nuclear weapons for an immediate cessation of the tests of these weapons with effective international control, and call upon these and other powers to abstain voluntarily from carrying out such tests. In this connection, satisfaction was expressed from the Soviet side that the Government of India showed commendable initiative in presenting the question of the cessation of nuclear tests at the 14th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

A review was made of the economic and cultural relations between the two countries. The trade agreement concluded last year for a five-year period, resulting in increased commercial exchanges between the two countries, the projects for

the establishment of certain new industries through mutual collaboration, and the fresh credit recently offered by the Soviet Union of 1,500 million roubles had helped to strengthen the economic relations between India and the Soviet Union. A similar gratifying improvement was also to be found in the sphere of cultural relations. In order, however, further to develop these relations, in accordance with planned and defined ends, a cultural and, scientific agreement is being concluded between the two countries.

PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE

Marshal K.E. Voroshilov, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, USSR, and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, expressed their pleasure at having been able to meet again after the lapse of almost five years. Marshal Voroshilov, Mr Kozlov and Mme Furtseva and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru had an opportunity to exchange their points of view and to declare the common determination of their two countries to strive ceaselessly for world peace and for better understanding between nations. The visit of Marshal Voroshilov, Mr Kozlov and Mme Furtseva and those accompanying them to India, their talks with the members of the Government of India and others, were fruitful and will further promote the understanding and friendship between India and the Soviet Union. Both sides are confident that the friendly relations existing between India and the Soviet Union will continue to strengthen and develop for the benefit of the people of both countries and in the interests of peace throughout the world.

191. To B. C. Roy: Khrushchev's Visit¹⁶⁴

February 5, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

You wrote to me that you were coming here tomorrow and staying for two days in Delhi. I hope to see you. Meanwhile, however, I am writing to you about Khrushchev's visit to Calcutta.

It has, I think, been settled that Khrushchev will reach Calcutta from Bhilai on the 15th afternoon. There will be no function there except a banquet that night at Raj Bhavan. He will, of course, be received in due form at the airport. On the 16th morning he will leave for Indonesia.

When he returns from Indonesia, he will also spend a day and a night in Calcutta. This will be the 28th February. K.P.S. Menon tells me that you would like Khrushchev to address a public meeting there that day. I suppose Khrushchev

164. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

would welcome this. I have no objection if you so want. K.P.S. Menon also asked me to go to Calcutta on the 28th February to meet Khrushchev, I think it would be worthwhile my going there for a day then to have a last minute discussion before he returns to Moscow. I can only go to Calcutta for a day, reaching there probably in the forenoon of the 28th February and returning to Delhi early morning on the 29th. I must be back on the 29th because that is our Budget day and the Finance Minister makes his Budget Statement that afternoon.

If you think that we should invite Khrushchev to have a public meeting in Calcutta, you will please let me know, and we shall communicate this to him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

192. To M. R. A. Baig: Guest List for the Banquet for Khrushchev¹⁶⁵

For the Banquet to Mr. Khrushchev, I suggest that you might include the following names in the list of invitees:-

1. Shri C.D. Deshmukh and Shrimati Durgabai Deshmukh.
2. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 16, Hindustan Park, Calcutta 29. (He will be coming here for the Sahitya Akademi meeting.)
3. Shri Ramdhari Sinha Dinkar, MP.
4. Professor M. Mujeeb, Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, Jamia Nagar, Delhi.
5. Mama Warerkar, MP, 191 South Avenue, New Delhi.
6. Sardar K.M. Panikkar, MP, 29 Meena Bagh, Maulana Azad Road, New Delhi.
2. These are all leading members of the Sahitya Akademi which is meeting about that time in Delhi.
3. I presume that you have already invited Shri Humayun Kabir and Mrs. Kabir. They should anyhow be invited to the Banquet.
4. I suppose that you have received the names of some MPs from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.¹⁶⁶ You will notice that I have included three MPs in the above list, but for different reasons.
5. For my lunch to Mr. Khrushchev, the following names should be added:-

165. Note to the Chief of Protocol, 6 February 1960. File No. 1, General Council, part-ix, 1959-60, Sahitya Akademi Records.

166. Satya Narayan Sinha.

1. Shri Tarasankar Banerji, P 171, C.C.O.S., Talla Park, Calcutta 2.
2. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Jassim House, 25 Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay 5.
3. Shri Umashankar Joshi, Setu, 12 Sardar Patel Nagar, Ahmedabad.
4. Dr. V. Raghavan, University of Madras, Madras.
5. Shrimati Amrita Pritam, 8/20, West Patel Nagar, New Delhi. (She is a distinguished Punjabi poet.)
6. Shri D.R. Bendro, All India Radio, Dhanwar. (He is a distinguished Kannada poet.)
(All the above are leading members of the Sahitya Akademi.)
7. Shri and Shrimati Krishna Kripalani. (He is the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi.)
6. Possibly Shrimati Indira Gandhi might invite a few others to the lunch at my house.
7. Many of the addressed given above are of people not resident in Delhi. They will, however, be coming here for the Sahitya Akademi meeting. Perhaps it will be better for you to send their cards of invitation to them C/o Shri K.R. Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, 74, Theatre Communication Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi.¹⁶⁷

193. To Kesho Ram: False Statements in the Journal *Thought*¹⁶⁸

I have just pointed out to you some statements in *Thought* which are completely wrong.

You might draw their attention to this more or less in the following terms.

"In the issue of *Thought* dated February 6th the Beachcomber's Diary contains some statements about the Prime Minister which are completely wrong in every particular.

The first statement says that the Prime Minister was late by one hour in keeping his engagement with the Prime Minister of Nepal because he was engaged in talks with President Voroshilov. This is untrue. The Prime Minister saw the Prime Minister of Nepal punctually at the time fixed. Previous to that he had been attending the civic reception given to President Voroshilov at the Red Fort.

167. This note was copied on 6 February to K. R. Kripalani, the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, with the information: "I have your note of the 6th February about some distinguished Indian writers. I have divided them between the President's Banquet and my lunch to Mr Khrushchev."

168. Note to PPS, 7 February 1960.

The second matter mentioned is that the Prime Minister left the banquet to the Prime Minister of Nepal half an hour after it began in order to reach Palam to receive Lady Mountbatten. This is wholly untrue. The Prime Minister stayed not only to the end of the banquet, but also to the end of the cultural programme at Rashtrapati Bhavan and returned home near midnight. He did not go to Palam or anywhere else to receive Lady Mountbatten."

194. To N. R. Pillai: Drafting Agreement with the Soviet Union¹⁶⁹

I am surprised to learn that Article 6 in the original draft (Flag C) was put in at our instance. I do not like it at all. I had agreed to it because time was short and I did not attach too much importance to it. I agree, therefore, that we should anyhow drop this Article.¹⁷⁰

2. It seems to me that these draft Agreements repeat the same idea again and again. However, I do not wish to suggest an entirely new draft. There is no particular objection to repetition except a linguistic one.

3. Article 7 talks about the two Governments "pledging, themselves." I do not fancy this phraseology. The same idea minus "pledging" has been repeated several times. However, as I have said above, if this has been agreed to, we may allow it to rest there.¹⁷¹

4. As for the Soviet Article 6 (Flag B). I do not like it as drafted and I do not understand the mention of "assistance on a large scale" or "on a broad scale" as given in another translation. The reference to Britain and America do not quite apply here as in those two countries, unlike the Soviet Union, almost everything is done through non-governmental organisations. We are not opposed to cooperation between non-governmental organisations, but who is to choose these? Can any small group of persons set up something which they call a cultural or scientific or educational organisation and claim this large-scale help? Surely we cannot commit ourselves to this kind of thing. It may also be that, in the name of cultural or educational organisation, the purpose might be something different.

169. Note to SG, MEA, 8 February 1960.

170. The Article read: "The High Contracting Parties shall endeavour to ensure that text-books and officials informative publications shall contain correct facts about each other's country."

171. The Article read: "The two Governments pledge themselves to take all appropriate measures to provide all possible facilities for giving effect to the terms of this Agreement."

5. I am agreeable to what you have said in paragraph 5 of your note, that is, our accepting our first draft with the addition of "or organisations" after "research institutions."¹⁷²

6. I really cannot understand why we should be called upon to assist on a large scale any organisation. That depends on our own resources and our judgment.

7. That is, I agree to the two suggestions you have made.

8. There is going to be no Cabinet Meeting during the next few days, that is, before Mr. Khrushchev comes here. I think any draft that is agreed to should be shown to the Home Minister and the Finance Minister, as also to the Minister of SR & CA.

195. To M. R. Baig: Khrushchev's Visit ¹⁷³

Now that the Bharatpur trip is off, the question of anyone accompanying Mr Khrushchev there does not arise.

2. Shri K.P.S. Menon will of course accompany Mr Khrushchev wherever he goes. No one need accompany him to Parliament because we shall receive him here and then accompany him inside. This also applies to the civic reception. So far as the World Agriculture Fair is concerned, Dr Panjabrao Deshmukh will no doubt take him round.

3. There is thus no necessity for a special Minister in attendance in Delhi. As for Suratgarh and Bhilai, it has already been arranged that Shri S.K. Patil and Sardar Swaran Singh should accompany him to these places respectively.

4. Presumably, our President, Mr Khrushchev and I will travel together from the airport.¹⁷⁴ As for the other cars, any suitable arrangements can be made. We should try to find out which Ministers are going to the airport. That day is a Parliament day and especially the morning hour is important in Parliament because of questions. So, I do not know who will be able to go. Thus, the Vice-President will probably not be able to go to Palam. Nor will the Speaker.

5. As for Indira Gandhi, she will probably want to go to Palam, but because she is not well, this cannot be said for certain.

172. The draft first proposed to the Soviet Government contained the following: "The High Contracting Parties will facilitate and encourage co-operation between the educational, cultural, scientific, and technical and research institutions of the two countries by reciprocal visits, attendance in educational, cultural, scientific and technical congresses and conferences, etc."

173. Note to the Chief of Protocol, 9 February 1960.

174. Khrushchev arrived in New Delhi on 11 February 1960.

6. Now I come to your principal question in paragraph 1. I think that our broad approach should be to show him every honour that we give to a Head of State without unnecessary formalities. Thus, the President will receive him at Palam and the President will give him a banquet. There is no need for a gun salute. I think it will be desirable to have the President's Bodyguard from Vijay Chowk to Rashtrapati Bhavan, but I do not think it is necessary to have the inspection ceremony in the forecourt etc. of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

196. To Trilok Chand Sharma: Civic Address Draft¹⁷⁵

February 9, 1960

My dear Trilok Chandji,

I have received today your draft of the Civic Address.¹⁷⁶ I have made some corrections in it which I hope you will approve.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

197. To B. C. Roy: Khrushchev's Visit¹⁷⁷

February 11, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

Khrushchev and party arrived here today. I talked to him about his stay in Calcutta on his return from Indonesia. He told me that he was going to spend two more days now in Indonesia and, therefore, he would reach Calcutta on the 1st March instead of 28th February. I mentioned to him that we were anxious to give him a public reception in Calcutta if there was time for it. He agreed. As for the exact time of his arrival in Calcutta on the 1st March, he could not definitely say now, as he did not know the time the journey would take in his aircraft. Probably he will reach Calcutta about 1.00 or 2 p.m.

I suppose that the public reception would be held about 5.00 in the evening, or even 5.30.

175. Letter to the Mayor of Delhi.

176. See Appendix 26.

177. Letter. File No. 8/134/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

I shall of course let you know definitely later. This is just first information. I still intend coming to Calcutta on the day he arrives, that is, now on the 1st March forenoon.¹⁷⁸

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

198. Record of Nehru-Khrushchev Talk¹⁷⁹

Record of a talk between the Prime Minister and Mr. Khrushchev on February 11, 1960.

Mr. Khrushchev called on the Prime Minister at the Prime Minister's House at 10.15 a.m. There was a general talk about various matters of not any particular significance. Referring to food production, Prime Minister said that in America there is a campaign against the consumption of milk by people above the age of 25. Mr. Khrushchev's reply was that this campaign was probably in the interest of the Coca Cola manufacturers. There was no such campaign in the Soviet Union. Milk and steel are dear to Mr. Khrushchev's heart. The more steel a country produces the stronger will its economy be. The more maize a country produces the better will the people be fed. Prime Minister said that the same held true of wheat. Mr. Khrushchev's reply was that corn has the highest yield. America lives on maize; so does Mexico. The Soviet Union produces wheat, maize and sweet potato. There was an intensive campaign for the production of corn for cattle feed. During the last two years the attention of the peasant had been drawn to corn as a useful cattle feed. In 7 years' time the Soviet Union hopes to catch up with America in the production of cattle. All the conditions for the rearing of good cattle obtain in the Soviet Union.

2. Prime Minister remarked that India has more vegetarians than any country in the world. Mr. Khrushchev replied that the President of the Academy of Sciences in the Soviet Union is a vegetarian. Tolstoy himself became a vegetarian, but at an old age and on the advice of doctors.

178. See SWJN/SS/58, forthcoming.

179. 11 February 1960. File No. 13(3)Eur(E)/60, p.5., MEA. Subimal Dutt submitted the draft on 19 February 1960.

TOP SECRET

199. Record of Nehru-Khrushchev Talk¹⁸⁰

P.M. : I am happy to have the opportunity to have this talk. There have been interesting developments in world affairs in which Mr. Khrushchev has been playing a leading and outstanding part. I would be grateful if Mr. Khrushchev would kindly give me his appraisal of the international situation.

Mr. Khrushchev: The international situation is good but there is no justification for anyone to be complacent about it. The situation, one might say, is better than it was yesterday. It is an accidental coincidence that with Dulles's death,¹⁸¹ the policy of "from position of strength" has also died. It would not be right to say that Dulles took his policy away. Even if he had lived, his policy would have died in any case. This is because USSR had demonstrated its strength and vitality which United States and all concerned had to reckon with. At one time the policy of surrounding Soviet Union with military bases was being actively pursued. The main purpose of these bases was directed against the Soviet Union. The fact that we launched Sputniks, led people to realise that the policy of creating bases had failed. United States is very much concerned with the economic development of the Soviet Union and the fact that the Soviet Union is catching up with U.S.A. The Americans have begun to reconcile themselves with the fact that the Soviet Union will soon overtake them. In fact, in a number of scientific fields, we have already taken a lead. In view of this, the policy of "from position of strength" is of no use. This new element creates good conditions for the pursuit of peaceful policies. Our peaceful policies are beginning to be better understood and appreciated in the world.

Against this background, we feel that there is need for solution of concrete problems. We want to do away with all those factors which are standing in the way of Peace Treaty with Germany and putting an end to the occupation regime there. Our partners have a rather weak position. I do not

180. 12 February 1960. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. The record was made by P. N. Kaul, Deputy Secretary, MEA, who noted as follows on 13 February 1960: "Placed below are two copies of the verbatim record of PM's talk with Mr. Khrushchev. As I do not know any shorthand, I could not catch every word, but I have tried to make the record as full and precise as possible.

P.M. directed not to make too many copies. So only two have been made. He further directed me to send both of them to Foreign Secretary who may kindly see. S.G. mentioned to me that he would like to see a copy of the report."

181. On 24 May 1959.

want to use the word "opponents" which would be better understood. I have in mind our partners in the talks for the future of Germany, i.e. the Western Powers.

When one talks with Eisenhower or Macmillan, it is difficult to find arguments in favour of the status quo, or for the preservation of the remnants of war. In my talks with Eisenhower, I noticed this specially. Eisenhower is very much different from Macmillan, because, as you know, Eisenhower is not Macmillan. Eisenhower is less of a diplomat and is, therefore, more natural and sincere. So he frankly admitted that the position in Berlin was not normal. In fact, he said so at a Press conference.

Now the question arises what can be expected at the Summit meeting in Paris in May? Macmillan and Eisenhower think that since the position is not normal, some ways of solving it should be found. It is Adenauer who is irreconcilable. We do not know what he is waiting for. We wonder if his obstinacy is not due to mental decay caused by old age. I say so, because his policy is not in accord with common sense. His policy is indeed a burden on his Allies.

De Gaulle supports Adenauer, but only outwardly, because in his heart of hearts De Gaulle is more afraid of reunification of Germany. U.K. is also against reunification of Germany. U.S.A. is not against reunification but is not prepared to do anything to bring it about. The Western powers, however, want to use the situation in order not to have good relations with the Soviet Union.

I do not know what the Summit meeting at Paris will yield in regard to the German problem. Our position is strong and we will make use of it. We do not exclude the possibility that De Gaulle may be more helpful. I do not think it is necessary for me to repeat our position on Berlin. We seek no territorial acquisition there. All that we are interested is that the social system in East Berlin should continue, with Berlin as a Free City. The question of Germany and Berlin has become acute. We are interested in seeking a solution which will not lend itself to interpretation that any side has won and the other has lost. Therefore, we think that the possible solution would be to have an intermediary provisional settlement on the basis of the temporary status quo in Berlin. Meantime, the two German States should be recommended to find a solution. If they fail to find an agreement, then the former allies will be relieved of all obligations and will have a Peace Treaty. It is clear that not all allies will agree to sign a Peace Treaty with the German Democratic Republic. Our position is that all those who want to sign the Treaty should do so. The signing of the Peace Treaty will solve the German problem. If others are not agreeable to sign the Treaty, then as a last resort, we may have to sign a separate Peace Treaty with G.D.R. I told Eisenhower, you taught us a good lesson when we failed to sign a Peace Treaty with Japan—which for us was a foolish thing to do. U.S. had signed it in any case.

P.M. : We also did not sign it.

Mr. Khrushchev: Your position was different.

P.M. : We did not agree to certain clauses. So we signed a separate Peace Treaty with Japan two years later.

Mr. Khrushchev: The San Francisco Treaty¹⁸² with Japan had decided things in our favour and we should have signed it. Perhaps, our reason for not signing it was that Molotov¹⁸³ dealt with these matters at that time and did not think them out straight.

Lately, Eisenhower has threatened us on Berlin, but the tone and manner of his threat is not as serious or categorical as before. Besides, I cannot see how anyone can threaten another country for signing a Peace Treaty. In fact, there is no alternative to solve this question. The Peace Treaty would be a blow to revenge seekers headed by Adenauer. It is they who will lose more. The rest will retain what they have.

Japan: Our relations with Japan are neither hot nor cold. We do not like the Treaty recently signed by Japan with USA.¹⁸⁴ We think that it is directed against us and China. The main purpose of this Treaty is to retain a certain level of tension. While signing this Treaty, the Americans had in mind internal fears in Japan. Afraid of the internal situation, USA wants to continue occupation regime in Japan.

In general, the international situation now is much better than it was a year ago. Our proposals on disarmament are very effective. People in all countries understand our unilateral reduction of armed forces. The latest launching of rockets at a distance of 12,000 kilometers is an additional argument for disarmament. It is now clear that Americans can no longer seek shelter behind the Atlantic Ocean. Therefore, there is still greater need to come to an agreement on disarmament.

Since we met last, the present situation, therefore, has changed considerably for the better.

182. Between Japan and some of the Allied Powers, was officially signed by 48 nations on 8 September 1951. It came into force on 18 April 1952.

183. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov. In fact, Molotov had ceased to be Soviet Foreign Minister in 1949, when he was replaced by Andrey Vyshinsky, who was the Foreign Minister in 1951; the Soviet delegation to the negotiation of the San Francisco Treaty was led by A. A. Gromyko, the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

184. On 19 January 1960. It provided for US bases in Japan, and for the US to help Japan if attacked.

P.M. : I take it that at the Summit, the two major problems will be Germany and disarmament.

Mr. Khrushchev: The order of discussion will be different. We think the German problem is a particular problem, whereas disarmament is a general problem, embracing everybody and, therefore, will come up for discussion first. Adenauer wants the two problems to be tied together, but even he agrees with the order of discussion.

P.M. : Behind both these problems, perhaps in the ultimate analysis, there lies the fear that disarmament will be unfavourable to one side, in so far as it would weaken it. This fear would also affect the solution of the German problem.

Mr. Khrushchev: U.S., France and U.K. agree that these two questions are separate. Only Adenauer wants to consider them jointly.

P.M. : Would you consider it possible to make progress on disarmament without making progress in regard to the German problem?

Mr. Khrushchev: It is very difficult to answer this question.

P.M. : In the mind of the people, both the problems are linked by fear which is common to both of them.

Mr. Khrushchev: We quite realise that if we sign a Peace Treaty with Germany, it will aggravate the situation and will lead to certain difficulties which, when solved, will lead to stability. This may be a painful process. We are preparing for it, in case no agreement is reached. I consider this matter as psychological. I do not think that they will start a war in case we signed a Peace Treaty with Germany.

P.M. : This may not lead to a war but will probably be an obstacle towards disarmament.

Mr. Khrushchev: This will be a psychological shock which will wear itself out. Life compels people to go back to normal. We are reducing armed forces. If others attack us, our General Staff thinks that we will need about 100 rockets to destroy U.K., France and Germany; about 300 rockets would be needed to destroy U.S.A. No one doubts that material resources and facilities for making rockets in sufficient numbers are available. This seriously alters the correlation of forces, and indeed influences American thinking. I recollect that when Macmillan was criticised for going to the Soviet Union, he had said that the alternatives before him were either to go to Moscow for talks or

evacuate women and children from U.K. to Canada. Therefore, there is no alternative to taking a sane attitude and putting an end to arms race. If we agree with the view that arms race, which will result in piling up dangerous weapons, would itself put an end to the race, then we will be living with our hands on trigger. There will be a constant danger that some mad man may fire the first shot which may result in war. Eisenhower understands this, so does Macmillan. It is more difficult to say this of De Gaulle. Eisenhower has only a few months left as President. Vice President Nixon¹⁸⁵ does not understand anything at all. So the problem becomes difficult. When in America, I told Lodge¹⁸⁶ that Nixon may be President, and that makes us feel concerned. When I met Nixon he told me that he was in trade with his father. His tragedy is that in politics he has the same attitude as in trade. Lodge said that this was not so. I only hope that I am wrong in this assessment of Nixon.

P.M. : The German problem does not directly concern us, but it interests us, as it is a part of the overall problem of war and peace. On the other hand, disarmament is a problem which concerns everybody. My fear is that if the German problem is not settled by some kind of agreement, it will affect the solution of the problem of disarmament also. The two appear to be connected. I cannot get this apprehension out of my head.

Mr. Khrushchev: I think those countries who are afraid, should be more keen on disarmament.

P.M. : Many Western countries themselves do not like the rearming of Western Germany.

Mr. Khrushchev: I can say that Poland and Czechoslovakia are also concerned about this matter seriously. Even in 1956 when feelings against Soviet Union were high in Poland, the Poles were afraid of losing their western provinces. We could withdraw our forces from Poland, but the Poles felt more secure, while our troops were there.

P.M. : Does Mr. Khrushchev think that at some future date there was a possibility of East and West Germany uniting?

Mr. Khrushchev: I do not think so.

P.M. : At present I do not think it is a possibility at all. I do not think that anybody

185. Richard M. Nixon.

186. Henry Cabot Lodge, US representative to the UN, 1953-60.

desires it either, but if there is disarmament, would you consider it possible that at a later stage there may be a some sort of Federation or Confederation?

Mr. Khrushchev: G.D.R. proposed Confederation but Adenauer rejected it. I personally think that Confederation may be a possibility. The differences of social systems will remain as they are which will make unification difficult. As a Communist I believe—you may not agree with me—that ultimately the two will come together.

P.M. : The world is changing, and if I may say so, the differences are tending to get less and less, thereby bringing the countries closer.

Mr. Khrushchev: The Germans are having a sort of competition. On one hand, Adenauer is trying to maintain the capitalist order, whereas the G.D.R. is striving to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system. As a Communist I think that in the long run, the Germans will be convinced of the superiority of the socialist system.

P.M. : When Mr. Khrushchev put forward his great proposals for complete disarmament, phased over four years, did he expect that such logical and far-reaching proposals will be accepted? Perhaps, people's minds were not yet conditioned for it. Secondly, the implementation of such a proposal would create a lot of dislocation and confusion in America, as it will throw a good part of economy out of gear. What does Mr. Khrushchev consider as practical steps, which might be feasible at the present stage?

Mr. Khrushchev: We proposed both the maximum and the minimum. The maximum was complete disarmament; minimum was the reduction of armed forces. So far as we are concerned, the minimum has been exhausted. I agree that the problem of disarmament is a difficult problem, but the programme which I set out was a programme for a struggle over the years. We are now actively carrying on the struggle in the economic field. In 1965, we will have absolute superiority over USA in overall production. We will have a higher standard of living and the shortest working day. As you are aware, we are already ahead of USA in providing spiritual requirements for our people. These problems cannot be settled by war.

P.M. : It is quite true that in economy the competition is going on. In the field of war, however, is not the Soviet Union making reduction in conventional forces only? What, if I may ask, is the position in regard to reduction by the Soviet Union of non-Conventional arms?

Mr. Khrushchev: What you say is right. While we cut down conventional arms, we also propose the banning of the atomic weapons. USA thought that they had a very strong air force, and they wanted to retain their superiority by refusing to ban bombers which were to be used to deliver atomic weapons. At that time they had said that the Soviet Union wanted to make itself stronger by banning non-conventional arms. Then they wanted us to cut down our conventional arms. So now we have met the arguments of our opponents by cutting down conventional weapons. Frankly speaking, we are stronger than America, because we have better rockets which cannot be intercepted. The military experts estimate that one out of four bombers may get through, but even this may be wrong. What can USA do now when we have met their arguments? If they suggest that we revert to our original proposal, i.e. destruction of rockets and bases, we will gladly agree to it.

P.M. : Disarmament should concern both these aspects of conventional and non-conventional arms.

Mr. Khrushchev: We fully agree.

P.M. : In our view, disarmament is a world question, because it concerns all States—big or small.

Mr. Khrushchev: That is why I said that the German problem was a particular problem, whereas disarmament was a general problem.

P.M. : While since the disarmament is a general problem, what can be done in our view to associate other countries with it? To begin with, perhaps the Summit Conference should be narrow. The fewer people are there, the more fruitful discussions are likely to be. But what do you envisage regarding the increase of membership for the Summit Conference in future?

Mr. Khrushchev: If this problem registers progress at the Summit Conference, then the composition of the Conference itself can be reconsidered. It should be possible also to enlarge the Commission of ten, which is at present concerned with the disarmament problem.

P.M. : Every country has a claim to self-preservation, and while it is true that Poland and Czechoslovakia are vitally interested in the solution of the disarmament problem, there are countries in Asia which are big countries—Japan, China and India. They also have to participate at some stage or the other in the solution of the disarmament problem.

Mr. Khrushchev: This is absolutely right. In fact, this is what will happen.

P.M. : Any agreement on disarmament has to be world-wide if it is to be effective at all.

Mr. Khrushchev: I quite agree with you that those countries of Asia that you have mentioned should be associated with disarmament. I think Indonesia, with a large population, should also be added to them. The difficulty at the present time is that the composition of the Disarmament Commission is a result of compromise.

P.M. : These countries (China, Indonesia etc.) are not in the Disarmament Commission. China is not even in the United Nations. The membership of China appears most important from the point of view of disarmament.

Mr. Khrushchev: The present situation is contrary to common sense and U.S. realises this itself. Some voices of reason are now being heard in U.S. People are now talking in terms of recognition of New China. Five years ago, these very people could not possibly have talked in favour of the recognition of China without putting themselves to trouble.

P.M. : In its own interests, U.S. will not agree to disarmament unless Disarmament included China. Is it not possible to admit China to these talks on disarmament, even without admitting China to the United Nations?

Mr. Khrushchev: It is difficult to answer this question, as it particularly concerns China. I do not know if China will agree to go to Disarmament Commission of U.N. without being a member of U.N. itself. In this matter prestige is involved. I personally think it unlikely that China will agree to it without being a member of U.N. Probably when there has been some progress in disarmament, it will lead to conditions which will enable China to be in the United Nations. This will happen before any agreement on disarmament is reached.

P.M. : I feel, if sufficient progress is made at the Summit, it will create a better atmosphere for considering the participation of China in the United Nations.

Mr. Khrushchev: This is inevitable.

P.M. : I agree that it is inevitable, but I was thinking of the various stages.

Mr. Khrushchev: Any progress on disarmament might make it easier for China to take its rightful place in U.N.

P.M. : I have no doubt that there is now greater appreciation in U.S. of the need for China to be in U.N. As you are aware, we have always in the past been in favour of admission of New China to U.N. We shall continue to do so in future; but what comes in the way is, perhaps, prestige and the problem of what should be done with Chiang Kai-shek. The main opposition to the admission of China is from U.S.

Mr. Khrushchev: Yes, that is true, but they will have to reconcile themselves to the fact that there cannot be two Chinas. In fact, Taiwan is an island of Peking China. The Chinese Government will never agree to the proposition of two Chinas. Even if they were invited to U.N., they will not sit along with the representatives of Taiwan China. We also agree with this stand.

P.M. : We recognise only one China. I was talking about the possible course of developments. The Americans are beginning to realise that their policy on China is creating trouble for themselves. On the other hand, having created Taiwan, it is difficult to see how they can get over Chiang Kai-shek. My intention is to point out the conflict which the Americans have to face.

Mr. Khrushchev: I agree with you that U.S. has created this problem, but as Presidents change, so can the policy change. They did not recognise us for 16 years. When I was in U.S., I was told that Alexander I did not recognise America for 23 years. In reply, I pointed out to the Americans that what Alexander I did was stupid. There was no reason for Americans to repeat stupidity. In fact, I was more blunt. I told them that Alexander I was a fool and the Americans should not do what he did.

P.M. : I mention this point in relation to disarmament question. It seems that if China cannot go to U.N., it cannot go to Disarmament Commission either. If disarmament does not make progress, it may be difficult for China to go to U.N. So we get a vicious circle.

Mr. Khrushchev: This is indeed a vicious chain, but if we take out one of the links, the whole chain will collapse. It may be possible for U.S. to find a way out. It can, for instance, take the stand that the majority in the United Nations has voted for China. U.S. has been trying to restrain them for long, but when U.S. agrees to the recognition of New China in U.N., it can lift this restraint, in which case the majority in U.N. can admit China. On its part, U.S. can tell Taiwan that it did whatever possible for Taiwan, but that it could not prevent U.N. from admitting New China. Thus, U.S. can appear to play a noble role by respecting the verdict of the majority in U.N.

P.M. : I will come back to this matter again. May I request you to give us your appraisal of the situation in the Middle East?

Mr. Khrushchev: I think the situation in the Middle East is getting more and more normal. U.K. and France have reconciled themselves to the fact that Suez belongs to U.A.R. Nasser is also beginning to take up a stand appropriate to his age and position vis-à-vis Iraq. Nasser now realises that the policy of either ignoring or swallowing up Iraq will not work.

The trouble in Middle East is that a lot of unexpected things are happening. There are too many reactionary governments. Take Iran, for instance. There the Shah is pursuing a very reactionary policy. He is afraid of United States, us and, more than anybody, his own people. When our delegation was in Tehran, the Shah invited them to his bed room as he was unwell at that time. When our representatives went to his bed room, they found that by his bed side he had an automatic revolver. When the King of Iraq died,¹⁸⁷ the Shah simply lost his nerve. He immediately signed an agreement providing for American help. This agreement mentions help against direct and indirect aggression. Now I ask you what is indirect aggression. It is nothing but revolt of the people.

P.M. : Shah has now a new wife who will cheer him up.

Mr. Khrushchev: That may be so, but she will not add to his brains. We have told the Shah that we do not threaten him in any way, but will expose his reactionary policies. During a reception in Moscow for the Italian President, the Iranian Ambassador, whom we respect, came and asked me to end propaganda against Iran. We told him that we will make sure that there are no personal attacks against Shah, but the propaganda against Iran will continue. The Ambassador also asked me why I was not going to Iran during my present trip. I replied that the conditions were not favourable for my visit to Iran. We had made several gestures of friendship to Iran, including assistance for many projects but they were all turned down. Iran is poverty-stricken, but the Shah loves to increase the number of soldiers. I have a fear that Iran will go up in smoke and end in tragedy. The people around Shah themselves may not like the present situation to continue. We have a feeling that even U.S. might encourage a coup d'état. Apart from big landlords, there are

187. In a military coup on 14 July 1958.

others who are influential and are surrounding the Shah, but they are all dissatisfied, because Shah has taken the entire power in his own hands. The landlords want to share this power. So far as U.S. is concerned, it does not trust the Shah. Once the Shah secretly proposed an agreement with us. This was done at the back of U.S. When the U.S. came to know of it from Iranian Ministers, they sat upon the Shah. The result was that he spoilt his relations with us without gaining any confidence from U.S. either. After this, U.S. wants a more stable regime there.

P.M. : But how will they achieve it?

Mr. Khrushchev: They have a lot of connections there with the army.

P.M. : But the Shah himself comes from an army family which is only two generations old.

Mr. Khrushchev: He comes from a dynasty of robbers.

P.M. : May I have your appraisal of events in Africa?

Mr. Khrushchev: In Africa, interesting developments are taking place. People there are becoming more and more insistent on their rights. This direction of events will continue to develop. At present a great deal of trouble is going on in Congo. The conflict in Algeria has not given anything to France. This has provided encouragement to the people of Africa. In Latin America too, the position is not what it was five years ago. We are in sympathy with the aspirations of the people in Africa and Latin America. We are giving help to some African Republics and also to Kingdoms there. We will continue to do so.

P.M.: As Mr. Khrushchev is aware, there is going to be a meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in May. Originally, it was timed to take place after the Summit, but then the dates were changed. Now the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting will take place before the Summit. More and more African countries are gaining independence and are coming to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. At present there are two or three of them, but a few years later, more than half of the Prime Ministers will be from Africa.

Mr. Khrushchev: The British are very able. They are certainly more adroit than the French.

P.M. : No matter how able one may be, the facts cannot be ignored. Tension is growing between South Africa and U.K. When Macmillan went to South Africa recently, he did not get along well at all with the South African Gov[ernment]. It is quite possible that South Africa may even go out of this Commonwealth association. There is a growing conflict between the new African States and the racial policies of South Africa. U.K. has been caught between the two.

Mr. Khrushchev: We do not know the internal situation in South Africa well. We do not know what forces are at work there and what may be expected to happen. Even though we often hear that Moscow's arm is very long, yet it often happens that we do not even know the names of Communists there.

P.M. : In South Africa there is no legal Communist Party. Anyone whom they dislike is dubbed as a Communist and put behind bars. We have no diplomatic relations with South Africa, but as there are a large number of people of Indian descent there, we continue to get news from them. We have fairly close contacts with other parts of Africa. We often get into trouble in Central Africa. Sometimes, our representative is not allowed to stay in a hotel or eat in a restaurant. When we protest, the Government apologises, but says that the hotels and restaurants were private institutions and so nothing could be done about it.¹⁸⁸

Mr. Khrushchev: This is, indeed, a wild thing to take place in our time.

P.M. : Some people even ask us to withdraw our representative from there, but the local Indians ask us to continue him there as it offered them some protection.¹⁸⁹

Mr. Khrushchev: I suppose patience is the only answer.

P.M. : May I refer to a matter which is of great interest and embarrassment to us? This is our present relationship with China. Mr. Khrushchev has friendly relations with both India and China and personally he is a man of great wisdom and experience. So I refer to this matter, because I feel that he will well realise and appreciate that this matter is not only embarrassing for us but for him also. I would like to thank him for his various speeches and tell him that both as a matter of policy and best relations with China, we want to solve the present dispute in a peaceful and friendly way. But I must confess that our respective positions are so different that at present there is no bridge between us.

188. See SWJN/SS/ 41/pp. 718-719.

189. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 669-670.

Recently our Government has sent a reply to China. This is an argumentative sort of reply, answering China point by point.¹⁹⁰ Apart from that, I have sent a personal letter to Chou En-lai, suggesting that we might meet in the second half of March in Delhi.¹⁹¹ He had suggested a meeting in Rangoon. Although for the moment there is no basis for negotiations, a personal meeting will be generally helpful. China and India are neighbours with a long friendship. It will be unfortunate if tensions were to continue indefinitely.

I am not going into the merits of these matters. These are complicated matters involving the border. All kinds of things such as history, custom, tradition are involved, but I will be glad to supply any material which you may like to have.

Mr. Khrushchev: May I say something? You are quite right. It is a most embarrassing question which you have hurled at me. The difficulty is that we think that you and China both are friendly and peace-loving countries. We made a statement, the significance of which you have rightly and correctly appreciated. We took no definite stand and will do our best to hold that line. We would not like our relations with either of our two friends to cool off. It is possible for two wise men to agree among themselves. If the third man appears on the scene, he will only make matters worse, no matter how intelligent or stupid he may be. Even if the two sides requested mediation, it will be very difficult for a third person to mediate. You and China are right in not asking for mediation. Our warmest wishes are that this conflict may come to an end as soon as possible and in a manner which will be to the satisfaction of all concerned. This conflict is a sop to aggressive forces and is against the interest of the forces working for peace.

I am happy at the prospect of your meeting with Chou En-Lai. I am certain that when two reasonable people meet, they can find arguments to settle the conflict. The date and time for a meeting is a delicate question for you, China and for us. I know I have not been able to satisfy you, but I cannot do anything more than express my warm wishes for an early settlement of this matter.

P.M. : I appreciate your position. I raised this matter with great hesitation. I thought that it would be improper not to mention a subject of importance at a time when you were having a frank and friendly discussion covering a broad range of problems.

Mr. Khrushchev: I value frankness. I request you to understand me right. I wanted you to appreciate my difficulties and my position. If you send me the

190. See Appendix 25.

191. See item 156.

material on your dispute with China, I will certainly study the papers, but it will be difficult for me to take the position on merits, involving two friends. All we want is that India and China should re-establish their old friendship.

P.M. : I fully understand Mr. Khrushchev's position. The object of sending material to Mr. Khrushchev was not to expect a judgement but only that Mr. Khrushchev and his friends may have familiarity with our position.

It will soon be time for lunch. I am infinitely grateful to Mr. Khrushchev for spending so much time and for listening to me with patience.

Mr. Khrushchev: I am grateful to you for a useful talk.

P.M. : Is there any particular matter which you would like to discuss?

Mr. Khrushchev: I cannot think of any.

P.M. : I will see you off and on and will be happy to see you on return journey in Calcutta. I wanted to accompany you to Suratgarh but previous commitments make it difficult for me to do so.

Mr. Khrushchev: I know how busy you are and am sorry that you cannot come to Suratgarh.

P.M. : I intend to go there before I meet you again. I also wanted to accompany you to Bhilai, but day-after-tomorrow the Prime Minister of Finland is coming.

Mr. Khrushchev: India has truly become a Mecca.

P.M. : Finland is very different from India climatically and otherwise.

Mr. Khrushchev: But people there are very nice.

200. To K. P. S. Menon: Issuing a Joint Statement¹⁹²

February 12, 1960

My dear KPS,

I have just this evening seen the draft for a joint statement prepared by N.R. Pillai and you. I was hoping that a joint statement might not be necessary as there had been so many public speeches. I am a little tired of such statements. However, I have no objection to issuing a joint statement if the Soviet people so desire.

I have no comments to make on the draft sent to me which reads well. This is being returned to you. You can show it to the Soviet people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

201. In Honour of N. S. Khrushchev¹⁹³

Mr. Prime Minister and friends, on this ground you enact the story of Ramlila year after year and that is why this place is known as the Ramlila Grounds. Every year that ancient history or mythology is recalled, not only here but in most part of India. I do not know to what extent the story of Ramayana is historical. But greater than history is the theme which captivates the heart of the people because while history remains a thing of the past, this is a living memory.

What you are now doing on this very ground is becoming part of history of our time. You have gathered here today to honour our dear guest, few weeks ago you honoured here in a big gathering another great guest from the United States of America.¹⁹⁴ Apart from being meetings and concourse of people, these are parts of the history in the making—when we gathered here on the day and heard the proceedings of the meetings. You have just heard Mr. Khrushchev. The speech he delivered was not merely a thanksgiving address but a speech of serious import. The same thing happened on that day also.

These occasions which the City of Delhi and its citizens are getting provide us with a glimpse of the new world—a new world which has its problems, complications and conflicts but which as Mr. Khrushchev said, shows these glimpses coming through dark clouds. These glimpses show us a new world of peace cooperation and goodwill between nations and opportunities for progress for every one. Countries like ours are struggling to get out of the old shell, to

192. Letter.

193. Speech at the Civic Reception, Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, 12 February 1960. PIB.

194. On 13 December 1959, for President Eisenhower. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 378-391.

destroy the shackles of poverty and to provide a decent standard of living to 400 million people. It is good therefore that we should get a glimpse of this kind and see how progress can be achieved. We have before us the examples of other countries among which the example of the Soviet Union is an important one. Mr. Khrushchev has given us a symbol of that—the replica of the pennant which they had sent to the moon with their message. You saw from the distance this replica which was presented to me. The pennant which landed on the moon must have broken up into pieces and spread there. It is a matter to be considered how this phenomenon has become a symbol of a new era, the symbol of a new history, which is bringing science into the world.

Science and technology, to which Mr. Khrushchev referred in his speech, are greatly dominating the world today. Science and technology are spreading in the new world. These, however, have no sentiment, no regard for good or bad. They are power which the world can use for good or bad purposes. This creates complications in the world. The great power represented by atomic energy could be used for good purposes or for evil purposes. Atomic bombs have been manufactured and used unfortunately in the great World War. Every one knows what enormous destruction is wrought by atomic weapons. Therefore, this power can be used both for beneficial as well as destruction purposes.

Efforts should be made that this progress of science benefits humanity and is not exploited for domination over others. This is a major problem before the world, the answer to which will be provided by history. On such occasions, the biggest question which arises is how to utilise this energy. Mr. Khrushchev referred to cold war and pointed out how this has caused harm and can further harm. He is now on a journey of a number of countries with a message of how peace can be established and how war and weapons of war can be banished from the world. This is a difficult and complicated issue, difficult because fear has entered the minds of people, fear towards each other. There cannot be a greater problem before the world today than the problem of banishing fear, stopping of armaments, and utilisation of this new power for the welfare of humanity. This is the message which Mr. Khrushchev brings. We welcome him today with love because he is the leader of a great country. He is a friend of our country. His country has given adequate assistance to India. The Soviet Union is also a neighbour of ours. But besides these there is a new thing which he is expounding today and for which he is working—so that the world may progress towards peace and there may be disarmament.

For this reason we welcome him all the more and earnestly assure him that in this work we shall give the greatest possible help. Of course, India is not a very great military power in the current sense, whatever we have. Our people are good and courageous and there is no doubt that our country's potential strength is many times the actual strength which is bound to increase. It is obvious that when a country progresses, its strength also progresses all round. Of course the

improvement of the living standards of the people is the biggest strength of a nation. With the progress of science and technology, the strength of a country is bound to grow. This development is taking place in our country also. You will therefore observe that we also are in a new world today. The traditional society of India is changing, by science and technology and by the spread of education. This is a revolutionary development which has already taken place in the countries of Europe. It is fast approaching and there is no power which can stop its advance. In the strides of these revolutionary changes there would indeed be sustained some blows and wounds. For millions of people cannot be transformed so easily. This is a historical development. Some people try to obstruct it but this historical phenomenon which we are observing in India cannot be stopped.

In the course of these historical changes, we are facing so many problems and we have to carry many burdens. At the same time, there is the hope and confidence that these burdens will be lightened by progressing in the direction in which we are going and the millions of our people will have a better life and there will be peace in the world.

We also talk about peace so often. Peace is of course a good thing. Conflicts sap the energies of people. In the ultimate analysis the roots of war are in the minds of people. How can there be war if it is not in the hearts and minds of people. A very great Indian had said 2,500 years ago that there should be only such wars in which everyone is the victor and there is none vanquished. He meant that everyone should be a victor and everyone should benefit. This cannot take place by a war of arms.

We therefore welcome Mr. Khrushchev here today and congratulate him on the progress made by him in the field of science, which he described as the progress of the world. Thereby the Soviet Union has raised the stature of the world. We should of course be happy when such development takes place in any country. The stature of humanity has been raised and this is bound to benefit the entire world more or less.

This is a historical occasion, your gathering here in lakhs. Let us carry with us a remembrance of how the world is changing, the revolution which are taking place in the world today. Let us forget our petty quarrels in our country and open the windows of our minds so that we can see our changing society in its true perspective. This would enable us to play an adequate part not only within our country but in international developments.

Once more on behalf of you all I thank Mr. Khrushchev and his colleagues and offer them by good wishes. Jai Hind!

202. To Louis Mountbatten: Khrushchev's Visit and Other Matters¹⁹⁵

February 12, 1960

[My dear Dickie,]

I received your two letters of 3rd and 4th February yesterday. I had no knowledge about the proposal that Bhonsle¹⁹⁶ should go to England to represent ex-Servicemen here. On enquiry from him I found that he had made no firm decision and was not himself anxious to go to London in this connection. In view of what you have written to me, I have advised him not to go there and he has accepted my advice.

It was good to have Edwina here for a few days and I am looking forward to another visit on her return from South East Asia.

Today I have spent about eight hours with Khrushchev. I began the morning with a public function in connection with a Book Trust which publishes good and cheap books.¹⁹⁷ At 10.00 I rushed back to meet Khrushchev at my house and we talked till 1 o'clock. No one else was present except our respective interpreters. Then Khrushchev had lunch with us and a fairly big crowd was present. Immediately after, I had to rush to Parliament House to reply to a debate on the President's Address.¹⁹⁸ This took about an hour. Then again I had to go to Khrushchev and take him with me to the Delhi Civic Reception where Khrushchev delivered a fairly long address and I had to speak also.¹⁹⁹ On return I had to go to a Reception given by the Soviet Ambassador. By the time all this was over, I was fairly exhausted.

Khrushchev's main functions in Delhi are over. He is going tomorrow morning to see a big mechanized farm at Suratgarh in Bikaner District, where we are using a great deal of equipment which the Soviets sent us. The next day he is going to Bhilai Steel Plant and then to Calcutta and Indonesia.

Even before Khrushchev leaves Delhi, the Prime Minister of Finland is coming tomorrow evening.

So we have been kept fairly busy. These, of course, are what might be called special occasions outside the normal range of our work, which is heavy enough.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

195. Letter.

196. J. K. Bhonsle, Deputy Union Minister, Rehabilitation, 1952-57.

197. See item 120.

198. See item 2.

199. See item 201.

203. To N. R. Pillai: Khrushchev's Offers of Medical Help²⁰⁰

I spoke to Mr. Khrushchev about his offer of assistance to India in connection with the eradication of Cholera and Small-Pox. I expressed my gratitude to him. I mentioned that a committee had been appointed and had reported. We had a good staff already and we produced various vaccines. But there were some types of vaccines which we did not have and we would be grateful to receive these.

I did not say anything about the other articles referred to in your note, that is, refrigerators, jeeps, projectors and raw films. I spoke rather briefly and his reply was that they would be glad to supply the vaccine of which they had plenty. He mentioned the case of a Russian who had gone back from India with Small-Pox. This had spread to some others also and one person at least died. This has created some little sensation in Moscow.

I told him that I would send a reply to his letter later.

I feel that it would not be right for us to ask them for jeeps. We might ask them for the Dry Vaccine Lymph and mention also that refrigerators are necessary, as well as some projectors and raw films. In our reply we might say what our requirements are, mentioning the Dry Vaccine Lymph, refrigerators and projects and raw films, and that if any of these things can be supplied to us, we shall be grateful. You might perhaps draft a letter to this effect and I can give it to him when I see him on his return from Indonesia.

204. Joint Communiqué²⁰¹

At the invitation of the Government of India, Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR paid a visit to India from February 11 to 16, 1960. He was accompanied by Mr. A.A. Gromyko, Foreign Minister, Mr. N.A. Mikhailov, Minister of Culture, Mr. G.A. Zhukov, Chairman of the Committee for Cultural Relations, Mr. S.A. Skackkov, Chairman of the Committee for External Economic Relations, Mr. T.U. Uliabayev, Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mrs. T.A. Tairova, Foreign Minister of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. A.M. Markov, Member of the Board of the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR, and Mr. I.A. Benediktov, Ambassador of the USSR in India.

In Delhi and in the other places which he visited, Mr. Khrushchev was accorded by the public a warm and friendly reception which was impressive for the degree of popular enthusiasm which it displayed. These manifestations of goodwill were alike a tribute to a world statesman who has laboured devotedly in

200. Note, 14 February 1960.

201. 16 February 1960. From *The Hindu*, 17 February 1960.

the cause of peace and an expression of the happy relations that exist between India and the Soviet Union and the peoples of the two countries.

During his stay in Delhi Mr. Khrushchev addressed members of the Indian Parliament, visited the World Agriculture Fair, attended a civic reception held in his honour by the City of Delhi, and fulfilled other public engagements. He later visited Suratgarh and Bhilai, both symbols of Indo-Soviet co-operation, one in the agricultural and the other in the industrial field. The success of these two enterprises had been a source of gratification to both countries and augurs well for the future economic co-operation between the two countries. His visits to these two centres gave Mr. Khrushchev a vivid impression both of the magnitude of the task upon which India is engaged and of the pace at which she is moving forward to the attainment of the immediate objectives of her developmental plans.

Mr. Khrushchev met and conferred with the President, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other members of the Government of India. His talks with the Prime Minister, held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, covered a wide range of subjects in the international sphere as well as specific matters, of mutual concern to the two countries.

LESSENING OF TENSION ROLE OF KHRUSHCHEV AND EISENHOWER

The two Prime Ministers noted with much satisfaction the recent favourable trends in world affairs leading to a marked lessening of international tensions. This improvement is due in no small measure to the personal initiative and co-ordinate effort of the leaders of the Great Powers, notably, Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Mr. Eisenhower, President of the U.S.A. The direct contacts which have been established between them and are being developed through interchange of visits have been a valuable factor in promoting international understanding, and have facilitated the welcome agreement to hold a meeting, at the highest level, of the leaders of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. U.K. and France in May next. The hopes of all men of peace are centred on this and similar meetings and it is the ardent wish of all men that the efforts of the leaders of the Great Powers will meet with a full measure of success. For her part, India gladly pledges her goodwill and moral support for these continuing and sustained efforts towards peace.

PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Prime Minister of India repeated his appreciation of Mr. Khrushchev's proposals for total disarmament. In Indian eyes, they were in essence, a call for the application of the principle of non-violence to the solution of international problems. The interest which these proposals roused in all countries, and particularly in the United Nations, was a reflection not merely of man's moral

sense but his acute awareness of the dangers of nuclear war. The two Prime Ministers reaffirmed their stand, regarding the prohibition of thermo-nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction. They also expressed the hope that the first step, namely the cessation of nuclear tests, would be taken by the Great Powers in the spirit, and on the lines, of the resolution which it was India's privilege to introduce at the last session of the General Assembly. Not only nuclear weapons but conventional armaments too, are a heavy drain on human progress. The latest reduction of armed forces in the Soviet Union, following similar reductions in the recent past, was recognised by India as a notable contribution towards the fulfillment of the age-old dream of turning swords into ploughshares.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY HIGH APPRECIATION BY KHRUSHCHEV

In his talks, with Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and other Indian statesmen, Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR, expressed his high appreciation of India's policy of non-alignment and non-participation in military alliances. He stressed the fact that this policy was greatly respected in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government was convinced that by pursuing this policy, India and her Prime Minister personally were making a substantial contribution to the maintenance and consolidation of world peace. Mr. Khrushchev wished the Government and the people of India success in pursuing this policy and emphasised the fact that joint efforts by the Soviet Union and India in defence of peace would continue to be an important factor contributing to the lessening of international tension and the development of international co-operation.

As between India and the Soviet Union, at no time have their mutual relations rested on a firmer basis of friendship and understanding than now. Their common allegiance to the principles of peaceful co-existence and their common determination to assist towards the establishment of lasting peace have brought them closer together and have progressively enlarged the area of beneficent cooperation between them in the United Nations and elsewhere. The two countries share the conviction that the remarkable advance now being made in science and technology, in which the Soviet Union has taken a leading part, would little serve the cause of humanity unless the world were rid of the haunting spectre of war and the foundations were laid of an enduring peace. Disarmament, amity between nations, the rapid development of those regions of the world which have long endured poverty and neglect—these alone are the true deterrents to war. The Prime Ministers expressed their faith that to the creation of these conditions, upon which depended to so great an extent the prospects of the peaceful progress of mankind. It would be the endeavour of both their countries to make their fullest contribution.

The Prime Ministers were glad to observe that the relations between the two countries were no less close in the economic and cultural spheres. Economic and technical collaboration between India and the Soviet Union embraces a wide variety of projects. The Bhilai Steel Plant, which has gone into production and whose original capacity is now being more than doubled; the machine building plant at Ranchi, the power plant at Neyveli; the Korba coal project the two million ton refinery at Barauni; oil exploration and others. To the credits already granted, the Soviet Union has recently added a new one of 1,500 million roubles. An agreement was signed during Mr. Khrushchev's stay in Delhi as to the utilisation of this credit for major projects to be included in the Third Plan. So was also, for the first time, a cultural scientific and technological agreement between the two countries.²⁰²

Mr. Khrushchev was last in India in December 1955. Since then much has happened affecting the Indian as well as the world scene. His present visit has afforded Mr. Khrushchev an opportunity of seeing for himself, or obtaining firsthand information on the results of the efforts which India is making in all spheres of developmental activity to improve the lot of the Indian people and ensure for them a higher and ever increasing standard of living. The visit has also given the two Prime Ministers the opportunity, to which they have long looked forward, of renewing their friendship and for personal discussions on the many matters that claim their common interest. The meeting between the heads of Government of India and USSR and the talks they have had, more particularly those on a personal level, have been profitable to them both; and to the new chapter in Indo-Soviet relations which opened with the visit of the Prime Minister of India to the Soviet Union in June 1955 has been added a significant page, recording a notable step forward in the consolidation of the cordial and friendly relations between the two countries.

205. To Kesho Ram: Banquet Venue²⁰³

If the Finance Minister specially desires to have this banquet at Rashtrapati Bhavan, this may be arranged. But his attention might be drawn to the fact that normally only banquets in honour of Heads of States and Heads of Governments are given there. Also, the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff has been rather over-worked lately because of various dignitaries who have stopped there.

2. Personally I think the Ashoka Hotel dinner will otherwise also be more suitable and homely. There is a certain stiffness about Rashtrapati Bhavan banquets

202. See item 194.

203. Note to PPS, 17 February 1960.

which is not conducive to people mixing easily. The food at Ashoka Hotel is also now quite good.

3. However, it is for the Finance Minister to decide.

(g) Yugoslavia

206. To Subimal Dutt: Congress and Foreign Organizations²⁰⁴

So far as the invitation to the Indian National Congress from the Congress of the Socialist Alliance²⁰⁵ is concerned, it is clear that the Indian Congress is not likely to agree to any kind of formal association. They have avoided such contacts with foreign organisations. We considered this matter once in the Congress here and came to the conclusion that we should not formally associate ourselves. But it was suggested then that informal contacts by correspondence and exchange of information might be maintained.

2. I do not think there is any objection in principle to an observer being sent. On the whole, however, I am not in favour of it at present. The Belgrade Congress is going to be held in April next.²⁰⁶ That is too near also.

3. I think you might inform our Ambassador in Belgrade²⁰⁷ that normally the Indian Congress does not associate itself with foreign organisations, even though there may be much in common between them. They are willing, however, to exchange information with them and to keep in touch by correspondence and otherwise. As for sending an observer, there is no basic objection to this. But it will probably be difficult to arrange this in the near future.

4. You might send me a copy of our Ambassador's letter²⁰⁸ which I shall show to some colleagues of mine in the Congress and see their reaction.²⁰⁹

204. Note to FS, 25 February 1960. File No. 15(7)-Eur(E)/60, p. 4, MEA.

205. The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia was the largest social and political organization in Yugoslavia with a membership of about six million.

206. 18-23 April 1960.

207. Ali Yavar Jung.

208. See Appendix 34.

209. See also item 207.

207. To Sadiq Ali: Attending the Socialist Alliance Conference²¹⁰

February 27, 1960

My dear Sadiq Ali,

The Working Committee decided today that you might go as an observer to Belgrade for their Socialist Alliance Conference.²¹¹ As you have received an invitation directly through the Yugoslav Ambassador here,²¹² you might inform him of this. We shall inform our Ambassador in Belgrade, Ali Yavar Jung, that there is a possibility of your going there.

In discussing our contacts with organisations outside India, it was mentioned today that we should send them our publications, books, etc., regularly, and invite them to send their books, etc., to us. I hope this is being done. It should be done widely, because in this way we can get a good deal of useful literature as well as other publications. You might, therefore, revise the exchange list of this kind and add to it.²¹³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Africa

208. To Rajendra Prasad: Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar to go to Ghana²¹⁴

January 27, 1960

Dear Mr President,

As I told you, the Prime Minister of Ghana wrote to me expressing his earnest wish that the Maharaja of Mysore might go to Ghana to deliver a series of lectures on the emergence of Afro-Asia in international affairs or some similar subject.²¹⁵ We do not like the idea of our Governors leaving their posts, but taking various factors into consideration, the Home Minister and I thought that we should not

210. Letter to the General Secretary, AICC.

211. The 5th Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia/SAWPY was held in Belgrade, 18-23 April 1960.

212. Dusan Kveder.

213. See also item 206.

214. Letter.

215. See SWJN/SS/56/pp. 374-376.

stand in the way of the Maharaja if he was prepared to accept this invitation. I wrote to the Maharaja accordingly and I have received his reply gladly accepting the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ghana. I am informing the Prime Minister accordingly. The Maharaja will have to be two or three weeks in Ghana and the probable dates are likely to be between April 22nd and the end of May 1960.

I trust you are agreeable to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

209. To N. R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt: Algeria²¹⁶

With reference to the attached telegrams²¹⁷ about the Algerian situation, I think that you might convey to our representative in Indiad²¹⁸ New York, what the Paris telegram says, that is, that any attempt to call an extraordinary session of the UN to consider the Algerian situation at this particular stage may not have good results and may do some harm. I think this is a correct appraisal of the situation. There is some kind of a civil war going on in Algeria and potentially even in France, and de Gaulle is fighting the extremist elements in the Army. Probably de Gaulle will win through in this matter. In any event, this situation cannot last long. The next few days should indicate some definite turn.²¹⁹ It is better to wait for a few days than to take some action in the UN while this crisis is continuing in Algeria.

2. You may point this out to our representative for his own information, so that he may, in his turn, draw attention to these facts without formally committing us in any way.

216. Note to SG, MEA, 31 January 1960.

217. See Appendix 11.

218. Indian delegation.

219. The insurgents surrendered on 1 February 1960 after de Gaulle's broadcast of 29 January.

210. To Kwame Nkrumah: Air Force Trainers for Ghana²²⁰

February 12, 1960.

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 28th January, 1960, sent through our High Commissioner in Ghana,²²¹ which reached me on 9th February.

I have consulted my colleague, the Defence Minister, on the request made in your letter and I am glad to inform you that we would be able to supply the necessary personnel to run the Flying Training School for the Ghana Air Force. We also agree with your suggestion that the details of the personnel required may be worked out between Air Marshal Mukerjee, our Chief of Air Staff, and Air Commodore Singh, your Chief of Air Staff.

It has been suggested to me that the most expeditious method of settling the details would be for Air Commodore Singh to visit Delhi for a few days so that he can settle the number and the type of personnel required with Air Marshal Mukerjee. I would request you to consider this suggestion and, if you agree, to issue necessary instructions to Air Commodore Singh.

I am looking forward to meeting you in London in the beginning of May.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

211. To Rameshwari Nehru: Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement Not a Good Idea²²²

February 16, 1960

My dear Bijju Bhabi,

Your letter of February 11 about the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. I knew something about this, but I wanted to refresh my memory, and so I have gone through a number of papers in connection with it which were in our Ministry. From these papers it appears that the facts are not quite in line with what you have written to me, and a number of Asian Governments are against this Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement. I understand that Egypt is now against it, and so are Ethiopia, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and some other countries.

220. Letter.

221. Khub Chand.

222. Letter to the President, Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, and a well-known social worker.

We have had some reports about this conference which have not been encouraging from our point of view. It was probably because of the Egyptian Government's discouragement that the conference has moved to Guinea.

I am prepared to enquire further into this matter and ask for fresh reports, but I fear it is not possible for us as a Government to be associated with it in any way or for me to send a message to it. I am sorry to disappoint you, but after careful consideration I see no other way.

Yours affly,
Jawaharlal

212. To Haile Sellassie I²²³

February 17, 1960

Your Imperial Majesty,

I was happy to receive Your Majesty's letter of 30th January.²²⁴ Shri Naranjan Singh Gill²²⁵ has since arrived in Delhi and seen me and conveyed Your Majesty's greetings and good wishes.

I am glad that Shri Naranjan Singh Gill has given satisfaction to Your Majesty's Government. We hope to send a good person to succeed him as our Ambassador in Addis Ababa so that he can carry on the good work done by Shri Naranjan Singh Gill and further strengthen the relations between our two countries.

We have had the opportunity, this winter, of welcoming many distinguished visitors and to exchange views with them on current international affairs and other matters of mutual interest. We were particularly happy to receive amongst our midst the great messengers of peace, the Heads of States of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. We hope that they will be successful in their efforts to ease international tension.

I am glad to learn that Your Majesty's visits to Sudan and Saudi Arabia were so successful. If I may, I would like to say that I entirely agree with Your Majesty's views regarding the value and usefulness of meetings between Heads of States.

I would very much like to pay a visit to Your Majesty's great country and some other countries in Africa some time this year, but I have been so heavily preoccupied with various urgent matters at home that I have not been able to

223. Letter to the Emperor of Ethiopia. File No. REP-33/60. AFR-I, p. 13, MEA.

224. Haile Sellassie also informed Nehru that foreign powers were attempting to create tensions between Ethiopia and the Trust territory of Somalia.

225. India's Ambassador to Ethiopia.

make any plans yet. I am, however, grateful for Your Majesty's renewed invitation which Shri Naranjan Singh Gill has conveyed to me.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

213. In the Rajya Sabha: Algeria²²⁶

INDIA'S RECOGNITION OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ALGERIAN REPUBLIC

Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Mr. Cherif Guellal, a representative of the Algerian Liberation Front, has recently requested the Government of India for the recognition by India of the Provisional Government of Algeria;
- (b) whether Government have received any memorandum from the Algerian Liberation Front and/or the said Provisional Government in this connection; and
- (c) if so, what action Government have taken in the matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) to (c). From time to time informal approaches regarding Algeria are made to Government from various quarters but the position regarding recognition has not changed in any way in recent months. We remain strongly in favour of the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Algeria but feel that formal recognition of the Provisional Government would not be appropriate or helpful towards a solution of the Algerian problem.

226. Written answers to questions, 18 February 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXVIII, cols. 1115-1116.

(i) Finland

214. To Trilok Chand Sharma: Draft Civic Address for the Prime Minister of Finland²²⁷

February 12, 1960

My dear Trilok Chandji,

I enclose a re-draft of the Civic Address²²⁸ to be presented to the Prime Minister of Finland.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

215. In Honour of V. J. Sukselainen²²⁹

Mr. Prime Minister, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, In recent weeks we have had the privilege of welcoming here the Heads of the Governments of two great and powerful States, great in extent, great in power, great in many things. Today, we are welcoming the Prime Minister of a country great in quality. It is not very small in size as some people imagine; it is quite a biggish country but its population is, I believe, about one per cent of India's population. But that country with that relatively small population has a record which certainly we, if I may say so, envy in many ways. It is a country which has faced all kinds of difficulties and trials and faced them with courage and determination and made good, if I may say so. It is a country with a very high standard of security and social welfare. It is a country with a high standard of physical culture, and in the realm of literature also.²³⁰

As I said that we are welcoming a country where the people are of high quality and that surely is more important than which we possess in abundant measure. So, there are many things in Finland and indeed in the other countries of Scandinavia which have appealed to us greatly: their far-reaching measures of social security and welfare, their democratic quality and freedom, and their institutions; and so far as Finland is concerned, there is a particular link or kinship if you like which had drawn us to them and that is in the realm of international affairs and foreign policy we have thought and acted more or less alike and in the

227. Letter to the Mayor of Delhi.

228. See Appendix 27.

229. Banquet Speech in honour of the Prime Minister of Finland, 14 February 1960.

230. Halldor Laxness in 1955 won Nobel Prize.

same plane. We believe in trying to be friendly with all countries and not in joining any military alliances, that is, the policy of non-alignment and at the same time of friendship. That also has necessarily brought us nearer to one another.

I remember well when nearly three years ago I visited this delightful country and had a very warm welcome from the Government and from you.²³¹ Sir, Mr. Prime Minister, and from the people. And now that you have come here this long distance we all are very happy both because you have come and because you represent this country which we admire so much. My only sorrow is you did not bring Madam with you whom we would have liked very much to welcome here.

I have said there is an element of kinship in many things, our thinking, our ideas, our actions, even though obviously we differ greatly, differ in geography, in climate. You have come here from the depth of winter in Finland, where you have long dark days and darker nights, suddenly to the full warmth of the Indian sun. The brightness and the warmth and the difference must be very considerable. I hope this change will be pleasant and not too much of a burden.

We are passing through in these days all over the world all kinds of critical situations and at the same time the air is full of certain hopes for a better outcome of our present difficulties. India and perhaps, if I may say so, with all respect Finland also, cannot play a big game in world affairs, but I think every country can help in what we consider the right forces or steps towards peace, towards friendly relations, and towards an ending of this cold war atmosphere which has been so harmful to the world. And so at this period when there is a strong element of hope, I hope that good will come out of the coming talks between some Great Powers; some good which will lead to further lessening of tension and further co-operation and less of fear and apprehension. We can send our best wishes to them for this outcome and in our own way wherever the opportunity comes to us help in bringing about that process.

So, Mr. Prime Minister, I should like to offer you on behalf of my Government and people and on my own personal behalf a warm welcome to you to this country and when you go back I hope you will convey our friendly greetings and good wishes to your people and Government. I ask you Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, to drink to the good health of the Prime Minister of Finland.

231. Nehru made a three-day visit to Finland from 18 June 1957. See SWJN/SS/37/ pp. 504-515.

216. To MEA: An Indian Embassy in Finland²³²

The Prime Minister of Finland spoke to me about our opening an Embassy at Helsinki. I understand that the Finnish Government feel rather strongly on this subject as they have had their Minister here for many years. They are not quite satisfied with joint representation with Sweden. Shri Kewal Singh²³³ also told me of their strong feeling on this subject.

2. I told the Prime Minister that I quite realised that we had been slow in this matter, but I pointed out some of our difficulties. I promised him, however, that as soon as possible we shall open an office there with someone in charge, but that our Ambassador in Sweden will still continue to be our Ambassador or Minister in Finland.

3. This satisfied him. I think we should take early steps to this end. The office we open at Helsinki need be as small as possible, because there is not much work to be done.

232. Note to SG, FS and CS, 15 February 1960.

233. India's Ambassador to Sweden.

V. DEFENCE

217. To V. K. Krishna Menon: Bombers¹

January 30, 1960,

My dear Krishna,

I have your two notes about Bomber procurement. The matter is important enough for us to take some of our colleagues into our confidence. I suggest that when we meet on the 2nd February in the Foreign Affairs Committee to consider our reply to the Chinese Government, this matter might be mentioned either to the whole committee or to some members.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

218. To Nathu Singh: A Committee on Defence Services²

January 31, 1960

My dear Nathu Singh,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 19th January. I have been very heavily occupied during these past few days and been quite unable to keep pace with my correspondence.

We have given a good deal of thought to your suggestion about appointing some kind of a committee to consider the problem of our Defence Services. I do not think that such a committee will serve any useful purpose at this stage. I agree, however, that there should always be an attitude of vigilance about the Defence machinery, and we have been trying to approach this problem in this manner.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter.

2. Letter to Bhooswami Sangh Leader and former GOC-in-C, Eastern Command.

219. To V. K. Krishna Menon: A Chairman for the Outer Space Committee and Jeeps for Assam³

February 5, 1960

My dear Krishna,

You must have seen the telegram from Indiadell,⁴ New York, in which reference is made to a suggestion by the Soviet Delegation about India being Chairman of the Outer Space Committee. Obviously only a top-ranking person could be suggested for this post. I doubt very much if we can find such a person. It will be difficult for Bhabha to go. I am myself inclined to avoid this kind of thing. I should like your advice.

About the food difficulties in the Mizo district of Assam,⁵ you told me that you were arranging some airlifts. I have informed the Chief Minister of Assam accordingly. In a letter from him he emphasised the great need for some jeeps to carry these foodgrains on rather kutcha roads to the affected areas. Apparently, only a jeep can negotiate those roads. Chaliha wrote to me that he had asked the military for some jeeps, even old ones. But he has been told that this could not be done. I wish you could look into this matter because a few jeeps might make a great deal of difference to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

220. To Vishnu Sahay: Defence Credits⁶

I have shown these papers to the Defence Minister.⁷ He is agreeable to the general scheme outlined in these papers. His main point was that in view of the urgency of the matter, procedures should be such as to expedite work.

2. If credits or loans have to be arranged for from outside, they can come whenever they may be available. But, he said, that it would be desirable not to be tied up to buy any particular equipment from a particular country. We should be free to buy it anywhere we like where the terms are good. For instance, he thought that it might be cheaper and quicker to get this equipment from Japan. He

3. Letter.

4. Indian delegation.

5. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 310 and item 88 in this volume.

6. Note to the CS, 25 February 1960.

7. Relating to development of roads in the border areas.

suggested that Shri B.K. Nehru⁸ might be asked about the feasibility of getting a Yen credit for this purpose. At any rate, wherever the credit comes from, it should not be tied up.

3. The question of these credits etc. need not delay the consideration and acceptance of this general scheme. If it is accepted, some kind of work will start very soon and even before any additional equipment is available.

4. Will you please, therefore, proceed with this matter? I suppose the first thing to be done should be for the Finance Minister to see it. If he is agreeable and the Ministries concerned are also agreeable, then is it necessary to put it up before the Cabinet? If it is necessary, this may be done.

8. Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs to handle India's external financial relations.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) General

221. To C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar: Repudiating Slanderous Charges¹

January 26, 1960

My dear CP,

I have received a letter from Coimbatore from some person I do not personally know. I would not normally have attached any importance to it, but, on reconsideration, I thought that it would be worthwhile to draw your attention to it.

The letter says that you have stated on one or more occasions that:

1) Shrimati Indira Gandhi has received Rs. 5 lakhs from Mundhra and that this is ostensibly put as a Trust fund,

Mr. Sapru being one of the trustees.

2) Birlas have been giving every month Rs.3,000/- for the upkeep of the Prime Minister's House and that Mr. Mathai was receiving it regularly.

These statements are absolutely devoid of truth and I am sure you could not have made them. Indira has not received any money at all from Mundhra at any time nor have I nor has anyone else for any purpose connected with Indira or me. Neither Indira nor I have ever seen Mundhra. I had not heard of him till just about the time of the Insurance enquiries that came up before Parliament.

As for the Birlas giving some money for the upkeep of the Prime Minister's Household, this is completely untrue. I have received no money at any time directly or indirectly from Birlas for this purpose or for any purpose that is personal to me. They have, of course, occasionally subscribed to some public funds with which I am connected.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Letter.

222. To Rukmini Devi: Transferring Assets from Pakistan to India²

January 27, 1960

My dear Rukmini Devi,

I have seen your letter of January 23 to Srinivasan.³ When I received your earlier letter on this subject, I had enquiries made. I understand that a reply has recently been sent to you on the 23rd January on behalf of our Government. I am afraid that we cannot help you in any way in regard to a capital transfer from Pakistan to India. There is no agreement between the two countries on this subject, and normally these transfers are not allowed. If there is any possibility whatever for this to be done, it will have to be through the private efforts of Shri Tahilramani.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

223. To Morarji Desai: Indigent Musician⁴

From these papers it appears that the income of this lady⁵ does not exceed Rs.20/- per month on an average. She does not own any movable or immovable property. Apparently her husband has also to be supported by her. It is obvious that she is in indigent circumstances. The case is a border-line case in some ways. There can be little doubt about her poverty. Possibly the Vice-President⁶ who has recommended the case has personal knowledge of the lady and her family. In view of this recommendation, I think the Finance Minister might reconsider the case.⁷

2. Letter to Rajya Sabha MP.

3. C. R. Srinivasan was private secretary (personal) to Nehru.

4. Note to Union Finance Minister, 30 January 1960. File No. 40(16)/59-60- PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

5. Commuri Padmavati of Madras.

6. S. Radhakrishnan.

7. Following Radhakrishnan's recommendation, Humayun Kabir proposed a stipend of Rs 50 per month for a year; but Morarji Desai demurred on 20 January with the comment: "It is said that she is of average standing. I do not think this is a fit case."

224. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Jaggia's Appointment in London⁸

January 30, 1960

My dear Jayaprakash,

Your letter of the 23rd January about Jaggia. I have enquired about this. There is one fact which perhaps has not been brought to your notice. Jaggia will actually get much more in London than he is getting here. His salary will be free of income-tax. Further, he will get a Foreign Allowance of Rs. 775/- per month besides an entertainment allowance from the lump sum grant placed at the disposal of the High Commissioner.

The practice followed in this is the usual one in the case of Foreign Service. Jaggia is replacing J.D. Shukla⁹ in London who is at present receiving a basic salary of Rs. 2150/-. He is an officer of the I.C.S. cadre and had he continued in India, he might have got a salary of Rs.3000/-. In fact, his contemporaries in India are doing so.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

225. To D. G. Tendulkar: Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence¹⁰

January 31, 1960

My dear Tendulkar,

Please refer to your letter of the 6th January. I have got copies from Pyarelal¹¹ of the two letters you referred to, that is, a letter from Gandhiji to me dated the 5th October, 1945, and my reply to him dated the 9th October 1945. I am enclosing copies of them for you.¹²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Letter. Jayaprakash Narayan Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

9. J. D. Shukla (b. 1915); member of the Indian Civil Service, served in the Indian High Commission in London at this time; also published books on the civil service.

10. Letter to the biographer of Mahatma Gandhi. D. G. Tendulkar Papers, NMML.

11. Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi.

12. Nehru wrote the same day to Y. B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay, for copies of letters to and from Nehru, held by the Home Department of the Bombay Government as claimed by Tendulkar. Chavan replied on 5 February that he was checking the archives and would have copies forwarded soon.

226. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Family and Political News¹³

January 31, 1960

[Nan dear,]

Two days ago, I received from J.N. Sahni¹⁴ the set of suit cases that you had given him for me with a note dated December 5th. They took quite a long time to reach me because of Sahni no doubt. Thank you for them. The cases are attractive and useful. I must confess, however, that my old cases were quite good enough for me and I have no passion for new things. This accumulation of goods and chattels becomes a burden. I shall now have to discard the old boxes.

I gather that Rajiv and Sanjay have also received something from you. Rajiv was wearing it.

Our house is full of air of depression at the present moment. Young mothers with cheerful eyes and hushed voices move about it because some of their children are going to school. Tara is more depressed than others because Ranjit is going tonight to Dehra Dun, with the mother of course. Ranjit also is not too happy at leaving his mother. Lekha is bearing up well and I do not think Arjun is at all worried. Indu and Sanjay, neither of them is too happy. I am personally convinced that it is good for young boys to go to boarding schools. Arjun has grown well and is bright and cheerful. I hardly recognised him when I saw him first this time.

Our Republic celebrations have ended after rather a hectic week. They were very good and the popular enthusiasm cheered me up very much. The actual Republic Day procession was better than ever and everyone who saw it was greatly impressed. The final "Beating Retreat" ceremony was perfect and the background of the Secretariat Buildings and Rashtrapati Bhavan is ideal. Yesterday was an anti-climax with Martyrs' Day.

Now we have got to sit down to work, hard concentrated work. We have to decide in the course of the next few days about the main foundations of our Third Five Year Plan, and that is a very difficult matter. We have further to revise a good deal of our governmental apparatus in regard to rules and procedures and to get out of the old system which results in great delays. This again is a major operation. Thirdly, we have to finalise our reply to the Chinese Government. This is necessarily a difficult and complicated matter.

In another week's time, our Parliament begins its Budget Session and that will no doubt mean a heavy drain on one's mind and energy. On the 11th February, Khrushchev comes for a two-day stay in Delhi and two days spent at the Suratgarh

13. Letter.

14. Author and journalist.

mechanised farm and the Bhilai steel works. He is coming attended by, we are told, only fifty persons. The moment he goes, the Prime Minister of Finland is coming here. So, you will see, we shall be kept pretty well occupied.

Indu and I have been thinking hard about a present for Ajit on the occasion of his wedding. Ultimately, I have decided that the simplest way would be to send him a cheque. Perhaps Indu might send some small thing on her own account. I am asking Bridget Tunnard to give you £25 from my royalty account with her. Will you please give this £25 to Ajit with all my good wishes and ask him to buy something that he likes with it? This idea is more satisfactory than my sending him some odd thing which may or may not be suitable.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

227. To C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar: Thank You¹⁵

February 1, 1960

My dear CP,

Thank you for your letter of January 29 which I have just received. I am grateful to you for what you have written. I knew that you could not possibly have said what had been reported to me by some person not known to me, but it seemed to me the best course to let you know what some mischief makers were saying.

Anyhow I am glad that I wrote to you as this has resulted in your very friendly and affectionate letter to me which I appreciate greatly. I might add that I have no recollection of anyone in Delhi or outside in recent years running you down before me. You have mentioned the stories about your having given some money to my sister Krishna. I knew at that time that these stories were baseless.

You have referred to my not taking full advantage of your experience in planning and administration. While this may be partly true, I can assure you that there was no intention at any time on my part deliberately to ignore your experience. I confess it never struck me that you were particularly interested in planning, and I had a vague notion that as we were striking along new paths in planning, you might not be interested in them.

I can assure you that in spite of political differences from time to time, I have always had a feeling of regard and affection for you, which continues now as before.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Letter.

228. To Mohan Sinha Mehta: Nominating for the Nobel Peace Prize¹⁶

February 1, 1960

My dear Mohan Sinha,

Indira has shown me your letter of January 28th about nominating Paul Geheeb¹⁷ for the Peace Prize. I have never thus far nominated anybody for any of the Nobel prizes and I do not think it will be proper for me now or later to do so.

I am returning to you H.C. Daniel's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

229. To A. G. Jefcoate: Eileen Joyce's Concerts¹⁸

February 2, 1960

Dear Mr. Jefcoate,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th January. I am glad to learn that Miss Eileen Joyce¹⁹ is coming to India and giving a series of concerts here in aid of the Vellore Medical College and Hospital. I think this hospital has done excellent work and deserves every help and encouragement.

I am not quite certain about my programme. But if I am in Delhi on the date she comes here, I shall certainly try to attend her recital.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Rajasthan.

17. A German educational reformer.

18. Letter to the Honorary Concert Director, Friends of Vellore, London.

19. Eileen Alannah Joyce (1908 –1991); Australian pianist, lived mostly in England.

230. To Nirmala Devichand: Condolences²⁰

February 3, 1960

Dear Nirmala,

I have your letter. I can well appreciate the shock and sorrow you experienced.²¹ But life is full of these shocks, and we must face them with courage and not give in to them. That is the test for each one of us. It is these trials which condition a person.

I hope your children will be properly looked after and their education will not suffer. I understand that arrangements have been made for the continuance of their education.

I do not quite know what you mean by asking me to consider you as my daughter. In a sense, there are vast numbers of young people whom I look upon as my sons or daughters. If need arises, I shall certainly try to give you the help I can.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

231. To Arnold Michaelis: Future Television Programmes²²

February 5, 1960

Dear Mr Michaelis,

Thank you for your letter of January 23rd. I am happy to learn of the success of the television broadcast which you took in Delhi.²³

You refer to another visit to India by you in the near future. You will be welcome here and there will be no difficulty at all from the official side. I shall endeavour to keep some time for you on the 23rd April. It is rather difficult for me to be certain about my future programme. But I hope to be in Delhi then.

You have mentioned some other people whom you wish to see. I suppose there will be no difficulty about your seeing some of our Ministers if they are here then. But I doubt if it will be feasible for you to meet Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

20. Letter to the Deputy Medical Superintendent, Lady Hardinge Hospital. File No. 2(324)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

21. On the death of her husband, Dr. Devi Chand, Professor of Medicine, Maulana Azad Medical College.

22. Letter to the American television producer.

23. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 628-629.

He is usually to be found at some distant village in the course of his walking tour.
With all good wishes to you and your wife,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

232. To Tara Ali Baig: Recognition for Bravery²⁴

February 6, 1960

My dear Tara,

Your letter of February 5 about the young woman who fought a tiger. As I told you the other day, this young woman deserves recognition of her feat by some kind of an award. I suggest, therefore, that the Indian Council of Child Welfare might give her a suitable award or some other form of recognition as a special case. I shall pay for it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

233. To Adlai E. Stevenson: Vincent Sheean's Confusion²⁵

February 14, 1960

My dear Mr. Stevenson,

Thank you for your message and for Vincent Sheean's²⁶ book inscribed to me by Sheean. Sheean evidently made some kind of a muddle in sending his inscribed copies. Nearly three months ago, I received a copy of this book from Sheean. On opening it, I found an inscription addressed to "Bob Murphy."²⁷ When Mr. Murphy came here accompanying President Eisenhower, I handed over this copy to him. I thought that perhaps the copy inscribed to me had gone to Mr. Murphy. Now I find that there was even further complication. However, I am glad to have this book, and thank you for taking the trouble to send it on to me.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. Letter to the Honorary General Secretary Indian Council for Child Welfare.

25. Letter.

26. American journalist and author.

27. Robert F. Murphy, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts.

234. To Anna Ornsholt: Various Matters²⁸

February 18, 1960

My dear Anna,

I have just received your letter of the 16th February. I shall certainly try to see Dr. Narasimhan²⁹ when he comes here.

For quite a long time past, Indira had not been keeping well and had various pains. Ultimately they discovered that she had a stone inside her. Yesterday she had an operation and this was removed. She is of course still in hospital, but I hope that she will recover soon.

About the water supply for Kotagiri, I am writing to the Chief Minister of the Madras Government. I hope he will be able to do something.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

235. To A. M. Khwaja: Mahendra Pratap's Eccentricities³⁰

February 18, 1960

My dear Khwaja,

Your letter of the 17th February.³¹ I know nothing about the Bill³² to which you refer. I shall look into it.

So far as Mahendra Pratap³³ is concerned, the only charitable way of thinking about him is that he is rather mad. It is true that long ago he functioned bravely and sacrificed much, but during the 33 years that I have known him off and on, I have found him quite bereft of sense, in spite of his good intentions. In the Lok Sabha he is treated as a joke, and whenever he gets up there is a burst of laughter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. Letter to the Danish friend of the Nehru family. See also SWJN/SS/49/pp. 293- 294

29. Dr. S. Narasimhan (1917-1978); medical practitioner and social activist from Nilgiri District.

30. Letter to a contemporary of Nehru's at Cambridge and a lawyer at Aligarh.

31. See Appendix 31.

32. See item 238.

33. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, UP.

236. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Indira Gandhi's Operation³⁴

February 18, 1960

[Nan dear,]

I received a letter from Dr. James, Head Master of Harrow. I have sent him a reply, copy of which I enclose.³⁵ I wrote to you a few days ago that I would like to visit Harrow if it was at all possible.

Probably I shall send you some books of mine which you might pass on to Dr. James.

Indu's operation took place yesterday morning at the Willingdon Hospital. The Surgeon came from Bombay. His name is Dr. Shantilal Mehta. Morarjibhai strongly recommended him and I left it to Indu to choose. As a matter of fact, a crowd of other Surgeons and Doctors were also present. Bidhan came especially from Calcutta just to look on. Then we had Colonel Rao and Colonel Iyer of the Safdarjung Hospital. Also the Surgeon and Physician of Willingdon and Dr. Bhatia from Chandigarh who had sometimes treated Indu, especially when we were in the Kulu Valley. In fact, it was Dr. Bhatia who had first spotted this stone.

I was told that the operation was very well done and that Indu is progressing fairly well. Although I had been to Willingdon several times, I have only had a distant glimpse of her. We have tried to avoid people going to her. She is still of course in extreme discomfort, but probably in another day or so, she will feel better.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

237. To K. L. Shrimali: Fractious Yogis and Sanyasis³⁶

February 23, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I understand that the Education Ministry gives some kind of a grant to the Vishwayatan Yog Ashram in Delhi. Today I was rather surprised to meet one of the principal persons there, Hari Bhagat Chatanya, who came to complain to me about his colleague, Dharendra Brahmachari.³⁷ I have known Dharendra Brahmchhari to some extent and hardly know Hari Bhagat. I do not know much about the

34. Letter.

35. See item 247.

36. Letter.

37. An exponent of yoga. See also SWJN/SS/49/pp. 517-519.

Ashram, but I am told that a Trust was created for it and Jalan has something to do with it.

I have now received a letter from Hari Bhagat Chatanya, which I enclose. I do not know what to do with this matter. Since the Education Ministry is giving a contribution to this, I think you might try to find out what this trouble is all about. It is unfortunate that even sanyasis and the like fall out when money is concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

238. To Sampurnanand: Mahendra Pratap's Estates³⁸

February 29, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have just spoken to you on the telephone about a Bill relating to Raja Mahendra Pratap's Estates.³⁹ I am now enclosing a copy of this Bill which has been introduced in the Lok Sabha.

You will see that the Bill is a very simple one and it does not affect the rights of any person other than the direct heirs of Mahendra Pratap. Probably the son and the grandson of Mahendra Pratap have already disposed of his property and not much is left. Still, for sentimental reasons we think that it would be a good thing to have this gesture and to repeal the old Act of 1923.

That old Act was passed by the then Central Government. I am advised however that now this subject can only be dealt with by the State Assemblies and not by the Central Government. I should like to be able to state in the Lok Sabha that we favour this repeal and have recommended to your Government to take the necessary steps to this end. Further, that you have assured me that you will consider this matter favourably.

It would be desirable for your Government to get hold of the facts of the present situation in regard to this old estate. How has it been affected by subsequent transfers by the heirs and how has the Zamindari Abolition Act affected it?

Probably this matter will come up before the Lok Sabha on the 4th March. It has already been introduced and further consideration will be given then. Probably, however, little will be said then as there is only half an hour available for it that day and will be carried on till the next occasion which may be a fortnight later. If it is possible for you to ring me up before this is taken up on the 4th March

38. Letter to the Chief Minister of UP.

39. See also item 235.

afternoon and give me your broad impressions and approach to this problem, I shall be grateful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

239. To K. C. Reddy: Housing for Machwe's Family⁴⁰

February 29, 1960

My dear Reddy,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from P. Machwe, who is the Assistant Secretary of Sahitya Akademi. We gave him a year's leave to go and teach Hindi etc. in some American Universities.⁴¹ Subsequently, we extended his leave. Now he is in a difficulty about his apartment here where his wife and children live. Cannot something be done in such a case? It seems odd and rather unfair to push out the wife and children when he is doing good work with our approval outside.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Nehru's Books

240. To M. K. Vellodi: French and Italian translations of Nehru's Works⁴²

February 1, 1960

My dear Vellodi,

Thank you for your letter of January 11. On receipt of this letter I tried to find out if I had any copies of the French and Italian versions of my *Autobiography*. I discovered a copy of each, but I am quite unable to find any particulars about them among my papers. I have no letter of authority given to them to translate my book, nor apparently have I heard from them or received any royalties. I am trying to find out how exactly they got the permission and when.

40. Letter to the Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

41. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

42. Letter to the Indian Ambassador to Switzerland. Also available in JN Collection.

The French version is called *Ma vie et mes prisons* and is published by Les Presses d'Aujourd'hui, in 1952. The Italian version is called *Autobiografia* and published by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Editore, Milano, in 1955.

I do not know if the *Discovery of India* has been translated in either of these languages. Many years ago I gave permission to Professor Giuseppe Tucci⁴³ to publish the *Discovery of India* in Italian. I do not know if this ever appeared.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

241. To V. K. Krishna Menon: Presenting Nehru's Works to the Pope⁴⁴

February 1, 1960

My dear Krishna,

M.K. Vellodi, our Ambassador in Berne, has been searching for a French or Italian version of my *Autobiography*.⁴⁵ He wanted to present this to the Pope who knows only French and Italian. Vellodi wrote to me about this. I had a search made among my books and discovered one copy of a French version and a copy of an Italian version. They are both rather old, with paper covers.

I can find no papers in connection with these translations, and certainly I have received no royalty from either. I have no recollection of having given permission either.

Have you any recollection of dealing with this matter, or could you perhaps find out from someone in London who might have dealt with it?

The French version is called *Ma vie et mes prisons* and is published by Les Presses d'Aujourd'hui, in 1952. The Italian version is called *Autobiografia* and published by Giangiacomo Feltrinelli Editore, Milano, in 1955.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. Italian Orientalist and Professor of Religion and Philosophy of India and Far East, Rome University.

44. Letter to the Defence Minister. Also available in JN Collection.

45. See item 240.

**242. To Surendranath Dwivedy: Oriya Translation of
Nehru's Works⁴⁶**

February 1, 1960

Dear Shri Dwivedy,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th January and the cheque for Rs. 500/- being the royalty on the Oriya translation of the *Glimpses of World History*.

As regards the *Discovery of India* I have had some proposals and I am actually in correspondence about them at the present moment.⁴⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

**243. To N. K. Seshan: Remaindering the Kannada version
of *Discovery of India*⁴⁸**

Please tell Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao⁴⁹ that in the circumstances I have no objection to these copies being destroyed. But it does seem odd to me that the publishers should be so unenterprising. If any copies are readable, they might be distributed to schools.

2. You might inform the Asia Publishing House that in the new edition of *A Bunch of Old letters*, they might put in a brief note intimating the additional letters that are being printed.

46. Letter to PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

47. See SWJN/SS/56/p. 395.

48. Note, 14 February 1960. *Discovery of India*, Kannada, JNMF.

49. Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha.

244. To K. R. Kripalani: Japanese Royalties⁵⁰

February 23, 1960

My dear Krishna,

I enclose a letter in original. I am quite prepared to permit any royalties due to me from the Japanese publication of my book to be used for some worthwhile purpose in Japan.⁵¹ I do not quite understand what the writer of the letter is after. What do you advise?⁵²

Please let me have the letter back.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

245. To Kesho Ram: Using Nehru's Royalties in Japan⁵³

Please see the attached papers. You might write to this lady, Tomiko W. Kora, acknowledging her letter to me. You can say that I am agreeable to my royalty money being used for the way she has suggested, that is, for the production of Tagore's books.⁵⁴ I am afraid I shall not be able to send her a special preface or any special message, as suggested.

You may send a copy of your letter to Shri Pouchpa Das who is working in our Embassy in Tokyo. If necessary, he can deal with her.

50. Letter to the Secretary, Sahitya Akademi.

51. See item 245.

52. See Appendix 38.

53. Note to PPS, 28 February 1960.

54. See also item 244.

(c) London Visit

246. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Engagements in London⁵⁵

February 2, 1960

[Nan dear,]

Your letter of January 28th. I am very reluctant to accept any but the most necessary engagements in London. More especially, I do not like the idea of engagements where I have to deliver formal speeches. Please, therefore, express my regret to the Publishers Association.

I have already refused a number of invitations for engagements in London. Inevitably, I shall have to attend some party or other at India House. Also, an India League meeting.

I think I ought to pay a visit to Harrow School on this occasion. I do not know how long this would take. Probably it takes half an hour to get there. Altogether, two and a half to three hours might be enough. I do not know if it is possible to fit this in.

I imagine that Harold Macmillan will ask me to go for a night to Chequers, and I shall naturally have to accept this. Edwina has reminded me that she would like me to keep some evenings free for the theatre.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

247. To R. L. James: Visiting Harrow⁵⁶

February 18, 1960

Dear Dr. James,

Thank you for your letter of 1st February which has been forwarded to me by Mr. A. Goswami.

It is true that I am likely to visit England early in May to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. These visits are so tied up with official engagements that it is not easy to find time for anything else. But I would very much like to pay a visit to Harrow to see the old School and to meet you. If it is possible to meet some of the boys also, I shall be happy.

I am writing to my sister,⁵⁷ Mrs. Pandit, our High Commissioner in London, to keep this in mind in drawing up my programme.

I am arranging to send for the Vaughan Library some of my books or rather such of them as I can manage to procure.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

55. Letter.

56. Letter to the Headmaster of Harrow .

57. See item 236.

248. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Engagements in London⁵⁸

February 28, 1960

[Nan dear,]

Some days ago I received your telegram. In this you said that the top industrialists in the U.K. were anxious to entertain me to lunch. It was not quite clear then who these top industrialists were. Subsequently N.R. Pillai received a letter from Sir John Woodhead, President of the India, Pakistan and Burma Association. In this he suggested my having lunch with them. I suppose your telegram referred to the same people.

A few days ago I received a letter from Sir Francis Low on behalf of the East India Association, inviting me to be their guest at a reception.

All this is rather confusing. Are there two associations — the India, Pakistan and Burma Association and the East India Association? So far as the East India Association is concerned, my impression has been that this largely consists of Englishmen who have retired from service in India. I have not taken kindly to it in the past and I have consistently tried not to get entangled in any function they give.

I am not in a particular mood to accept all manner of engagements. But if you think it is necessary and important that I should accept the invitation from the top industrialists in the U.K., I shall be agreeable.

I have received a letter, copy enclosed, from Christina Foyle.⁵⁹ You will see that I am invited to what is called a Literary Lunch. I leave it to you to decide whether it is worthwhile my accepting this.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

(d) Edwina Mountbatten**249. To B. R. Medhi: Edwina Mountbatten's Travel Plans⁶⁰**

February 2, 1960

My dear Medhi,

Lady Mountbatten has been here in Delhi for a few days. She is on her way on her South East Asia tour. On her return from this tour, she will again pass through India and spend a few days here. She wants to pay a brief visit to Madras then and would like to meet some of her friends there. I should like her to stay in Raj Bhavan at Guindy when she is in Madras and I shall be grateful if you would send an invitation to her for this purpose.

58. Letter.

59. From W. & G. Foyle Ltd.

60. Letter to the Governor of Madras; copied to K. Kamraj, the Chief Minister of Madras.

The precise dates are somewhat uncertain yet though we know more or less when she will be here. Probably she will be able to go to Madras on the 15th March arriving there from Delhi by the Viscount in the afternoon. The next day, early morning, she would like to go to Vellore and spend some hours there, returning to Madras by about 4 p.m. She will spend the night in Madras and the next day, that is the 17th March, she intends returning to Delhi by the Viscount Service. All this is provisional and will be confirmed a little later. But I wanted to inform you in time about this proposed visit.

During her brief stay in Madras, she will have some hours on the 15th there and on the 16th afternoon and evening. Also the 17th morning. She would like to meet her friends there then, chiefly connected with women's organization. I imagine she will get into touch with them directly.

This is, as I have said a broad intimation to you about her visit. Precise dates and timings will be worked out later. I hope this will suit you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

250. To K. Kamaraj: Edwina Mountbatten's Travel Plans⁶¹

February 7, 1960

My dear Kamaraj,

Some days ago I wrote to you informing you that Lady Mountbatten proposed to go to Madras on the 15th March.⁶² On the 16th she wants to go to Vellore to visit the hospital and Medical College there, returning the same afternoon to Madras. On the 17th she intends returning to Delhi by air.

I do not think it is necessary for you or the Governor to make any special arrangements for her. She will stay at Raj Bhavan. On the 16th, arrangements might be made for a car to take her to Vellore and back. As for her other engagements in Madras, probably the Women's Organisations will make those arrangements.

I am myself thinking of visiting the Kundah Project in the Nilgiris about the same time. I could just allow one day for this visit, or a day and a half. I could go to Coimbatore on the 16th March, reaching there a little before mid-day. We could proceed direct to the project and return to Coimbatore the same evening. The next morning I could return to Delhi.

Please let me know if this suits you. To some extent my visit to the Kundah Project will clash with Lady Mountbatten's visit to Madras, but that does not matter. You can come, if you like, to the Kundah Project with me.

61. Letter to the Governor of Madras; copied to K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Madras.

62. Letter. File No. 8/139/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

I shall await your reply before I finalise this programme.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

251. To S.K. Banerji: News of Edwina Mountbatten's Death⁶³

Just learnt through British Naval authorities that Lady Mountbatten died last night in her sleep at Jesselton.⁶⁴ Please enquire and send particulars immediately. Is her body being taken to England? Take fresh flowers on my behalf to where body may be.

252. To Louis Mountbatten: Condolences⁶⁵

Shocked and stunned to learn of EDWINA'S passing away last night at JESSELTON. Find it difficult to believe that one who was bubbling over with life and energy should suddenly pass away in this manner. She was so well when she was here a fortnight ago. I join you in your sorrow.

253. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Edwina Mountbatten's Pressure Cooker⁶⁶

February 27, 1960

[Nan dear,]

I am enclosing a paper giving a list of articles left by Edwina here. Rajan⁶⁷ has prepared this.

Apart from certain personal apparel etc., there is a pressure cooker. This pressure cooker was given to her at the Exhibition here by our Defence Ministry who are making such cookers. I do not know if it is worthwhile sending this on to London. But it can, of course, easily be sent together with the other articles.

I am not sending all these goods yet, as I am waiting for your instructions in the matter. You can ask Dickie about it. Then I can send them by air freight.

[Yours, Jawahar]

63. Telegram to Indian Commissioner in Singapore, 21 February 1960.

64. British North Borneo while on an inspection tour for the St John Ambulance Brigade.

65. Telegram, 21 February 1960.

66. Letter.

67. M.V. Rajan, Personal Assistant to Nehru, 1953-1964.

VII. APPENDICES

1 (a). B. K. Nehru to S. Jagannathan¹

[Refer to item 101]

2. *New York Times* has reported announcement of new oil policy by Oil Minister² and I have been subjected to immediate questioning. Grateful if you will kindly airmail all relevant papers for my information. In particular could you tell me whether it is proposed to give only doubtful lands to Companies or some of the good lands as well? Also whether there have been any tentative discussions with any companies which might lead us to believe that business can be done on our new terms.

1 (b). K. D. Malaviya to S. S. Khera³

[Refer to item 101]

You will find from the enclosed telegram from B. K. Nehru that there will develop a tendency to shift the centre of negotiation and queries from the relevant Ministry to our Embassies where people naturally cannot be in a position to deliver the goods. As you know I discussed this matter with you in all its details and our decision was that our Embassies should be requested to pass on all the information or queries that they get from their side to be dealt with by us. We have also decided to send our notification and the Petroleum Concession Rules & Regulations immediately to our Embassies for being distributed to any oil explorer who is interested in this matter. There will be great confusion if our representatives in the Embassies start dealing with the oil companies and we will not be able to sort out those confusions later on. I will, therefore, suggest that you will immediately send a copy of this to B.K. Nehru and to anybody else you consider proper and inform them that they may please wait for our advice in this matter which will be sent to them very early and till then not to commit themselves to anything just now beyond the Statement of the Minister of Mines & Oil made in the Parliament.

1. Telegram No. 543, Washington, 26 November 1959. From B. K. Nehru, Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs to handle India's external financial relations to the Additional Secretary, Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS.
2. K. D. Malaviya.
3. Note from Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil to the Secretary, Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel, 27 November 1959. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS.

2. With regard to less promising areas or more, it is most surprising how any oil explorer in America or anywhere else could suggest that to us. No oil geologist can reject any area as less promising or accept others as more promising without doing some work and spending some money there. Cambay, for instance, was supposed to be an area with very little oil prospects but it is now proving to be a good small oil-field. This impression, therefore, has also to be removed that the Government have classified their oil sedimentary basins into less or more promising areas. This idea has been mischievously spread and I fail to understand what purpose can be served by it. So far as we are concerned our policy is to examine each case on merits and oil explorers will have to negotiate for each area and any arrangement can be arrived at only by mutually agreed terms on the background of our Petroleum Concession Rules.

3. With regard to B.K. Nehru's query in his last sentence it will not be proper for us to share the proposals made by any company with others because according to established conventions negotiating points or proposals of one company are not passed on to others but it will be interesting for B. K. Nehru to learn that we are already discussing with certain British and also American parties on certain specific proposals made by them.

2. Arun Kumar Sen to Nehru⁴

[Refer to item 109]

Chicago

January 19, 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

My attention is drawn to your call to the Indian scientists living abroad at the inauguration ceremony of the 47th session of the Indian Science Congress held in Bombay, and also to your renewed appeal to them to come back home through your press conference of 8.1.1960 in New Delhi.

Your call tempts me once again to come back to India as I see in it a chance of satisfying my unfulfilled desire to serve my beloved country. But before I finally make up my mind I would like to give you a glimpse of what happened to me when I came back to India in 1952 on receiving a similar call from Doctor B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

After I received his call I resigned from my teaching position at the University of Illinois, and from the position as an attending physician (anesthesiologist) at the Municipal Tuberculosis Sanatorium of Chicago. At the same time I gave up the other sources of income which used to bring me more than £1000.00 per

4. Letter from an Assistant Professor of Anesthesiology, University of Illinois, USA.

month. To make things worse for me I spent all my savings to purchase instruments so that I could give my best to my country. These instruments are not available in India and are now rusting away in my Calcutta home.

I reached Calcutta in November, 1952 and saw Doctor Roy immediately. I had to sit idle for more than 6 months before he could put me in a very insecure and temporary position at a salary of Rs.500/- only. However, I proceeded with my work of organising the School of Anesthesiology in Calcutta. In the mean time an offer from America came to me with a starting salary of £10,000.00 a year. They were providing air passage for my wife and myself and the position carried with it a paid vacation for a month every year. In addition the American Government offered me and my wife a first preference visa to settle down permanently in America. I wanted to serve my country as I crave to do the same today, and inspite of such an insecure position and a great loss in income (a drop from about Rs.5000/- to Rs.500/- a month) I declined the offer. Instead I put my heart and soul to my task ahead but very powerful influences both in the West Bengal Government and outside joined hands in piling up all kinds of obstacles on my way till the opposition against me assumed such a magnitude that I was forced to resign to take a chance with the Public Service Commission of West Bengal at a later date. I resigned in January, 1955 but I had to wait for a full year till I could appear before the Public Service Commission on 9.1.56. I received no news from the Commission for more than 6 months and finally I left India in July, 1956 with a very heavy heart.

I shall not burden you with an account of the terrible hardships and privations I had to pass through since I left America in 1952. Those experiences, however, will always haunt me like a nightmare.

I sent fresh applications in response to subsequent advertisements from the Public Service Commission of West Bengal but I had no knowledge of the results till the discussion on the annual report of the Commission in the West Bengal Assembly came out in the press. I learnt then to my great surprise that the Commission has been recommending me since January, 1956 but the West Bengal Government is systematically suppressing it. I know General Chakrabarty, the Director of Health Services of West Bengal, has his own candidate in preference to me. I also know equally well that so long he is holding this crucial position in the government he will use all means, fair or foul, to keep me out.

May I add, Panditji, that if I really can get the chance for which the Public Service Commission of West Bengal has been recommending me for the last 4 years and the chance the West Bengal Government is denying me, I shall not hesitate once again to sacrifice my position and income in this country. If necessary, I shall even spend all my salary towards the building of a school of anesthesiology for which India may one day be proud of.

I may further add that my wife also will not hesitate to give up her lucrative position as a professional librarian at the University of Chicago and accompany

me to India provided both of us can fruitfully engage ourselves to the services of our mother land.

Panditji, do you think it may be possible for us to come back home and give our services to India?

[Yours sincerely,
Arun Kumar Sen]

3. P. C. Malhotra to Nehru⁵

[Refer to item 37]

Bombay
January 22, 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

"I am public servant, being the President of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal. Prior to joining the Government of India, I used to carry on the profession of Accountants & Auditors. I am a Member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and in India. I was selected by the Federal Public Service Commission as the first Accountant Member of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal at the end of 1940 on a salary of Rs.2,500/- per month. I became the President of the Tribunal in February 1957. I am due to retire on the 23rd January, 1960, when I attain the age of 58 years.

2. The Income-tax Appellate Tribunal is an important institution in the administrative set up of our country. It is a final fact finding authority in respect of all direct taxes. The Supreme Court and the various High Courts have repeatedly held that it is not open to them to question the facts found by the Tribunal. Only questions of law arising out of such findings can be the subject matter of reference to a High Court.

3. The importance of this Institution has been fully recognised by the Law Commission and the Tyagi Committee. The Law Commission has recommended that the duties assigned to the Tribunal should be entrusted to the High Courts. In the opinion of the Tyagi Committee, the President of the Tribunal should be a Judge of a High Court. Besides the recommendations made by the Commissions appointed by the Government, I have submitted to the Government the views of the Chief Justices of the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras High Courts on the subject (copies of the letters are enclosed—annexures A, B & C). They have unanimously laid stress on the importance of the duties assigned to the Tribunal and have recommended the revision of the scales of pay of the Members of the Tribunal. The Attorney General of India has also expressed similar views (copy enclosed—

5. Letter from the President of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal.

annexure D).

4. In spite of my best efforts, it has not been possible for me to improve the conditions of service of the Members of the Institution. The standards have come down. The Institution further suffers from interference from the Ministry, I would urge that if this Institution was to serve the purpose for which it was created, the quality of the personnel has to be improved and the Institution kept out of the influence of any Ministry.

5. In my humble opinion, an Institution like this should be placed on the same footing as the High Court. It is a High Court for matters relating to direct Taxes. The salary drawn by a Member may be less than a Judge of the High Court, but the difference should not be so great. It should either be under the administrative control of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court or attached to a Ministry and treated on the same footing as the High Court.

6. The interference from the Ministry takes different shapes. Shri B.N. Mukherjee, an Accountant Member of the Tribunal had been posted at Calcutta by my predecessor for some time. His son was practising as a Chartered Accountant in the name and style of B.N. Mukherjee & Co. I thought that it was not right that the father should be posted in the same place where the son was continuing to carry on the profession previously carried on by the father. I had, therefore, written to Shri Mukherjee that he was likely to be transferred from Calcutta.

7. I met the present Law Minister for the first time some time in May-June 1957. The Law Secretary (Shri K.V.K. Sundaram) told me that our Minister desired that I should not move Shri Mukherjee from Calcutta. He also told me that the Minister wants that proposals about the transfers of the Members be sent to the Ministry in advance. I was very unhappy about the state of affairs and drew the attention of the Secretary to S.5A(5) of the Income-tax Act, which reads:-

“The powers and functions of the Appellate Tribunal may be exercised and discharged by Benches constituted from members of the Tribunal by the President of the Tribunal.

* * * *

Provided further that the President may, for the disposal of any particular case, constitute a special Bench consisting either of two judicial members and one accountant member or of one judicial member and two accountant members.”

8. On the following morning, I called upon the Law Minister at his residence and requested him to reconsider his decision. He was not inclined to do so. Constitution of the Benches is closely connected with the posting of the Members at the outlying Benches of the Tribunal. In this connection, I invite reference to the correspondence which has passed between me and the Law Secretary:

- (a) Letter dated 20.9.1957 written by the Secretary to me (annexure E).
- (b) Reply given by me dated 24.9.1957 (annexure F).
- (c) My letter to the Secretary dated 29.11.1957 requesting for his support in maintaining the dignity of the Institution (annexure G).
- (d) Reply given by the Secretary dated 5.12.1957 (annexure H).
- (e) Letter received from the Ministry about the transfers dated 7.7.1959 (annexure I).
- (f) Reply given by me dated 11.7.1959 (annexure J).

9. So far I have only been giving advance notice of the transfers to the Ministry. I have not dared to transfer Shri Mukherjee from Calcutta, even though his confidentials are not very good. There was a complaint against him that he travelled by train in a lower class and charged for the higher class while going on tour. In my humble opinion, it is not right for the Ministry to interfere in the posting of the Members. Every assessee has to pay tax every year and the final fact finding authority in respect of all direct Taxes is the Tribunal. It is not correct to post persons of one's liking at convenient places.

10. To give extensions after the age of superannuation is another form of bestowing favours. According to the present terms of appointment, the Members are entitled to be given extensions of 3 years after the age of superannuation 55 years) in suitable cases. It is not a favour to bestow. It is a Member's right if his work is satisfactory. Which are cases where the extension should be given is a matter which, in my humble opinion, should entirely rest with the President. He alone is the person who comes in contact with the Members and knows their work. No officer of the Ministry has any direct or even indirect connection with the work of a Member of the Tribunal. The Ministry should be guided by the advice and the recommendations made by the President from time to time.

11. In practice, it is not always that the Ministry has accepted the advice of the President. I recommended to the Government that Shri A.L. Sahgal should be allowed to retire after he had attained the age of superannuation as his work was not satisfactory (copy attached—annexure K). I also recommended that arrangement be made to recruit his successor. I was surprised to read, from the Official Gazette that the Ministry had allowed an extension of one year. I strongly protested against the action taken by the Ministry. A copy of my letter dated 9.2.1959 is annexure L. If an extension was to be allowed, according to the Rules of the Tribunal, it should have been for a period of 3 years and not for 1 year.

12. Similarly, extension of only one year was given to another Member, Shri Sambamurti, though my recommendation was that maximum extension be given to him. Shri B.N. Mukherjee about whom a reference has already been made hereinbefore had already availed himself of three years' extension and was 58 years of age. The Joint Secretary (Shri Lokur) approached me and asked me to recommend extension for Mr Mukherjee as the Law Minister desired to give him further extension. I had been fighting for years that the age of retirement of a

Member of the Tribunal should be extended to 60 years. All the three High Courts had supported me on this proposal. When I joined the Tribunal, two of the Members were recruited at the age of 55 years and were given a five years contract. In my opinion, it would help the Institution in getting a better class of personnel from the Services. In compliance with the wishes of the Minister I recommended that Shri Mukherjee be given further extension till he attains the age of 60 years. Similar recommendation was made by me about Shri Sambamurti. Shri Mukherjee was given extension of one year after the age of 58 years and Shri Sambamurti one year after 55. Shri Sambamurti should have been given at least 3 years extension in the normal course which was his right. Extensions should not be given at the sweet will of the Ministry. It is a matter of principle and only the record of work of the Member should be the guiding factor.

13. When a vacancy is likely to occur on the Tribunal, it has been the usual practice to inform the Ministry in reasonable time so that fresh recruitment can be made. In practice I find that the Ministry sleeps over it for months. This indifference has been to some extent the cause of increase in the pendency. It is about 20,000 appeals today when it was only 12,000 two years ago. I am still short of two Members for the Bench which has already been sanctioned. I have persistently reminded the Ministry that more personnel is needed to dispose of the increasing institution, but no attention is paid to my recommendations.

14. For reasons about which I am not aware, the Ministry decided to withdraw the selection of the new Members from the jurisdiction of the Union Public Service Commission. The Law Minister constituted a Board for selecting new Members. This Board consists of the Deputy Law Minister (Chairman), the Secretary, a Joint Secretary and the President of the Tribunal. The only selection made by this Board was in June last. Some candidates were interviewed at Bombay and some at Nagpur. The selection was of three Accountant Members and I was the only Chartered Accountant on the Board, besides being the President of the Tribunal.

15. No system was followed in making the selection. We not only interviewed the candidates whom we had asked to come, but also those who came on their own. Similarly, not only we considered the applications which reached the Ministry within the time laid down in the advertisement, but also those which were received later. When the candidates had been interviewed, we were told that no order should be laid down and that 8 to 10 names should be sent up to the Law Minister to enable him to make the selection. Even up to today I do not know what were the recommendations of this Board of which I happened to be a member.

16. In my humble opinion, the procedure adopted was rather peculiar. On my return to Bombay from Nagpur, I submitted a report to the Ministry in connection with the selection. A copy of this report is annexure M. Thereafter, I had no communication on the subject till one morning I had a telephone call from Delhi announcing three names of the candidates selected. In my opinion, according to law, two of the three appointments should have gone to the profession. Some

of the persons appointed did not even fulfil the minimum requirements laid down by the UPSC in the previous selections. I drew the attention of the Ministry to the irregularities in making the appointments by my letter dated 1.10.1959 (copy enclosed—annexure N).

17. A few weeks ago I met Shri Chari, a senior Member of the Central Board of Revenue. He told me that if the Law Ministry wanted persons from the Income-tax Department, he could have suggested better persons.

18. Applications for the post of a Judicial Member were invited by the Ministry so as to reach the Secretariat on or before 15.8.1959. So far candidates have not been called for an interview. I feel that it is an effort to bye-pass my presence on the selection board. I am due to retire on the 23rd January, 1960.

19. The Law Ministry was anxious to give an extension to Shri Mukherjee after he had attained the age of 58 years. No such effort has been made in my case. I wonder if the Ministry thinks that he has a better record of service than myself. Ordinarily, I would not have made a reference to this aspect of the case, as it concerns me personally. As it involves a principle, it has become necessary for me to make a mention of it. In my humble opinion, such a state of affairs should not be possible in a public organisation. It is far more objectionable in a judicial body, which is expected to administer law which is the same for all.

20. On the eve of my retirement I feel it is my duty to bring to your kind notice the tendencies which are working against the efficient functioning of our statutory organisation in the hope that the matters will be put right.

21. In the end I would request you, Sir, to kindly grant me an interview, the object being:

- 1) to answer to any queries on the subject;
- 2) to suggest ways and means to improve the institution; and
- 3) to ascertain if my services can be utilised for the benefit of the State.

[Yours sincerely,
P. C. Malhotra]

4. S. M. Wahi to Nehru⁶

[Refer to item 86]

January 22, 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

I have been desired by the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (IFAP) to express their gratefulness for the privilege extended to this World Farm Organisation by addressing their Eleventh Conference on the concluding day in New Delhi on 5th December, 1959.

6. Letter from the Vice-President, International Federation of Agricultural Producers.

The opportunity the delegates had of meeting you personally after the address, when you informally walked up to them and shook hands, has been of great significance to them, more so as they had travelled from far off places in all parts of the world and had not expected to have this honour and pleasure.

One of the important resolutions adopted at this session of the IFAP was with regard to sponsoring of the "FREEDOM FROM HUNGER CAMPAIGN." This is of special significance to developing countries, where the economic condition of cultivators is rather unfortunate.

The FAO started this campaign all the world over and received spontaneous and enthusiastic response by way of large contributions from the Western countries.

In India the Farmers Forum India, which is one of the member organisations of the IFAP and which has organised the World Agriculture Fair, has decided to contribute the income from the gate entrance tickets to this campaign. In other countries in South East Asia also, the campaign is gaining ground.

The Freedom From Hunger Campaign, as envisaged by the FAO, is principally for primary producers, but a corollary to this can be and would be the resettlement of beggars in the economically underdeveloped countries, for instance India itself.

Like Entertainment and Sales taxes, all parties, dinners, luncheons etc. could be taxed to the extent of 5% of the bills and the revenue therefrom utilised for rehabilitation of beggars. After all, in cities such as Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi, where innumerable cocktail parties, luncheons and dinners are given, the hosts could be persuaded by public opinion to contribute 5% of their bills to rehabilitation of beggars hanging around the Firpo's, Taj, etc. The rehabilitation of beggars on the streets is an important aspect for a country like ours, which is taking its rightful place in the comity of Nations. Voluntary social organisations have not succeeded in eradicating this problem and cannot do so. This has to be tackled in the Public Sector.

At present you are tied up with so many important visitors and have a heavy programme, but if and when you have some time to spare, please let me hear from you when I could come over and submit greater details with regard to this campaign.

In the meantime, I have a small request to make. You have been visiting the World Agriculture Fair, but we have not had the pleasure of receiving you at the IFAP Pavilion. When you will be visiting the Fair next, if you are able to spend some time at our Pavilion, I am sure it would be greatly appreciated by the farm organisations of the member countries.

In case your programme could be conveyed some time in advance, it has been suggested to us to have the representatives from the Embassies of the member countries of the IFAP invited to be present as well on the occasion.

[Yours Sincerely,

S.M.Wahi]

5. S. R. Das to Nehru⁷*[Refer to items 105 and 106]*

Santiniketan

January 24, 1960

My dear Panditji,

Prof. Tan has sent me a memorandum strongly suggesting that our China-Bhavana should be strengthened by recruiting some professors from China. He has pointed out that there are four vacancies in the China-Bhavana staff namely.-

- (1) A visiting Professor of Sinology (under the Five Year Plan),
- (2) A Chinese Reader (under the Five Year Plan),
- (3) Chinese Lecturer, and
- (4) A Chinese Instructor (originally Assistant Lecturer).

He has mentioned two names of our old scholars who, he says, are willing to come back to India. The two names and descriptions, as given by Prof. Tan, are as follows.-

“(1) Dr Chou Ta-fu who was in China-Bhavana for about ten years and is now Professor of Sanskrit in the Peking University and is a Fellow of Academia Sinica.

(2) Professor Wu Hsiao-long who was in China-Bhavana for four years and is now Professor of Chinese Philosophy and Literature in the Peking University and a Fellow of Academia Sinica.”

Professor Tan says that “the first is fit to be a Professor of Sino-Indian Studies or Sinology and may be appointed by Visva-Bharati to fill up the vacancy of visiting Professor of Sinology under the Five Year Plan; the second is fit to be a Professor of Ancient and Classical Chinese literature which position may be donated by the Chinese Government. Alternatingly [sic] we may request the Chinese Government to donate both the Professorships.” If the services of these two persons cannot be secured Professor Tan suggests that two other persons named by him may be considered. The names and descriptions of those two persons as given by Professor Tan are as follows:-

“(1) Dr. Kun Chang, a well known Chinese Scholar and Author of *A Comparative Study of the Chinese & Tibetan KATHINAVASTY*; at present Professor of Chinese at the University of Washington; may be appointed to fill up the vacancy of Visiting Professor of Sinology under the Five-Year Plan.

(2) Dr. W. Pa-Chow, who was Research Fellow and Lecturer in Chinese of China-Bhavana for more than ten years and is now Assistant Professor of Chinese Literature and Buddhism at University of Ceylon; he may be appointed to fill up

7. Letter. File No. 10(31)-EA/59; pp. 4-6, MEA.

the vacancy of a Chinese Reader under the Five-Year Plan.”

Prof. Tan says that “the Chinese Government are willing to donate one or even two Chinese Professorships if you would kindly make a formal request through the Chancellor to the Chinese Prime Minister Dr. Chou En-lai who is our alumnus and who is keenly concerned about the welfare of Visva-Bharati. The Buddhist Association of China and the Chinese Buddhist Institute may also send us a visiting Professor of Chinese Buddhism at their own cost if we make a similar request.” I do not know whether in the present situation you will entertain such a suggestion. I shall also like to have your views as to whether it would be advisable even for me to write to the Chinese Prime Minister. I shall take such action as you may advise me to do.

Yours sincerely,
S.R. Das

6. S. R. Das to Nehru⁸

[Refer to item 105 and 106]

Santiniketan
January 24, 1960

My dear Panditji,

For some time past I have been thinking of strengthening our Department of English Studies. I personally think that one or two English or American lady teachers will be very desirable and helpful in our Patha-Bhavana provided of course they are in sympathy with the aims and objects of this Institution. Our Head of the English Department is due to retire about the middle of this year. In case the Academic Council and the Executive Council do not extend his term, we shall have to find a suitable successor for him. Here again, I think, we may try to secure an experienced teacher of English from Oxford or Cambridge or from some good American Universities. The amount of salary sanctioned by the University Grants Commission may not be attractive to really good teachers, male or female. Our Act however authorises us to receive donations from others (Sec 6 (i)). Indeed the Bengal Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta donated a sum of about Rs. 13,000/= per annum for 5 years for a chair in English. I expect the British Council or the Ford Foundation or the Nuffield Foundation may assist us in the matter. The other day the Bengal Chamber of Commerce sent a representative to discuss the question of renewing their donation for another term. I do not

8. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60/65/66/-PMS.

know whether it will be infradig for us to ask for or accept such outside help. Before I take any steps to contact those people I would like to have your views in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
S.R. Das

7. S. R. Das to Nehru⁹

[Refer to item 107]

Santiniketan
January 25, 1960

My dear Panditji,

You will recall that some time back the university stopped running the Kitchen departmentally on account of huge deficit and entered into an arrangement with a Caterer to run the kitchen. The guardians of the Patha-Bhavana students send direct to the University all the fees including kitchen charges payable on account of their respective wards. The result is that there remain no arrears due by any of them. That salutary rule, I find, has not been applied to the grown-up students who get their remittances from their guardians and are expected then to make payments of tuition and residence fees to the University and the kitchen charges to the Caterer direct.

Three days back, the Caterer sent in a long list showing heavy arrears due from a large number of students of the Kala-Bhavana, Sangit-Bhavana and Vidya-Bhavana amounting almost to Rs. 15000/=. These students are in arrears with their kitchen dues for several months extending, in some cases, to over 9 months. The reason is that the grown-up students do not pay the kitchen charges but squander away the money received by them from their guardians in entertaining themselves and their friends in outside restaurants. The Caterer, of course, will try his best to recoup himself by saving money out of what he gets on account of the little Patha-Bhavana students by giving them bad food or less food. This will mean that in reality the grown-up students will be having free meals at the expenses of the little children. I am surprised that these older students have not the sense of self-respect to realise the enormity of their conduct.

Strictly speaking the University is not legally responsible to make good any loss that the Caterer may sustain; but the University, I feel, is to some extent morally responsible for the conduct of its students and should assist the Caterer in realising his dues from the defaulting students. To help the Caterer, the University will necessarily have to take some strong action. You will recall that at the last

9. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS.

Samsad meeting we decided to terminate our arrangement with the Caterer and to resume the running of the Kitchen departmentally from the next term. If the defaulting students now get away with the arrears they will employ exactly the same technique when the University will run the kitchen. It is in the interest of the University also to take some action now so that the grown-up students may not repeat their performance. Drastic action by way of expulsion from the University after, of course, giving ample notices to the students and their guardians may have some serious repercussions, for, in the present temper of University students all over the country, we may well expect some demonstration which may not always be non-violent. But I think, we have to face it and stand up to it.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know your views. In the mean time I propose to speak to the students and try to persuade them to pay up the arrears.

Yours sincerely,
S.R.Das

8. Ministry of Home Affairs¹⁰

[Refer to item 33]

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY

For an economy in the process of growth, and more so for one which might be called upon to meet a war emergency, an adequate administrative organisation is of basic importance.

An adequate administrative organisation should be responsive and capable of functioning as a team with ardour, speed and expedition.

There is well-founded belief that the present administrative machinery is much too much clogged in a system of checks and counter-checks, and may not be capable of reacting swiftly to an emergency situation. More particularly, the faults of the existing machinery are-

- (a) A disproportionate attention to preliminaries and not enough on the follow-up.
- (b) An un-willingness to assume responsibilities and a negative and rather placid attitude.
- (c) An inadequate appreciation of "time" as vital factor in all processes of planning and executions.

10. Note, (n.d.). File No. 6/1/CF/60, Part. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

To streamline the administrative machinery, it appears necessary that -

I. The procedures should be simplified. A small Committee should be appointed to make recommendations within a period of two months about the fundamental changes and procedure which require to be urgently made. Thereafter the Committee can go into the detailed working of individual ministries and make further recommendations for improvement and change.

II. Each Department should as far as possible have self-contained powers and the need for constant references to other Departments should be minimised. The existing system under which a reference received from another Ministry is first noted upon at the lowest clerical level and then proceeds upward has to be discontinued and it should be made compulsory that the first noting should start at the level corresponding to the level at which the reference was made from the other Ministry.

III. Those who do not assume responsibility and cannot press on with work with a sense of urgency should be weeded out after due warning. Similarly, those about whom there is doubt about integrity, amounting to a moral conviction should be removed from Government service. The law which stands in the way of speedy action being taken against such Government employees needs to be re-examined.

IV. It should be possible for Government to retire any Government servant on proportionate pension at any time. Inefficiency at present may cost one promotion but it has no other dire effects. The result is that the administrative organization provides too many shelter-belts for the inefficient ones whose presence adversely affects the tone of the whole organisation. It should be possible for Government to part company with those who do not pull their weight fully in Government.

V. There should be effective decentralisation of powers and delegation of authority at all levels. Those, to whom authority is given should be held responsible for giving the results.

VI. There should be greater encouragement for developing specialization particularly in the selected spheres of Governmental activity where expertise counts.

VII. There should be a greater inflow of talents from outside at the higher levels of administration and more frequent interchange personnel between the various services.

VIII. Technical men and experts should be relieved of routine administrative work and should be left to do the job they are most suited for.

IX. The role of outside agencies in administrative organization specially of the Public Service Commission in regard to disciplinary matters needs to be re-examined.

X. The appreciation of the importance of human relations in administration needs to be realized more vividly particularly by permanent officials at the higher levels. In our administrative machinery, the "lines of communication" from top to

bottom and in the reverse direction are so clogged with rigidities of hierarchy that a sense of unity in work impregnating all levels is wanting. The officers at the higher level have to carry the responsibility for infusing the right spirit and break through the barriers of cadres and grades.

9. Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹¹

[Refer to item 135]

January 28, 1960

My dear Panditji,

You will remember that a Commonwealth Education Conference was held last year in Oxford and decided to set up a Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee for administering about 1000 Commonwealth Scholarships every year. The committee will be considering the appointment of a Director of the Liaison Unit fairly soon. The Director will be a high powered person on a salary of about £4,000 to £ 4,500 per year and allowances which will bring up the amount to about £7,000 a year. The Director will have very wide powers and a large say in the administration of the Commonwealth Scholarship scheme.

I understand Canada is thinking of recommending a name from its own nationals and the British also have in view one of their Vice-Chancellors. The only person I can think of from India would be Thacker and I think he may have a fair chance of being selected if we propose his name. It would of course be very difficult to find a substitute for him in his work here, but it would also be an advantage to have a man of his ability and contacts in a key position like this.

If Thacker's name is to be proposed, I would have to write immediately to our High Commissioner confidentially, so that she can find out the chances of his appointment. She will not of course formally propose the name unless there is a fair chance of success. I shall be grateful for your advice in the matter, as I cannot quite make up my mind whether it would be more advantageous to our national interest to have him continue here or suggest his name for this post.

Yours sincerely,
Humayun Kabir

11. Letter. File No. 5/1958-62, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

10. **M. C. Chagla to Nehru**¹²*[Refer to item 137]*

Washington, D. C.

January 29, 1960

My dear Panditji,

I wish to make a suggestion—I am making it with some trepidation. I hope and trust that your reaction to it will not be too explosive!

Throughout your life you have had an international approach to most problems. The introduction of the metric system in India, the placing of our currency on a logical basis and the insistence on our maintaining the international form of number is in our Constitution all indicate how anxious you are that India should not be divorced from the world community. Why don't we adopt the international form of reckoning of figures which exceed 10,000? All the world over after 10,000 we have 100,000 and then we have a million, 10 million, 100 million and then a billion. India is the only country where we have the old archaic system peculiar to us of reckoning in lakhs and crores. In countries outside India it creates a great deal of confusion. For instance, in our budget figures, in our figures with regard to our Second Five Year Plan, etc. we have constantly to translate lakhs and crores into appropriate figures accepted and understood by the international world.

Your effort always has been to work on the principle that the world is one and every factor which divides peoples and countries must be rejected. Of course, I agree that a nation must not sacrifice its pride in its own culture or its self-respect at the cost of internationalism. But I do not think in sacrificing lakhs and crores we will be giving up any part of our culture.

You know that the currency reform was a very difficult one because we had to educate millions of people to accept the Naya Paisa which was one hundredth of a rupee. In the case of the reform I am suggesting, no such education will be necessary. 95% of our people have not to count beyond even a hundred and this reform would only affect the big business and the Secretariat and it can be effected almost overnight.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M.C. Chagla

12. Letter. File No. 37(17)/56-59-PMS.

11. Sulaiman Sait to V.H. Coelho¹³

[Refer to item 209]

General De Gaulle's speech has made profound and all around impression. Even before it he had an overwhelming support of Metropolitan France including the three major trade unions numerous professional and other associations and all political parties except the extreme right.

In Algiers situation was reverse. No one dared to speak in favour of Government. Moslems were silent and even the single demonstration they staged in favour of General De Gaulle in Mostaganem on Wednesday was broken up and ended with 20 casualties including killed and injured. Key units of the army were behaving in pro extremist manner. Believed that on Sunday Parachutist Division in Algiers had disobeyed orders to break up the insurrectionist demonstration and that cause for General Challe's departure was the extreme pressure being put on him by lower echelons of army to lead it against the Government in the manner that Salon and Massu had done in May 1958. The senior level of army officers however including all Generals appeared on this occasion to be staunchly for legality and De Gaulle.

General De Gaulle's speech which was to be made in these circumstances was a ticklish proposition for it was expected that an error on side of excessive firmness threatening to cut off communication, facilities for banking and financial transactions and supplies to Algeria with intention of creating economic distress calculated to cause differences between the insurrectionists and break up the insurrection without shooting could split the army and even risk an assault on the metropole whereas any sign of weakness could encourage the insurrectionists and the dissident members of the army and influence wavering elements to their side.

The tenor, content and delivery of the speech actually made have created a profound impression. It has clearly explained that self determination is the only possible permanent policy for Algeria and that the Government adhered to it in its entirety and it has placed firmly and severely before the insurrectionists and the army their respective roles and responsibilities and calls on the latter to come to order and put an end to the insurrection.

Since the speech support of the Metropole has been reaffirmed by all important personalities and by leaders of all political parties except extreme rightists and first impressions are that the peak of the crisis is passed and that the whole thing may gradually fizzle out.

13. Telegram No. 21, Paris, 30 January 1960. From Mohd. Sulaiman Sait, Counsellor, Embassy of India, Paris, to Vincent Herbert Coelho, Joint Secretary, MEA. File No. 3-A(3)-WANA/60, pp. 26-27, MEA.

Press reports indicate that FLN intend—asking for extraordinary session of U.N. through, friendly Afro-Asian members to intervene in conflict between De Gaulle and ultras for the purpose of safeguarding rights and security of nine million Algerian Moslems. Consider encouragement to such move at this moment would not be helpful to either De Gaulle or resident Moslems of Algeria and may lead to serious misunderstanding with France.

12. Dalai Lama to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 167]



SECRET/PERSONAL

Bodhgaya
January 30, 1960.

Your Excellency,

I hope that you are enjoying good health, in spite of your heavy and arduous duties of State. I am sorry to encroach upon your precious time but knowing your great sympathy for myself and my people, I venture to do so without further delay.

2. It is now almost a year since I came to India for asylum, and several thousand Tibetans followed me. You personally, and the Indian Government and people, have all shown us the greatest sympathy and regard during the time of our travail, and have given invaluable help in looking after such a large number of refugees despite their preoccupations with a multitude of other important and pressing problems. I need not say how deeply grateful myself and my followers have been to yourself and the Government and people of India for their sympathy and great assistance.

3. It is, however, my fervent desire that the bulk of the Tibetan refugees in India should not remain a permanent burden on the Government of India, nor on the various relief committees who have been helping them in various ways so far. I feel that since the stay of these refugees in India would now unfortunately seem likely to be for an indefinite period, steps should be initiated without further loss of time for their permanent rehabilitation so that as many of them as possible may within a short period be able to become self-supporting. A few thousand Tibetans are already doing road work in Sikkim and perhaps some more may be receiving opportunities for manual work elsewhere. While this has no doubt helped somewhat to relieve the problem of those

14. Letter. File No. 29(78) BST/59, pp. 45-50, MEA.



-: 2 :-

Tibetan refugees for the time being, I feel that merely engaging these refugees on manual work against wages in Governmental construction projects may not fulfil the ultimate need for their permanent or semi-permanent resettlement.

4. In the case of monks, I am extremely grateful for the kind decision made by the Government of India to establish two camps at Buxa and Dalhousie and to support them in order that they may continue their religious studies and practices for the sake of keeping the Tibetan faith and culture alive in friendly India even if, as seems to be unfortunately the possibility, it should be destroyed under the onslaught of Chinese Communism in my own country.

5. What I say below would apply to the vast majority of Tibetan refugees who are laymen, or not high lamas, who should be enabled to stand on their own feet through some modern vocations.

6. Among the Tibetan refugees are many who had engaged themselves in pastoral activities in their own country. They would feel at home in similar work in India. The cultivators, I suggest, may be settled on agricultural land. There are several for whom sheep or horse-breeding can prove to be useful and customary vocations. Quite a number can do forest work. I earnestly trust that India with its vast area may be able to provide some opportunities for all these categories of Tibetan refugees, by allotting to them some agricultural land and some facilities for breeding sheep and horses in suitable places. Some virgin forest land would also be very helpful for the settlement of some of the refugees who can initially clear the forests and simultaneously do some timber business, and later on cultivate the cleared areas. A number of Tibetans are good at handicrafts or small-scale industries, and may be enabled to utilise their skill to advantage. There are yet others for whom trade has been a traditional



-: 3 :-

occupation. Some encouragement in this field, for example the grant of special licences, opportunities to invest whatever money some of them may possess, etc., would greatly benefit these persons and render them self-supporting.

7. As far as I know, there are at present approximately 13,000 Tibetan refugees who came to India since March last year. Besides, there are about 8,000 Tibetans of the poorer classes who had been in India earlier in the usual course but who could not return to Tibet due to the changed conditions there, and now have become destitutes and refugees. Thus there may be about 21,000 Tibetans altogether at present in India, who are in great need of some opportunities for semi-permanent rehabilitation. I give below a rough breakdown of this total number of refugees, categorised broadly under different vocations which may be suitable for them:-

Total number of refugees : 21,000 approx.

Deduct

1. Monks and others whom the Govt. of India have already kindly agreed to support:-

(a) Monks at Buxa	1,500
(b) Monks at Dalhousie	300 appr.
(c) Aged monks and aged laymen at Dalhousie	700 "

2. Self-supporting 500 "

Total 3,000

Remaining number: 18,000 approx.

Categorisation:

(a) For vocational training	2,000 "
(b) Young persons (below 20 years of age) for school, etc. education	2,000 "



-: 4 :-

(c) Able bodied persons who can be suitably settled as:		
(i) Cultivators	9,000 approx.	
(ii) Herdmen (including horse and sheep- breeding work)	3,000	"
(iii) Forest workers	2,000	"
Total		<u>18,000</u>

(These are only very approximate figures, intended to serve as a working basis for consideration of rehabilitation schemes. The exact figures would have to be determined after a census is completed and also with reference to the extent of the facilities which it may be possible for the Government of India kindly to provide under the various categories.)

8. In addition, I understand that some 4,000 to 5,000 Tibetans who had entered Nepal are wanting to come to India and settle in this country. I would request that they may kindly be allowed to do so if they ask for facilities to stay in India and be resettled.

9. After careful deliberation, I am convinced that the time has come when I must request you for your help in offering these several thousand refugees some opportunities to settle down semi-permanently in India and live more or less like a community with some regular occupations. The places where they are so settled might as far as possible be near to one another.

10. I do sincerely hope that you would very kindly consider my request sympathetically, so that permanent or semi-permanent rehabilitation measures can commence at an early date. I have only indicated the broad lines along which I would request you to consider this rehabilitation problem. I shall be most grateful if the details could be worked out by competent authorities in the Government of India, for the purpose of



-: 5 :-

implementation. I shall be able to nominate some experienced officers of mine, to assist the Government of India in this matter, since their services will be of help to all concerned.

11. I have had fairly long discussions on this subject with Shri Apa B. Pant, Political Officer in Sikkim, who was kind enough to visit me at Varanasi. I found that his views in regard to the need for rehabilitation of these refugees are not at variance with my own, which I have tried to indicate above. I do not wish to burden you with too long a letter and have, therefore, taken the liberty of requesting the Political Officer to explain to you and to the officers concerned in the Government of India, in greater detail, the rehabilitation needs as I have tried to visualise from the point of view of the Tibetans. The greatest need, I venture to suggest, is to settle these refugees as early as possible in a manner that would enable them to live like a community and to earn their living through normal work.

12. Until such time as permanent measures can be implemented, I hope that the Government of India and the Central Relief Committee would continue the kind assistance they have been giving. I would also request that the question of rehabilitating the 8,000 Tibetans referred to in para 7 above, (they are mostly in the Darjeeling/Kalimpong area) may kindly be sympathetically taken up at an early date. These Tibetans are in a dire plight and I understand many of them have been begging for their living.

13. During my recent stay at Sarnath and Bodh Gaya, I have come to know that there are some one thousand or more Tibetans at present in these two places, who are in an extremely pitiable condition,



-: 6 :-

and trying to live by begging. These persons had come from Western Tibet, through Nepal, and did not go to any refugee camp. I fear that in the summer season they will suffer badly unless settled in a suitable place. May I request that the problem of settling these Tibetans may also kindly be considered urgently?

With apologies for having to trouble you with my woes, and with my profound regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

DALAI LAMA

13 (a). Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 99]

I have read with interest the secret document No. CD-79/60 on "Industrial Policy and the Organisation for its execution" circulated by the Cabinet Secretariat with their secret note No. 47/1/CF/60 of 24th January 1960.

The proposal to allow foreign interests and the Indian public to contribute up to 49% of the equity capital of State enterprises seems desirable from more than one point of view. It will reduce our foreign exchange difficulties and at the same time compel foreign investors to provide improved technical assistance in the execution of the projects, investment by the Indian public would also create a greater sense of participation in a large section of the Indian people.

I would like to draw attention to one feature of some of the enterprises which have been started recently through the cooperation of Indian and foreign industrial interests. In many of them, the participating Indian capital has often been provided by interests with no previous experience in that particular industry

15. Note, 3 February 1960. File No. 47/1/CF/60, Vol. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

or trade. To take one example, there are a number of well established Indian pharmaceutical firms in both Eastern and Western India but many of the joint Indo-foreign pharmaceutical enterprises have taken as partners not these experienced Indian concerns but some Indian firm from an entirely different field. If such joint enterprises had, as one of the partners, an Indian firm which already has experience in the field, it would be in a better position to absorb the new technical know-how and also exercise greater control over the enterprise as a whole. It seems to me that this aspect of the question should also be kept in view whenever we have joint enterprises started with the participation of foreign firms.

13 (b). Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to item 99]

The execution of the industrial component of our Five Year Plan requires substantial financial resources, both internal and external, and a corps of competent administrative and technical personnel. We are admittedly deficient in both.

2. The foreign exchange requirements of the Plan are sought to be met by obtaining loans from foreign governments and international financial organizations, and by procurement of capital equipment on deferred payment terms.

3. Negotiations for loans cover, usually, the annual shortfalls of foreign exchange and not of the entire plan period. In any case, the negotiations are not easy and are often hampered by conditions of purchases etc., which are not always to our financial advantage. The loans already obtained and to be obtained are creating progressively an increasing repayment liability and in foreign exchange, which we may not be able to honour fully when the time comes. Procurement on deferred payment terms adds to the capital cost of a project and may even affect its economics of production.

4. The internal financial resources available for the plan are insufficient and have to be augmented by recourse to deficit financing, but this has to be kept within limits to curb and control the resultant inflationary trends. The deficiency in technical personnel for planning and management is, similarly, sought to be removed by appointing foreign technical consultants and advisory managerial personnel. The foreign associates have no financial stake in the projects and can hardly be expected to be greatly interested in their speedy and economic completion and their efficient operation.

5. The difficulties are great, but they could perhaps be appreciably lessened by suitably adjusting the capital structure, organisation and methods of operation

16. Note, (n.d.). File No. 47/1/CF/60, Vol. I, Government of India, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

of our State enterprises.

6. The present position is that the Planning Commission is responsible for determining the industries to be established or expanded and the targets to be reached, whether in the public or the private sector. Thereafter, it is for the Ministries concerned to obtain project studies on public sector schemes, decide upon the number and size of the units to be established, to select foreign associates, to settle the scope and terms of such association, and finally, to determine the location of the plant. After these preliminaries have been settled, the execution of the projects and their management are handed over to companies specially formed for these purposes. The Boards of Directors constituted with a majority of officials in their composition, tend to function in the same dilatory way as departments of government, to the detriment of economy and efficiency in their operation. In any case, the Directors, both officials and non-official, have no financial interest in the concerns and are also not judged by the results obtained.

7. The aspects of planning undertaken in the Ministries are important, as any lacuna in planning, in the selection of associates and location would adversely affect the stability, efficiency and competitive capacity of the units. The diffusion of the control of industries in several Ministries of Government comes in the way of providing for specialisation, for pooling of experience and for co-ordination of policy. Secondly, frequent changes in the personnel of a Ministry hinder the growth of knowledge, maturity and experience needed for the adequate fulfilment of these responsibilities. In the result, planning is not as realistic and economic as it should be.

Till 1955, the policy pursued by the now defunct Production Ministry was to give the foreign associates a financial interest in the projects. It was considered that their participation in equity capital would secure economic construction, adherence to target dates of completion and, later, the economic operation of installed capacity. There being no provision for the payment of any interest on the share capital, the associates had to develop the profit potential of the companies for a return in the shape of dividends on the capital they had invested. This continued association and interest provided for the efficient operation of the production units. It also met our well-known deficiencies of competent high-level technical personnel. This policy was subsequently abandoned and our foreign associates in the Hindustan Steel (Rourkela Project) and the Hindustan Machine Tools were released from their obligations.

The present policy should now be reconsidered, more so, in view, of our increasing foreign exchange difficulties in an expanding economy. If the foreign associates are allowed to participate in the equity capital to the extent of say 25% (in the case of Rourkela it was 20% subject to a ceiling), it will go a long way in bridging our foreign exchange gap. The investments will not create any liability for payment of interest or for repayment of capital. There will arise only a repatriation liability of dividends when declared.

The Estimates Committee have recommended that 25% of the equity capital of State enterprises should also be made available for public subscription. This recommendation, if accepted, will look after a substantial part of the rupee requirements of the projects, reducing the volume of deficit financing. Joint participation of foreign interests and the public should be allowed and encouraged up to 49% the State retaining controlling financial interest and also controlling representation on the Boards. This reconstruction of capital structure will give us the benefit of foreign investments, easing foreign exchange difficulties and of continued technical association in management, ensuring greater efficiency. It would secure, also, public investment and participation in management which would make it broader based.

Recently, Mr. Krupp has offered assistance in the expansion of the Rourkela Steel Plant. American industrialists are also interested in participation. Despite their pronounced bias and preference for private enterprise, they recognise now that in the Indian context State participation in industrial expansion is inescapable. We have, however, to safeguard that our economy does not come to be dominated by foreign interests. Such a safeguard is inherent in the form of association suggested and is equally inherent in our non-aligned policy of economic co-operation.

A solution on these lines will solve, largely, the controversy on the accountability of these enterprises. As the enterprises would be of mixed ownership, the interests of government would be those of a shareholder (as is the position in Canada). While policy would continue to be determined by government, through its majority representation, the day-to-day management would be in the hands of a more expert board which would represent wider interests and should be more businesslike and efficiency-minded. It would be continuously interested in the financial results of management and operation, which is not the case now. It would also generate public confidence in the ability of the State enterprises to run efficiently and economically. This reorganisation of State enterprises is permissive in terms of the Industrial policy Resolution, and its adoption, in the conditions prevailing, will be fully justified. Incidentally, it will bring the public and private sectors closer to each other and remove the present attitude of suspicion and hostility.

It would be advisable to set up a small board of about half-a-dozen full-time directors to take over planning functions now dispersed in various Ministries and to enforce uniformity in employment and commercial policies and in the pattern of association of foreign firms. Its individual member could co-ordinate and control industrial units on a zonal or functional basis. Each enterprise would then need only a managing director or a general manager, releasing personnel for a better disposition and utilization. This board should be both the holding and the managing board of all the companies formed and grow gradually into the specialised agency for industrial development in the public sector, giving continuity both in

policy and management. It should be in the same relations to the P.M., as the Chiefs of Staff Committee is to him in war. This would ensure resolute direction and eliminate interference in its work.

To remove delays which inevitably arise as a result of the foreign exchange, import and other controls, it should be provided that once a project has been approved by the Planning Commission and the necessary allocation of resources has been made by Parliament, the formal sanction to the project should carry with it, automatically, necessary releases of foreign exchange, the issue of import licences and allocation of controlled commodities. These time-consuming processes not only delay execution, but also add to the capital cost. There should also be a decentralisation of authority and functions to foster the growth of initiative and responsibility at all executive levels.

14. **Atma Singh and Harbans Singh Gujral to Nehru¹⁷**

[Refer to item 15]

February, 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

You know very well that there was not much love lost between the pre-partition Mohamadan dominated governments of Punjab and the Shiromani Akali Dal. Yet never did any of those governments, after the enactment of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act, give any chance to the Shiromani Akali Dal to complain of governmental interference in the Gurdwara affairs.

Unfortunately ever since partition and establishment of secular Congress rule in the country, this has not been so. The Sikhs from the very start have been complaining of governmental interference in their religious matters. Only last year in April when matters came to a head, in your meeting with Master Tara Singh you once more in the Nehru-Tara Singh Pact of 12/4/59 reiterated the policy of the governmental non-interference in the Gurdwara affairs and assured Master Tara Singh that future interference would be prevented and even complaints of past interference would be heard and mischief if any done already would be redressed.¹⁸ For implementation of this pact a four-man committee was provided. Pandit Jee, the actions of your Punjab Cabinet have absolutely belied these noble words. A committee has been constituted, but the Government nominees saw to it that it did not function. It is now almost a year since then but the four-man committee has not been able to do anything.

In the meantime governmental interference in the Gurdwara affairs has gone from bad to worse. The ink was hardly dry on the pact of 12/4/59 when Giani

17. Letter.

18. See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 304-311.

Kartar Singh with more than 200 armed men rushed all the way from the Punjab to take possession of Gurdwara Sisganj Delhi by force.

Soon after that when it was known that Gurdwara elections were to be held in January 1960, every Minister with the Chief Minister in the lead, hurried to organise their respective parties for fighting the Gurdwara elections. Laying aside these respective organisations the Chief Minister made the State Congress Organisation subservient to his wish, to fight Gurdwara elections. For the purpose of further strengthening themselves alliances were sought at ministerial level, and concluded one notably with the now much reviled Communist Party of the Punjab. In consequence advance payment of betterment levy was postponed, and a committee with the Congress President at its head was constituted to satisfy the communists.

The above facts cannot be denied. These are contained in uncontradicted day to day reports of our daily English press who have never been friendly to the Sikhs. Lakhs of rupees were collected by squeezing those who had any connection or concern with the Government. By some mysterious force even industrial concerns as far as U.P. were made to contribute.

The excuse is trotted out that the Ministers were taking part in their individual capacity. Deprive them of the Ministership and you will find their individual capacity is zero. In spite of their Ministerships they have been smashed hip and thigh. Each and every Minister has been beaten, not only in his own constituency but even in his own village.

They talk of Akali Dal misleading the people. Were the highly paid class of Government servants at Chandigarh also misled including the Secretaries and Stenos of these Ministers? The voting results of Chandigarh speak much more eloquently than ourselves on these points. They are Ministers in spite of the public, but where, in the matter of the Gurdwaras, public could held it, it would have nothing to do with them.

In spite of exercise of every influence, power and privilege as Ministers, they cannot face defeat as sportsmen, and are resorting to underhand means to undo the verdict of the Sikh public.

This they are doing by giving their official sanction to unauthorised acts of the outgoing SGPC which they consider their own SGPC as shown here under:-

- (i) Under Section 41 read with 71 of Sikh Gurdwaras Act, the management of the Sikh Shrines is entrusted by law to 3 bodies (a) the Board (now called Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee), (b) the management committees of each Gurdwara and (c) the Gurdwara Judicial Commission. While the first two bodies are directly elected, by the votes of the electorate, the third body is elected by an indirect vote. The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee consisting of 140 elected and some co-opted members is under Section 71(a) of the Act to submit a panel of 7 persons within 90 days of its constitution to the State Government out of which the State

Government may appoint 2 persons as members of the Gurdwaras' Judicial Commission, the third member being a Sikh Subordinate or District Judge posted at Amritsar. In cases of death of a member or otherwise a vacancy occurring, the Board has again to send a name to be included in the panel. Ever since the coming into force of the Punjab Sikh Gurdwaras Act 1925 the State Government had been calling from the newly elected SGPC a panel of 7 members after every election held after 3, 5 or more years. However after the election of the SGPC in 1955 and before the newly elected body took over, for the first time in the history of the Gurdwara legislation, a panel of members from the outgoing SGPC was accepted by the State Government in spite of the serious protests lodged by the newly elected SGPC and the Shiromani Akali Dal. In February 1956 when the Akali Congress compromise took place this point was raised on behalf of the Shiromani Akali Dal and it was agreed that these acts of governmental interference in Gurdwara affairs which could be remedied, would be considered at the proper time. Representations continued to be made by Giani Kartar Singh on behalf of Akali Dal in pursuance of the above-noted compromise to substitute the Commission by the nominees of the newly elected SGPC but the matter was put off for one reason or the other.

After the results of recent election to SGPC were declared on 18/1/60, the outgoing SGPC on 21/1/60 has submitted a panel of 3 persons for the selection of the members of Judicial Commission to the State Government before the newly elected SGPC is constituted. The result is that the party who has lost the confidence of the electorate and has been routed completely at the polls is attempting to get their own nominees on the Commission. This clearly is fraud on the law and the electorate.

(ii) That similarly Section 87 of the Gurdwara Act before its amendment by the Punjab Act No. 10 of 1959 provided that every local committee for the management of Gurdwaras would consist of 4 elected and one nominated members. However, by the amendment of 1959 it is provided that in the case of the Gurdwara Committees whose annual income does not exceed Rs.3,000/-, the SGPC itself may nominate the members thereof, with a proviso that if the SGPC so desired instead of nominating a committee it may assume the control of the Gurdwara itself. The Gurdwara committees elected by the voters in 1955 are still functioning throughout Punjab because now election of the local Gurdwara Committees has not so far taken place. Now when the SGPC has been elected and is to be constituted within next few days, the outgoing SGPC has nominated the new Committees for about 83 Gurdwara Committees, saying that their annual income is less than Rs.3,000/-. This is being done with the connivance of the State Government in the matter. They are going to have these committees notified in the State Government Gazette and the attempt is to oust the already existing elected committees functioning

and substitute those by the nominated committees of theirs. Although Section 88 of the Act says that the committees can be constituted as soon as may be after the constitution of the Board these committees are being constituted before the constitution of the Board. In spite of the protests lodged by the Akali Dal with the State Government in this behalf this undemocratic act is being threatened to be done which would be direct challenge to the electorate and might cause serious repercussions. This virtually is meant to nullify the effect of the success of Akali Dal in the SGPC elections by having the committees of the Gurdwaras constituted for the next 5 years by nominations made by the routed party.

(iii) Under the Sikh Gurdwara Enquiry rules on the representation of election petitions against any successful candidates, the State Government can constitute and appoint an enquiry Board to decide said petitions. In the present case the Chief Minister and other Ministers took great part in fighting the election against Akali Dal and are thus personally interested in the matter. In a recent meeting of the Sadh Sangat Board held at Jugiana, District Ludhiana (residence of General Mohan Singh) which is reported to have been attended by Chief Minister S. Partap Singh, S. Gian Singh Rarewala, Giani Kartar Singh (Minister-designate) and S. Darbara Singh, Punjab State Congress President, it was decided to file at mass scale elections petitions against the successful Akali Dal candidates. A little later a memorandum from the Sadh Sangat Board was taken by the Chief Minister to *suo moto* enquire into the conduct of the successful candidates in the election and some orders were passed thereon. It has been learnt from the Sadh Sangat Board quarters that the Sikh Ministers in the State Cabinet have given assurance to the Board that they would appoint Enquiry Board of their own choice and would get Master Tara Singh and other chief workers of Akali Dal disqualified for 5 years after accepting election petitions against them, to break up the Akali party in the SGPC.

It would be just and fair in the circumstances that the State Government whose Chief Minister and other Ministers had themselves personally fought the election by making parties should not be left to itself to appoint Enquiry or Election Tribunals. The State Government in this case is a contesting party in the election and, therefore, the appointment of the Election Tribunals should be made by some authority above the State Ministry.

We earnestly hope that you would kindly look into these matters and do the needful.

Thanking you for all that,

Yours faithfully,
Atma Singh, MLA,
Chief Organiser,

Shiromani Akali Dal,
Amritsar.
Harbans Singh Gujral,
Advocate,
Adviser to Shiromani Akali Dal and Member SGPC,
Chandigarh.

15 (a). Swaran Singh to Nehru¹⁹

[Refer to item 98]

February 1, 1960

My dear Jawaharlal Ji,

For some time past, there have been indications that the Americans are interested in setting up a steel plant in India. We have to decide our approach in this respect. I had an informal discussion some days ago with Morarjibhai. He suggested that the matter may first be informally discussed by both of us with you and Pantji. I have attempted a Note which could be the basis for this discussion. I have sent copies of this Note to Morarjibhai and Pantji.

15 (b). Swaran Singh to Nehru²⁰

[Refer to item 98]

MINISTRY OF STEEL MINES & FUEL DEPARTMENT OF IRON & STEEL

For some time past, American interest in a new steel plant in India has been evinced in indirect ways. The policy of our Government that except for the expansion of existing steel plants in the private sector, all major developments in the steel industry will be in the public sector is well known. Because of this there have been so far no official or semi-official approaches on this matter. The subject came up in a casual way at a lunch given by the Minister (SM&F) to the U.S. Ambassador. The Minister took this opportunity to clarify and reiterate our present policy.

2. Shri B.K. Nehru's letter to Shri A.K. Roy dated the 11th November 1959 is the first authentic report we have on the American attitude in this matter. The telegram dated the 28th November 1959 from Shri B.K. Nehru contains the first concrete proposal in the form of an offer to prepare a project report without

19. Letter. File No. 17(314)/58-64-PMS.

20. Note. File No. 17(314)/58-64-PMS.

prejudice to the manner in which such a project might be implemented. The acceptance or polite rejection of this offer cannot be considered in isolation from our general policy on the further development of the steel industry. Even though the offer to prepare a project study is made without prejudice, the acceptance of that offer would imply, or would at least create the impression that the method of implementing it will be open to discussion on Government's policy, however, does not leave any room for discussion of this subject. A new steel project has to be in the public sector and, therefore, the natural form of foreign assistance is by way of loans to Government. The acceptance of a project report would, therefore, create a serious embarrassment when the time comes for us to reiterate our policy.

3. Shri B.K. Nehru's letter clearly indicates that in any case one type of embarrassing situation is bound to arise sooner or later. In blunt terms, Americans are likely to say that on theoretical considerations India is denying herself massive foreign aid for a steel plant. It would be desirable to counter this kind of criticism, which is likely to have repercussions not only in steel but in other spheres also.

4. A stock-taking of our position and prospects for the development of the steel industry in the Third Plan is, therefore, clearly indicated. Broadly, the steel programme in the Third Five Year Plan consists of the expansion of the three steel works now under construction, the setting up of the fourth public sector plant at Bokaro and the establishment of an alloy and tool steel plant, besides a number of small schemes some of which may be in the private sector. Of these, we are assured of credits only for the expansion of Bhilai. There are some indications that the foreign exchange necessary for the expansion of Rourkela and Durgapur might come from Germany and the U.K. But these are as yet very vague and can by no means be regarded as certainties. For the rest, no foreign resources are anywhere in sight. It is, therefore, necessary to assess the likelihood of foreign loans for financing the Bokaro steel plant, the alloy and tool steel plant and other small schemes. Depending on this assessment it would be necessary to judge how long we can wait for the implementation of these schemes. The outside limit of waiting would, of course, be the time when our own machine-building plants will be capable of manufacturing the bulk of the equipment required. Here, it is fairly clear that the manufacture in India of equipment on any significant scale will not be possible during the Third Plan period. Even during the Fourth Plan period it might be difficult to manufacture the equipment necessary for an alloy and tool steel plant, even though it might be possible to make the greater part of the equipment for conventional steel plants. If it is the judgment of Government that foreign loans are not likely to be available for implementing all the schemes and if further it is the opinion of Government that the postponement of some of the schemes will be undesirable, it would be useful to explore whether private foreign investment cannot be harnessed to the public sector in India within the broad framework of our industrial policy. The only reason for entertaining

some hope that this might be possible, is the evident American desire to participate in a striking and monumental steel scheme in India. It might, therefore, be worthwhile to explore whether it is at all possible to fit in American private investment in the Indian public sector. One possible way would be somewhat as follows. The fourth steel plant might be put up and managed by a new public sector company in which Government would own a majority of shares, say 55 per cent. The balance may be subscribed by American (or even other) private investors. Their contribution would go to meet part of the foreign exchange cost of the plant, the remaining part being made up by foreign private loans or foreign loans from institutions. Similarly, the share capital of the Government of India will be used to meet part of the Indian costs, the balance being financed by loans from the Government of India or Indian institutions to the new company. There should be no question of handing over the management to any special agency. The management should be vested in a Board of Directors, but, in order to secure the knowledge and experience of the foreign minority investors, there should be an understanding that they will be represented on the Board commensurate with their equity participation. This Board will be subject to broad Government control in the same way as in other undertakings in the public sector. While one may consider that such an arrangement might answer all the basic requirements of the public sector, it may be asked whether private investors are likely to find any such arrangement acceptable. The answer would really depend on the practical conditions under which such a new company can operate. The main concern of the normal investor would be to see that these conditions permit of operation in an efficient and businesslike manner and opportunities for earning a reasonable return. As it is the policy of the Government of India that public undertakings should work in this very manner and earn reasonable profits, there should not be much difficulty in settling issues of this character and giving the necessary assurances. For instance, foreign investors—particularly minority investors—would want to be assured that price controls will be fair and not discriminatory. As we have already a large public sector in steel, it should not be difficult for Government to give an assurance that the prices of steel produced by the new company will be the same as that allowed to Hindustan Steel. Such an assurance would, on the face of it, be reasonable.

5. The issue for consideration is whether the time has come for exploring this or similar possibilities. It is only after deciding this matter that the question of accepting the proposal for a project report can be considered.

16. S. R. Das to Nehru²¹

[Refer to item 126]

SANTINIKETAN

BOLPUR

February 4, 1960

My dear Panditji,

Re: Preservation of "Dehali"

Dehali is a small house with one room and an open terrace on the 1st floor. You may be aware that Gurudeva²² lived in Dehali with his family for a considerable time and many of his famous books of poems, essays, etc., were written while he was residing there. The house is very intimately associated with the memory of Gurudeva and is certainly a National Monument which must be preserved. After taking charge of my new office I went round and found it in a deplorably dilapidated condition.

Rathi Babu²³ and his wife are advanced in years and their respective life interest is not likely to last for a long period. But the adopted daughter is quite young and it will be to the advantage of Visva Bharati if we can get her to relinquish her right of residence. Rathi Babu is agreeable to arrange for such relinquishment provided Visva-Bharati gives her a plot of land on which Rathi Babu himself will build a house for her. For this as well as for the price of the structures at Dehali and other buildings on adjacent lands it may be possible to induce Rathi Babu to accept a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,000/= in full satisfaction of his claims on the strip of land and Dehali and other structures referred to above and of the right of residence of his adopted daughter.

A legal question, however, arises here as to the power of Visva-Bharati to spend this amount out of its funds for acquiring the rights of Rathi Babu into the portion of the trust lands and the structures standing thereon. There may conceivably be audit objection in that situation. If, however, you can see your way to sanction the expenditure of that amount from the Chancellor's Fund then no such audit objection can arise and we can get rid of the claims of Rathi Babu to the strip of land and Dehali and the structures on the adjacent lands referred to above as also the right of residence of his adopted daughter. As I told you the matter is of considerable urgency because the structures at Dehali may come down at any moment. I shudder to think what the papers will say about us if that comes about. At its last meeting held on the 30th January last the Karma-Samiti

21. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS.

22. Rabindranath Tagore.

23. Rathindranath Tagore, the eldest son of Rabindranath Tagore.

has authorised me to take steps to preserve Dehali and I am writing this letter to you for your advice and support. I shall proceed further in the matter after hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,
S.R. Das

17. Sampurnanand to Nehru²⁴

[Refer to item 113]

February 5, 1960

You might remember that at the meeting of the National Development Council when two Members of the Central Government said that, as the Central Government made contributions towards the State expenditure, the State Governments must accept the policies laid down by the Centre, you pulled them up sharply for such an expression of opinion. I am drawing your attention to this incident because instances of such tendency on the part of Central Ministries are fast multiplying. The power of the whip possessed by them in the form of financial assistance is sought to be exercised by them even in matters of minute detail. I am sure this is not in pursuance of a policy definitely adopted by the Central Government gradually to centralise all administration into its own hands and reduce the provision of the Constitution practically to dead letter. I want to bring a recent incident to your notice. We have Councils of Sports in all States. Obviously the composition of these bodies varies from State to State according to the area and population of the locality, the number of non-official bodies taking interest in sports, and other factors. This would hardly seem to be a matter in which a rigid uniformity is needed in all the States. But, apparently, there are people in Delhi who seem to think otherwise. The Central Ministry of Education set up an Ad Hoc Inquiry Committee on Games and Sports some time ago and, accepting the recommendations of that Committee, it insists that the State Council of Sports should have seven to nine members. A letter was addressed to them giving reasons why we think such a constitution would not suit us. But we have now received a communication laying down that "States Sports Councils which are not thus reconstituted by 31-3-60 will not thereafter be eligible for grants." "Thus", of course, stands for the manner suggested by the Ministry of Education. I should like to point out that this seems to be taking a very unfair advantage of the fact that the Ministry of Education is in a position to help us with some money. Whether the personnel of the Sports Council consists of 5 members or 50 is hardly a matter of sufficient importance from an all India view-point. The interest which

24. Letter.

the State takes in such matters cannot be gauged from the numerical strength of the Sports Council. The help that we gave to the sponsors of the Test Match at Kanpur can be some measure of our concern for the State's active interest in this sphere of life. I can only hope that the Ministry of Education will see its way to waive this insistence on a rigid pattern. In any case, I think it desirable to bring such instances to your notice.

18. C. D. Deshmukh to Nehru²⁵

[Refer to item 53]

February 5, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I am sorry that your personal and confidential letter No. 112-PMH/60 of January 26, 1960 has remained unanswered so far. I have been continuously on tour and although a copy of your letter reached me at Poona on the 1st February on my arrival I did not find it possible to deal with it immediately because of the pre-occupations of touring.

I greatly appreciate the considerate attention which you have given to this matter, and since at this stage you are not anxious to know what the sources of my information are and you are prepared informally and without publicity to request the ex-Chief Justice of India, Shri S.R. Das, to make such preliminary enquiries as he likes on receipt of information from me and as regards the further steps to be taken, I am prepared to pass on to him whatever has reached my ears. In a few cases I might even be able to tell him who gave me the information. It would be best if I spread the process over a period, for my own convenience as well as his.

I agree with you that in the circumstances nothing is to be gained from publishing our correspondence on this subject. Like you, after referring to the matter of the Tribunal in the course of my V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Memorial Lectures on July 11th or 12th 1959, I also refrained from saying anything about the matter. Nobody then took any notice of what I said and I myself was not at all interested in pursuing the matter.

It was only the press report about the President's correspondence on the subject in the middle of December last that brought the matter to the fore-front and I began to receive requests for information or clarification not only from you but also from correspondents of the press. I can, therefore, claim, like you, that I have been avoiding saying anything about the matter except when I was asked by pressmen.

I wrote to you for the publication of my letters because from the published

25. Letter. File No. 81, C. D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

reports of your speech at Bangalore it appeared that you complained that I had not given you any information except in regard to some 16 or 17 types of cases. The press also reported that you tried to follow up by referring these types to the Criminal Investigation Department which confessed inability to discover anything in the absence of the names of States or persons. I should have thought that in its nature a type case is not intended to be ripe for any kind of investigation unless the necessary particulars are furnished. This can hardly be a cause for complaint or any indication of irresponsibility in giving a list of them in a confidential letter to you in response to your request.

I state this in view of the press reports that have reached me in regard to my part in this whole business. I should like to remind you of what I have already stated before, viz., that this matter arose out of a suggestion about some kind of investigation made at the Seminar on Third Five Year Plan held by the Congress at Ooty in June last. The matter falls logically under the head Institutional Changes and since the Seminar authorities honoured me by appointing me the Chairman of the Sub-Committee to report on institutional changes in the light of the papers submitted I had naturally a great deal to do with all relevant discussion in this behalf. I might make it clear however that the suggestion did not originate from me (not that I take any particular credit in not originating it or that I am trying to defend myself—my intention is only to make it clear that I was not *suo motu* so interested in the matter as to start what the press now describe as the campaign carried on by Shri C.D. Deshmukh). You can call for "*A note on Topics on Institutional Changes*" by Shri V.V. Dravid which was one of the papers supplied to the Seminar. On page 4 towards the bottom, he refers to measures to ensure integrity and on page 5 towards the top he suggests some kind of summary tribunals. Again, on page 7, under *Specific Fields*, Ministry, he refers to the desirability or enquiring forthwith and summarily at high level into every genuine or prima facie case involving charges of dishonesty or favouritism against ministers. It was out of these suggestions that the discussion in regard to some sort of tribunal or Commission arose in the Sub-Committee on Institutional Changes, and I can only repeat that I formed the impression that most people at the Seminar seemed to agree that some sort of machinery like this was needed, provided that there were safeguards on both sides e.g. that no enquiry should be undertaken in a formal way without the concurrence of the Prime Minister or Chief Minister of the State, as the case may be, and that at the end of each year the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister of every State should furnish to the concerned Legislature a list of cases in which although the Standing Enquiry Body had suggested a formal enquiry as a result of preliminary investigation by them the former had found it impossible to agree to such a formal enquiry being undertaken. It is unfortunate that the work of the Sub-Committee on Institutional Changes could not be completed owing to lack of time, and although at one stage Shri Dhebar asked me to be ready to continue the work in Delhi, finally he seem

to have given up the idea, and no further meetings were held in Delhi and no final report was made. In any case, as I wrote to you before, I left Ooty with the idea that the proposal to have some kind of investigating body was not unacceptable subject to safeguards to most of the people who took part in the discussion on the subject; and this is the reason why whilst discussing the portions on democracy in the course of my V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Memorial Lectures I referred to the matter and said that if such a commission were to be appointed I would be ready to place before the Commission the information that has reached me of this nature in a few cases.

You will see therefore that it is not correct to regard me as the sole protagonist of this idea, much less to ascribe motives to me as was apparently done judging from the press reports, in the discussions at Bangalore. One paper went to the length of reporting that a senior member of the Congress organization regarded my campaign as "an attempt to blackmail"—for what purpose, was not made clear. Another angry charge was that since what I knew must necessarily refer to Central Government ministers there was no reason why I should have kept quiet whilst I was a minister 3 ½ years ago. There was also apparently some reference to my drawing my pension in addition to a fat salary as if this was also a case of moral turpitude. How much truth there is in these reports of what responsible members of the Congress organization said in the discussion you would know much better. Should you be interested in knowing anything more on this point I shall be glad to let you know, except of course what I cannot give you any information in regard to non-existent blackmailing motives.

For your information, whilst it is true that I have drawn my pay in addition to the pension since the 1st of April, 1959, I voluntarily drew no pay at all except Rs.1/- per month from 1st of August 1956 to 31st March, 1959, with the concurrence of the Education and Finance Ministries. According to the regulations I must demit office, unless Government offers an extension and I accept it, when I reach the age of 65 next 14th of January 1961. This will mean that in a period of 4 years and 5 ½ months whilst I have drawn no pay barring Re. 1/- per month (which may be ignored) for 2 years and 8 months I shall have drawn my pay at Rs.3,000/- per month for 1 year and 9 ½ months. The sum that I have not drawn from Government comes to Rs. 96,000/- whilst the pension that I would have drawn over and above my pay would be Rs.15,000/-. Or, looking at it in another way, this would mean that for a period of 4 years and 5 ½ months I shall have drawn a total pay of Rs.64,500/- which gives an average of some Rs. 1,150/- per month. During most of this period I have also been doing another job, that of the Chairman of the National Book Trust, not to speak of the Chairmanship of several committees connected with university education or national service. If such a statement was made by anyone during the discussions at Bangalore I hope you will realise that it was made out of spice and malice.

In conclusion, let me make it clear once again that I am carrying no sort of

campaign in the matter, for the reason that I am not that much interested and that if there is any campaign it was started by the press getting hold to begin with of private correspondence between you and the President. If I had not stated in the course of the Lectures that I had myself received some information which I would be glad to place at the disposal of the Commission, as would be the duty of every citizen I do not suppose I would have been dragged into this controversy. It has now become a question of whether I am trying deliberately to fling mud at Congress ministers although my observations did not relate specifically to ministers only but to all type of such cases. I am continuing this correspondence merely because doubts have been cast on my bonafides by high placed individuals in your party organisation, judging from the press reports, and because the press has made so much fuss about my observations in Madras of which nobody took any notice when the President wrote to you.

There is one specific matter which has puzzled me; that is your omission to refer to the one case in which I furnished all the necessary particulars, namely, the case of the acquisition of land for the Thiagaraja College at Madurai in the Madras State. I gave the names of people who are likely to be able to throw some light on the unconscionable delay that has taken place in the acquisition of land for this college, namely, Shri Giri, Governor of U.P., Shri Sri Prakash, Governor of Bombay and former Governor of Madras and Dr. A.L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. Whilst I was in Madras recently I learnt that you had not yet written to ascertain the facts of the case from Dr. A.L. Mudaliar. In this particular case, I have no further details to furnish since the files would be with the respective parties, namely, the Management of the College, the Madras Government and possibly the University of Madras.

Yours sincerely,
C. D. Deshmukh

19. P. S. Lokanathan to Nehru²⁶

[Refer to item 77]

February 6, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I do not like to trouble you but I thought it might be of interest to you to know that the National Council has just completed a study of the demand in our country for finished steel in the Third Plan and Fourth Plan periods.

Our study indicates that the requirements of finished steel in 1960-61, i.e. by the end of the Second Plan, would be about 3.6 million tons, whereas the actual

26. Letter from Director-General, National Council of Applied Economic Research. File No. 17(318)/58-64-PMS.

production might come up to about 2.6 million tons, so that the supply would fall short of our requirements by nearly a million tons.

Our estimated demand at the end of the Third Plan period, i.e. 1965-66, would be 7.2 million finished tons, while the estimated production at full capacity of the existing plants would only be 4.6 million tons. This would mean that we should develop in the Third Plan sufficient capacity in the steel industry by way of expansion of the existing plants and also, if necessary, by establishment of new plants to fill up this gap. Finally, in 1970-71 our requirements would be of the order of 12.8 million tons (finished) and if we plan our production with imagination, we may just be able to become self-sufficient.

The main conclusion of our study is that at no time during the Third and the Fourth Plan periods is there any likelihood of a surplus of steel or of a deficiency in demand for finished steel by various sectors in the economy.

I have pleasure in enclosing herewith a copy of the Report together with a summary of this Report.

Yours sincerely,
P.S. Lokanathan

20. The Science Congress²⁷

[Refer to item 116]

The author gives in this article some of his personal opinions regarding the way in which the Science Congress was run.

By J.B.S. Haldane

I was privileged to hear the PM's speech to the association of scientific workers at the Science Congress recently held in Bombay. I did not hear his address to the Congress as a whole, since my ticket for this event had been thoughtfully removed from the booklet issued to me on arrival in Bombay. The Prime Minister made some rather bitter remarks about Indian scientists who worked abroad because pay and facilities were better. Of course, such statements have some relevance to my own case. I have left England for India because the facilities for scientific research are much better, though my salary is only a little over half of what it was in London, and what I could still be earning had I remained there. Perhaps some Indians remain abroad for the reasons stated by Mr. Nehru, but others (including all whom I met) do so for very honourable reasons.

Every scientist who is worth anything has a double loyalty to science as well as to his country. In India there are numerous laboratories where scientists are

27. From *The Hindu Weekly Magazine*, 7 February 1960.

forbidden to work. I can think of one in Calcutta where a worker drew Rs. 400 per month for at least six months without doing anything but filling in forms about work in contemplation and showing visitors round. The worker in question could have done some research not probably very important, but was ordered to remain in the laboratory beside an incomplete apparatus, and explain the project to visitors. This is not an isolated case.

All over the country junior workers are regarded with jealousy by their superiors, who either discourage originality or steal its results. I recently saw a bibliography of publication by the head of a well known Indian laboratory. This remarkable man had published over fifty scientific papers in one year. No single human being before him as ever made discoveries at this rate! No doubt junior colleagues had done most of the work, or all of it. But their names were not mentioned. It is not surprising that young men do not care to work under such conditions, particularly, if like the unfortunate agricultural scientist who recently hanged himself in Delhi, they are forbidden to apply for posts elsewhere. So long as the Government departments concerned do nothing to discourage persons responsible by cutting down grants, and by other methods which are available to them, bright young men will take jobs abroad. The PM himself is not wholly free from responsibility. He has certainly given his blessing to laboratories which produce very little work of any value, and use up a lot of foreign exchange while training young men very badly indeed.

At Bombay, the Science Congress appeared to go against originality in Indian Science. I received a fat volume of summaries of papers to be read in eight sections as being particularly interesting. Sometimes I should certainly have been glad to hear the full details. In at least three cases, it was clear that the author did not know some facts which I knew. Five minutes talk with me might have saved him or her five months' work. The so called programme issued to members merely stated that papers would be read in a particular section, say engineering or zoology, between certain hours. This was not always the case. Sometimes a discussion was arranged at the time when papers were supposed to be read. Even when the president of a section adhered to the times given in the programme the order of the papers was quite unpredictable.

I had asked, both in my own name and in that of a distinguished foreign visitor, that the custom normal in Britain, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Japan and other countries where I have been to scientific meetings, might be followed. This is to adhere, so far as possible, to a timetable which is issued to the persons attending the meeting, and to put up public notices of any deviations from this programme. As this was not done, I did not manage to hear a single one of the twenty-five papers which I have mentioned. In consequence, the meeting was of little use to me, and I was of little use to Indian Science.

Let me make the position as clear as I can. The two addresses of sectional presidents which I attended were excellent summaries of our knowledge of one

branch of Indian geology and one branch of soil science. They were not announcements of new discoveries. The special and popular lectures were often excellent. They saved their hearers the trouble of reading accounts of research in journals, which are often hard to find in India. But they did not give me a chance of hearing and seeing the young Indians who are actually advancing science. The whole set up of the Congress is an example of the repression of young workers by their seniors, which is one of the most regrettable features of Indian Science, and largely responsible for the flight from India which the PM rightly deplores.

Inadequate facilities

If he wishes to stop it, one step which he can take at once is not to attend a Science Congress again until this injustice to the rising generation is remedied. I am told that he complained of the lack of shade in the pandal. Had he attended any of the lectures delivered there, he would have had a good more to complain of. The lantern was almost absolutely useless. I was in the second row of the audience during the lecture on elementary particles by Prof. Abdus Salam, a Pakistani who has recently been given a chair in London. Many of his slides could not be read. I do not suppose that even one could be read by people in the back rows. If no adequate lantern is available, the lecturer should be told so. He can then either prepare a lecture which does not require a lantern, or refuse to lecture. The microphone in the Pandal was fairly efficient. Both the lantern and the microphone in the hall of Kishinchand Chellaram College were highly inefficient, and one very distinguished foreign lecturer was quite inaudible. If the organisers of the Congress took science seriously they could have provided these facilities at far less cost than the coloured lights, variety entertainments, and so on, on which the money of donors was spent.

Besides the sectional meetings there were supposed to be a number of discussions and symposia. One of those, on "Modern trends in the study of physical anthropology (human biology) with special reference to India", attracted some fifty members. After they had awaited fifteen minutes they were told that it would not be held as its convener had been called to Delhi. Those who were so ill-advised as to attend the meeting on "The structural basis of cellular differentiation" were not even told why it was not held. An hour was wasted on the inauguration of the international society for tropical ecology. I did not attend this as I was attending a sectional meeting, and had no wish to hear what distinguished politicians had to say on ecology. As, however, I am interested in the subject I was one of those who attended its first meeting. None of its officers turned up, though the Congress officials in the building, where it was supposed to be held, had received no information that it had been cancelled. In order to attend this meeting I had refused to join a party visiting the caves of Elephanta.

The root cause of all this, incompetence and worse is not far to seek. A large

number of Indian scientists have no pride in their profession, though they are proud of their salaries and positions. The opposite attitude is common in Europe, as it was in Ancient India. I have seen a member of the Council of Royal Society. (R.A. McCaule, to be precise) turn up at a council meeting in shabby clothes with his luggage on his back in a knapsack. In India today the unworthy successors of Durwasa and Viswamitra, actually, invite governors, Vice-Chancellors, and the like, to address them. This may be a relic of British rule. If so it is a regrettable one. I am quite aware that some British scientists behave in the same way, and that some of the most distinguished Indian scientists do not, and consequently do not appear at meetings of the Science Congress.

It is time that responsible persons in India realised that the invitation of foreigners to such congresses lowers the prestige of Indian Science considerably. So do the tours arranged for them later. They are too polite to express their feelings to their hosts, but not always too polite to express them to me. I give two examples from this year's tours.

One foreign scientist was permitted to visit one of the four laboratories in India where internationally famous work in his subject is done. But he had to visit at least six where the work is of a very poor quality, but the university and other authorities have influence with those who arrange such tours. Another visitor, a well known European Zoologist spent 4 days in Calcutta, but no time was allotted to him to visit its Zoological Garden. I took him there from 5.30 to 8.00 a.m., and he told me that he had never admired any Zoo in the world so much. He made no comment, favourable or otherwise, on the numerous institutions in Calcutta to which visits had been arranged for him. No doubt a person who devotes himself to his job, and whose institute is worth seeing, has little leisure to approach the persons who produce the programmes for the visits.

I do not wish to be unfair to those who made arrangements at Bombay, and I wish to state that the accommodation and the breakfasts in the hostel attached to the department of chemical technology, where I stayed were better than in some quite expensive hotels in Bombay where I have stayed in the past. The vegetarian food provided near the pandal was also simple and good.

But the object of the Science Congress should be to advance science in India, and this, in my opinion, it failed to do. There would be little difficulty in making it useful. This would involve discourtesy to some influential people. But in science, efficiency is more important than courtesy.

21. Humayun Kabir to Nehru²⁸

[Refer to item 33]

After Pandit Pant sent his note, the Cabinet has been considering proposals for improving administrative efficiency and generally tightening up the business of Government. May I place before you one suggestion in this connection?

In the British days, every member of the Executive Council had to meet the viceroy once a fortnight or so and give him a report on the working of his Department with special reference to any special successes or difficulties. Later, when the number of Executive Councillors increased, the Viceroy used to meet the Members at least once a month. This not only enabled him to have a first hand knowledge of the working of each Department but also to form his own judgment about the way in which each member was handling his work. It gave the Member also an opportunity of placing his difficulties and seeking the advice of the Viceroy.

Now-a-days, the Ministers meet the President about once a month. The President is however the Head of the State and not the Head of the Government. I know how heavily burdened with work you are, but nevertheless I feel that if you would allot every Minister in independent charge of a Ministry half an hour a month to discuss his problems and seek your advice, it would greatly help us in our work. There are of course cabinet meetings, but in meetings only items on the agenda are discussed and in any case a Minister would be able to speak far more freely about his own problems if he were speaking to you alone.

If in addition, Ministers who are not in independent charge and possibly Deputy Ministers are also given an opportunity of meeting you once even in three months or so, they would greatly benefit by your advice and also feel greatly encouraged.

22. B. N. Chakravarty to Nehru²⁹

[Refer to item 147]

I have discussed this matter with S.G. I have also shown him the note that had been left with me by the Counsellor, U.K. High Commission. Without making a formal commitment to support the candidature of Mr. Boland, Permanent Representative of Ireland to the U.N. for the Presidency of the 15th Session of the General Assembly of the U.N., the U.K. Government has decided to let it be known that the United Kingdom may be expected to vote for Mr. Boland when the time comes.

28. Note, 8 February 1960. File No. 13/1960-61, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

29. Note, 10 February 1960. File No. 1(24). UN-II/59, pp. 8-9/N. MEA.

2. Czechoslovakia has long been in the field. As early as 27.5.59 the Czech Ambassador saw P.M. in this connection. P.M. had then told him that he agreed that the "East European countries should have their turn in these high offices and it was not fair to keep them out. We would, therefore, welcome a Czech President of the U.N."

3. I have discussed the matter with the Defence Minister also and we all feel that we should support the candidature of Mr. Jiri Nosek, who was until recently the Czech Ambassador in India and is at present Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Czech Ambassador would like us to make a commitment probably because they would also like to give publicity to our views. We have, however, so far consistently followed the policy of not making any formal commitment in such matters, so far in advance. It is, therefore, suggested that I should call the Czech Ambassador and tell him that we would support the candidature of Mr. Nosek. I would explain to him at the same time that it would be contrary to our normal practice to make a formal commitment so far in advance. We have invariably followed this policy and we would not like to make a departure from that policy on this occasion either.

23. Niels Bohr to Nehru³⁰

[Refer to item 142]

Copenhagen

February 10, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Our visit to India was to my wife and myself a wonderful and most inspiring experience and we do not know how to thank you for the great kindness you personally extended to us during the unforgettable days we spent with you and your family in your home in Delhi.

During our travels in India we were both enchanted by the marvellous historical monuments which speak so strongly of what art can give if there is a true human culture behind. The spirit of the Indian people which through the ages have been able to assimilate so many different cultural movements made us, indeed, in a deep sense feel at home in your country.

Through my contact with the Indian academic institutions I was also deeply impressed by the enthusiasm shared by the leading scientists as well as by the students, and I greatly admired the foresight with which the endeavours for promoting the welfare of the people on the basis of the progress of science and technology were planned under your leadership. I feel, indeed, confident that

30. Letter.

these endeavours will not only be of great benefit for India, but will even come to serve as a help and encouragement for other peoples faced with similar problem.

All what I learned, and especially from, my talks with you which will always be some of my most treasured remembrances, reaffirmed my expectations of the role which your country is called to play in the creation of that brotherhood between nations which is necessary for the future of mankind. In this great cause the closest possible international collaboration will surely be of a decisive importance, and here in Denmark we shall be happy if in any field, even in a most modest way, advice and assistance might be given from our small country.

As regards atomic energy I talked with Dr. Bhabha about the possibilities for such collaboration and we are looking forward to a visit from him in Denmark in the spring, when we will go thoroughly into technical matters. I was also most interested in what I learned from Prof. Mahalanobis and Professor Kabir as regards planning of other important issues, and I am very pleased that Prof. Thacker, who has such a responsible position in the Secretariat of the Scientific and Industrial Research, will come to Denmark this summer for discussions and mutual information of how such research is being prepared in the various countries.

We had a good journey back from India, and had the pleasure on our arrival in Copenhagen to meet and talk with your Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, who at our University gave a most beautiful talk, received with great interest and enthusiasm. A few days after my return I had to go to Geneva to participate in the inauguration of the gigantic proton accelerator built by the European Organisation for Nuclear Research, and the completion of which has been a great encouragement in showing what even smaller countries can accomplish in common by proper sharing of scientific and technological knowledge.

In Geneva I met my friend Mr. Shepard Stone, who as adviser to the Ford Foundation takes a deep and active interest in international cooperation with a view to promoting common human understanding and mutual help between peoples as regards the problems with which humanity is confronted. We had a long talk about my experiences in India, and I was happy to learn that he will himself visit your country in a very near future.

With the kindest regards from my wife and me and our warmest wishes for you and your family and for all progress of the great human cause, to which you have devoted your life.

Most respectfully and gratefully,
Niels Bohr

P.S. As a greeting from our country and as a small token of our gratitude my wife and I are sending you a silver bowl made by the Danish artist Georg Jensen, which we hope you may like.

24. Humayun Kabir to Nehru³¹

[Refer to item 139]

February 12, 1960

My dear Panditji,

Thank you very much for your letter N0. 295-PMH/60 of February 10, 1960.

I am glad that your first reaction to my suggestion about an Institute of Theoretical Physics is generally favourable. The details will of course have to be worked out, but the indications are that the capital cost may be about fifteen to twenty lakhs and the annual cost about 5 lakhs so that for the entire Third Five Year Plan the scheme will not cost more than about 45 lakhs. Whatever be the total allocation for scientific research in the Third Plan, I think we can find this amount, as it would be one of the best investments we could make and would perhaps yields returns out of all proportion to the amount involved.

I perhaps did not make it clear in my note that the proposal is for implementation only as a Plan Project in the Third Plan. As such, it is being examined first by the Planning Commission. Dr. Bhabha, Dr. Krishnan and Dr. Kothari are all members of the Working Group and they will of course consider the proposal before it is put up to the Planning Commission. The scientists committee of the Planning commission will also naturally examine it.

I am glad that you are thinking of giving scientists a large measure of autonomy in regard even to appointments. Your view that Government should only lay down broad policies and leave the scientists free to work out their projects seems completely right, but in that context I have some misgivings about the suggestion to appoint a Scientific Adviser and would like to submit them for your consideration.

Every advance in science owes its origin to a break away from prevailing modes of thinking and generally this has been done by younger people. This is especially true of Physics which is the field in which Indians have to date made the most significant contributions. And not only in India, but throughout the world, almost all important work in Physics has been done by people below 40 and some of the most outstanding achievements have been by men and women of below 30. Generally such people have been unorthodox thinkers and rebelled against the solutions suggested by their elders. Their achievements were possible only because they were free from interference or control by senior scientists

31. Letter. File No. 5/1958-62, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

whose views they challenged. In India, even the scientists seem to suffer from too much of hierarchy and authority, and the designation of an individual, however distinguished, as Scientific Adviser may lead to an increase in the sense of frustration from which many of our younger scientists are already suffering.

One of your major characteristics has been your generosity to associates with junior colleagues and a singular freedom from rancour or jealousy. Unfortunately, this is not true even of some of our major scientists. You will remember the quarrels between Professor Raman and the late Dr. Meghnath Saha. Prof. Sabyen Bose and Dr. Bhabha are also often sharply divided in their views and these differences are not on questions of theory alone. You yourself know how Prof. Gill and Prof. Bhabha have never been able to pull on together. As I have mentioned in my note, Prof. Niels Bohr told me with some regret that he had been grieved to find that some of our senior scientists do not give enough encouragement and opportunity to their junior colleagues. *The Times of India* had recently a series of articles on this and Prof. Haldane has recently written bitterly on this in *The Hindu*. Thacker told me of a case where one of our eminent senior scientists insisted that his name should appear as co-author of a paper even though the work had been done entirely by his student.

I would therefore submit that for the reasons mentioned above no one person should be Scientific Adviser to you. However fair and generous he maybe, the designation of one person as the Scientific Adviser is likely to lead to fresh jealousies among our scientists. Besides science is now-a-days expanding so fast that it is difficult for any individual to keep abreast of the different sections even within one science, and perhaps impossible to cover such different disciplines as Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry, Biology and technological sciences. May I therefore submit for your consideration that instead of one Scientific Adviser, it may be better to have a small council of Advisers of about five members for each of these major disciplines? The five conveners of these councils could then form a Steering Committee for more frequent consultation and advice.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly give me an opportunity to discuss this further with you before you take a decision.

Yours sincerely,
Humayun Kabir

25. Government of India to the Chinese Government³²

[Refer to items 2 (p. 50), 34 (p. 125), 168 (p. 323) and 199 (p. 411)]

The Embassy of India presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to refer to the Chinese Government's Note handed on the 26th December, 1959, to the Embassy of India in Peking. In reply, the Embassy has been directed by the Government of India to state as follows:

2. The Government of India regret that the Chinese Government have not fully considered the various points raised in the Prime Minister of India's letter of September 26, 1959 to the Chinese Premier³³ and in the Note handed by the Ministry of External Affairs to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China on November 4, 1959.³⁴ The Government of China have merely reiterated their claims to vast areas of Indian territory and ignored the facts mentioned in the letter. It was the earnest hope of the Government of India that a proper appreciation of the facts and historical data presented by them in support of their stand regarding the boundary would pave the way for an amicable settlement by narrowing down the issues for discussion. The Government of India have to state with regret, however, that the Government of China in their Note not only do not accept incontrovertible facts but disregard major frontier Agreements by untenable interpretation of their terms or by questioning their validity. Such an approach can hardly lead to an understanding which both countries desire.

3. The Government of China contend that the Sino-Indian boundary has not been formally delimited and in support of that contention allege that the boundary has not been determined by treaties and agreements. The Government of India cannot accept this contention. The Sino-Indian boundary, based on custom and tradition, follows natural features, and for the major part this customary and traditional boundary is also confirmed by treaty and agreement. This boundary throughout has been fixed and well-known for centuries. According to international usage and practice a customary boundary which follows well-known and unchanging natural features like main watersheds stands defined and does not require further or formal definition. It is significant that until recently no Chinese Government ever challenged it, or protested against the exercise of the sovereign jurisdiction of India up to this traditional boundary. In view of all these facts, the Government of India cannot agree that negotiations have to be conducted to reach new agreements for fresh determination of the Sino-Indian boundary.

32. Note, 12 February 1960. From *White Paper No. III*, pp. 85-98.

33. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 34-46. Also available in SWJN/SS/52/pp. 216-231.

34. See *White Paper No. II*, pp. 19-26. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 654-662.

4. The Government of China have stated that the present controversy has arisen because "the Sino-Indian boundary has never been delimited, Britain left behind in this respect a heritage of certain disputes and moreover the Indian Government has made a series of unacceptable charges against China." The Government of India cannot accept either the assertions or the imputations contained in this statement. In fact the present controversy regarding the boundary and the tension on the border have arisen because the Chinese Government laid claims to extensive areas of Indian territory for the first time on September 8, 1959, and intruded into Indian territory, both before and afterwards, in furtherance of their claims. The Government of India are particularly surprised and shocked by this attitude and action of a neighbour whose friendship they have always cherished. Despite these unwelcome developments, the Government and the people of India have shown the utmost restraint. They have always been willing to explore the possibilities of a peaceful settlement. But an amicable settlement cannot be reached on the basis that a new agreement has to be negotiated to determine afresh the entire Sino-Indian boundary. Such a basis for negotiations would ignore past history, custom, tradition and international agreements and is, therefore, entirely unacceptable to the Government of India. The Government of India wish to state again that they are prepared to discuss specific disputes in regard to the location of particular places on the boundary, and to make minor frontier rectifications by agreement, where they may be considered necessary.

5. The following paragraphs give in brief the basic data in regard to the international boundary. They also deal with the arguments advanced by the Chinese Government in their Note of December 26, 1959.³⁵

6. Taking the Ladakh sector first, it is wrong to say, as the Chinese Government have done, that according to the Government of India the boundary of Ladakh was fixed by the Treaty of 1842. In fact the boundaries of Ladakh were fixed and well recognised from the 17th century onwards. The 1842 Treaty did not fix the boundary but merely confirmed it. That this traditional boundary lay where Indian maps are showing it is confirmed by those who visited this area in the 19th century. The Government of China have quoted unofficial maps published by Hayward in 1870 and Robert Shaw in 1871, as well as an article by Hayward, to prove their contention that the traditional eastern boundary of Ladakh lay where the Chinese maps are now showing it. Hayward, however, surveyed only the western extremity of Aksai Chin, and Shaw's route lay even further westwards. Their opinions, therefore, are not authoritative for eastern Aksai Chin. The latter area was surveyed by Johnson in 1865 and visited by the second Yarkand Mission in 1873. It is their reports, therefore, that are authoritative in regard to the eastern boundary of Ladakh, and their maps and accounts substantiate the traditional Indian alignment.

35. See Appendix 2.

7. The Chinese Government assert that the 1842 Treaty was between Tibet and Kashmir whereas about 80 per cent of the area now claimed by them is part of Sinkiang. The Government of India are surprised at this contention. Prime Minister Nehru has already dealt with this point in his letter of September 26. The Treaty itself makes it clear that China was a party to it. The following quotation from, the Treaty is relevant:

“Now that in the presence of God, the ill-feeling created by the war which had intervened, has been fully removed from the hearts, and no complaints now remain (on either side), there will never be on any account in future, till the world lasts, any deviation even by the hair’s breadth and any breach in the alliance, friendship and unity between the King of the world Siri Khalsaji Sahib and Siri Maharaj Sahib Raja-i-Rajagan (Raja of Rajas) Raja Sahib Bahadur, and the *Khagan* (Emperor) of China and the Lama Guru Sahib of Lhasa. We shall remain in possession of the limits of the boundaraies of Ladakh and the neighbourhood subordinate to it, in accordance with the old custom, and there shall be no transgression and no interference (in the country) beyond the old established frontiers. We shall hold in our own respective frontiers.”

In fact, the treaty was concluded to terminate a war in which Tibet had appealed to China for assistance against Kashmir. The Statement in the Chinese note that 80 per cent. of the area was part of Sinkiang in 1842 is unfounded. Even Chinese maps of the 18th and 19th centuries show clearly that Sinkiang never extended south of the Kuen Lun mountains.

8. The Chinese Government state that nothing came of the proposal in 1899 “to delimit the boundary”. This again shows a failure to take into account the facts as stated in the Prime Minister of India’s letter of September 26, 1959. It was clearly stated in that letter that the proposal made in 1899 by the British referred not to the eastern frontier of Ladakh with Tibet but to the northern frontier of Ladakh with Sinkiang. That proposal stated explicitly that the northern boundary ran along the Kuen Lun range to a point east of 80 degrees east longitude, where it met the eastern boundary of Ladakh. This showed beyond doubt that the whole of the Aksai Chin area lay in Indian territory, and the Government of China did not object to this definition of the boundary. If nothing came of the proposal of 1899, it was not because the Chinese Government declined to recognise the boundary according to the traditional alignment shown on Indian maps, but because even then they did not seem to consider necessary any formal definition of the well-known boundary in this area.

9. The Government of India never contended that the boundary had been explicitly defined in 1842 or 1899. Indeed formal definition or demarcation is not necessary for recognition of a boundary so long as it is fixed by custom and tradition and is well-known. The Chinese Government state that there is much indisputable evidence to show that this sector of the Sino-Indian boundary was not delimited. In fact the evidence that they have brought forward shows only

that the boundary was not demarcated on the ground. The proposals of the then British Indian Government between 1921 and 1927 were merely for the determination of the ownership of a few pasture grounds in one particular area. There was no dispute about the main alignment, let alone a demand for its determination. The letter of Sir Arthur Lothian in *The Times* of December 11, 1959 has been quoted in this context. But this letter referred to an effort to secure delimitation "on the ground"—i.e., demarcation. The map published by the Survey of India in 1950 showed this boundary as "undefined", to indicate that this sector had never been described in detail from point to point or demarcated on the ground. The statement of the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha on the 28th August, 1959, that the boundary had not been marked, indicated merely that it had not been marked on the ground.³⁶

10. The Chinese Government contend that, except for the Demchok (Parigas) area, which according to them has been "occupied" by India in recent years, the rest of the area in Ladakh, claimed by China, has always belonged to her and has been under her effective control. These contentions are wholly baseless. That the Demchok area has for centuries been a part of Ladakh is proved by the treaty between Ladakh and Tibet signed in 1684, and by the accounts of travellers who visited the area thereafter. As for the rest of the area, it is wrong to state that the major part of it was under the jurisdiction of Sinkiang. As already mentioned above, Chinese maps of the 18th and 19th centuries make clear that Sinkiang never extended south of the Kuen Lun mountains. So, no part of this area could ever have been a part of Sinkiang. Nor was any portion of this territory a part of Rudok Dzong of Tibet. Moorcroft, who visited this area in 1820, stated that Pamgong Lake divided the district of Rudok from the principality of Ladakh. This in effect conforms with the traditional alignment as shown on Indian maps rather than that shown on Chinese maps. Strachey, who visited this area as a Boundary Commissioner in 1847, gave a more specific alignment, which is essentially in consonance with the alignment on Indian maps.

11. It is most regrettable that the Chinese Government should have claimed, without bringing forward any evidence in support, that their people have utilised this area for pasturage and salt-mining. In fact, the pastures and salt-mines referred to have always been the preserve of Ladakhi villagers who have regularly visited these areas; and these villagers never came across any Chinese trespassers. It is incorrect to say that since 1750 the Chinese Government has established checkposts to exercise jurisdiction over and patrol this area. There were never any Chinese outposts south of the Kuen Lun mountains. Throughout the twentieth century, officials of the Kashmir Government and Indian traders and hunting parties moved freely in this area and they did not come across any evidence of

36. See SWJN/SS/51/pp. 478-492.

the exercise of jurisdiction by the Chinese in that area. During these years a detailed geological survey of the whole area was carried out by the Governments of Kashmir and of India. It is only in recent years that Chinese personnel have intruded into this territory; and the Government of India are astonished that the Chinese Government use this intrusion as the basis for their claim. The statement that Indian personnel came into this territory only thrice, and that too in recent times—in September 1958, in July 1959 and in October 1959—is unwarranted by facts. Indian personnel have patrolled this area regularly. Only on the three occasions mentioned by the Chinese Government did they come across Chinese troops.

12. It is strange that the Chinese Government should have brought forward an argument based on philology and advanced a claim on the fact that names such as Aksai Chin and Karakash are of Uighur origin. It is not necessary to treat this argument seriously. The Government of India will content themselves with drawing attention to the fact that centuries ago Indian influence swept deep into China, and there are place names in Tibet and Sinkiang of Sanskrit or Prakrit origin. The name Khotan itself is derived from the Sanskrit word *Kustana*. Again, the present name of the Ari district of Tibet is an abbreviation of the Sanskrit term *Nari* in Nari (Ngari) Khorsum, a name by which Western Tibet is known.

13. The Chinese Government have stated in their latest note that the delineation of the boundaries of Ladakh in Chinese maps for the past 200 years have in the main been consistent. This is certainly true of the Chinese maps published up to the twenties of the present century, but these maps consistently showed a boundary which was more or less in consonance with the traditional alignment as shown on Indian maps. It is only on Chinese maps published since the late twenties that different alignments have been shown. The broad trend in the recent Chinese maps has been to push the alignment deeper into Indian territory.

14. It is extraordinary that the Chinese Government should not be aware of their own official maps such as the one drawn in 1893, and that they should brush aside *The New Atlas and Commercial Gazetteer of China* as the publication of a private agency. It was in fact based on authoritative official surveys as stated in the introduction. However, the Government of India would like to draw the attention of the Government of China to the Postal Map of China published in 1917 by the Chinese Government. This map shows the whole northern boundary of India more or less according to the traditional Indian alignment.

15. The Government of China attach little importance to the fact that the alignment shown on Indian maps runs along the main watershed. They seem unaware that traditional boundaries in mountainous areas tend to follow the main watershed rather than any other natural feature. This is because a watershed is the best of all possible natural boundaries. It is liable to no change and is readily recognisable. Where there are a series of mountain ranges, it is the watershed range rather than any other that becomes the traditional boundary, because the

peoples on both sides tend to settle up to the sources of rivers but not beyond. That the alignment of the northern boundary of India throughout follows the major watershed supports the fact that this became the boundary through custom and tradition. The argument of the Chinese Government that the watershed boundary of Ladakh is vitiated by the fact that a river breaks through it, is untenable. There is hardly any major watershed in the world, however high and continuous, which is not pierced by some river; but that does not make it any less of a watershed. Equally untenable is the other argument that the alignment shown on Chinese maps is supported by the fact that the area now claimed by the Chinese Government is easily approached from the Chinese side and not from the Indian side. Accessibility is not a criterion for determining the alignment of boundaries.

16. The Government of India are glad to note the acceptance by the Government of China that the alignment of the boundary as shown on Indian maps between the Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in India and the Tibet region "conforms to reality." This alignment conforms to the watershed principle and Chinese maps have also shown this alignment for the greater part of its length. The Government of India, however, reject the claim of the Chinese Government to certain areas in this sector—the Spiti area, Shipki pass, Nilang-Jadhang, Barahoti, Sangchamalla and Lapthal. The Prime Minister of India in his letter of September 26, 1959 has given sufficient data to show that these territories have always been part of India. The Chinese Government have ignored these precise data and have merely repeated their claim. In the circumstances the Government of India consider it unnecessary to repeat their earlier statements.

17. The Government of China have also accused the Government of India of having occupied Puling-Sumdo, one of the markets for trade in the Ari district of Tibet, specified in the 1954 Agreement. The Government of India repudiate this allegation. They are not, and never have been, in occupation of this place. The Chinese Government are confusing this trade mart with a locality in the Nilang-Jadhang area in India called Pulamsumda. This latter place in India, however, has never been a trade mart. The co-ordinates of Puling-Sumdo (also known as Poling) are $31^{\circ} 19'$ north and $79^{\circ} 27'$ east, and these co-ordinates were communicated by Mr. Kaul with his letter of March 26, 1954 to Mr. Chen Chia Kang. The co-ordinates of Pulamsumda are $31^{\circ} 18'$ north and $79^{\circ} 8'$ east. During the negotiations leading to the 1954 Agreement it was Puling-Sumdo (Poling) which was mentioned since it was a traditional trade mart. It was then made clear to the Chinese delegation that Puling-Sumdo and Poling were different names for the same place. There was no occasion to refer to Pulamsumda ($31^{\circ} 18'$ north and $79^{\circ} 8'$ east) and no reference was in fact made to it either in the discussions or in the subsequent Agreement. There should, therefore, be no room for misunderstanding.

18. The Chinese Government contend that the Tibetan authorities are in possession of land deeds and census and taxation papers concerning these areas

which they are claiming, and give as an example a document of the eighteenth century concerning Barahoti. The Government of India are somewhat surprised to know of this. During the prolonged discussions on Barahoti which took place in New Delhi in 1958 between the Chinese and Indian delegations, the Chinese delegation did not refer to the existence of such documents. It will be recalled that the Indian delegation stated at the time that they had revenue records and other evidence in their favour.

19. The Government of India cannot accept the contention of the Chinese Government that these areas belong to China because their inhabitants are of Tibetan origin. Indeed, such arguments based on ethnic affinities had been rebutted by Premier Chou En-lai himself as early as July 1957. Addressing the Fourth Session of the National People's Congress at Peking on July 9, 1957, Premier Chou En-lai said: "The boundary question has a direct bearing on the interests of the nationalities living in compact communities on the Sino-Burmese borders. Therefore, in tackling this question we must specially take into account the interests of these nationalities. We know that the boundary line between two countries is often found dividing into two parts a nationality living in compact communities on the borders. This is the result of historical development. On the various sections of the defined boundary between China and Burma and on the border between China and other countries we find people of the same nationality living on both sides of the boundary line. So, when we solve the question of the undefined boundary line between China and Burma, we must realise before-hand that it will be hard to avoid separating the nationalities concerned by the boundary line." India is a State in which people of different races and creeds enjoy common citizenship. There are thousands of Indian citizens of Tibetan origin. The study of the Tibetan language is encouraged by the Government of India. These Indians of Tibetan origin have always been loyal citizens of India.

20. The Government of India cannot accept that the Agreement signed in 1954 between India and China had no bearing on the question of the boundary between the two countries. It is true that during the negotiations neither side asked to discuss the boundary question. The Indian delegation did not raise it because, so far as the Government of India were concerned, the boundary was well-known and beyond dispute, and there could be no question regarding it. Not only was the boundary shown on official Indian maps, but Indian authorities had been exercising administrative control over all areas up to the international border shown on Indian maps. If the Chinese Government were at all serious about their claim to any of these areas, it would be expected that they would at least refer to their claims, if not discuss them. It is true that Premier Chou En-lai at the first meeting said that the relations between China and India were becoming closer every day and that from among the outstanding questions the two sides could settle questions which were ripe for settlement. The Indian Ambassador then pointed out that there were only small questions pending between India and China

but he wished to see nothing big or small remaining outstanding between the two countries. Premier Chou En-lai replied that two large countries like India and China with a long common frontier were bound to have some questions, but all questions could be settled smoothly. In the context in which Premier Chou En-lai made this statement, it could hardly be inferred that he had in mind Chinese claims to vast tracts of territory which were shown as parts of India in Indian maps and were under Indian administration. At the meeting of January 8, 1954 the Vice-Foreign Minister of China stated that the negotiations between China and India were to settle, in accordance with the Five Principles, those pending questions that were ripe for settlement. The Indian side accepted the principles as the basis for discussions. In his speech on April 29, 1954, after the signing of the Agreement, the leader of the Indian Delegation stated,³⁷ "we have gone through fully questions that existed between our two countries in this (Tibetan) region", thus indicating that in the Indian view no dispute or question was left over. The Indian Delegation throughout took the line that all questions at issue between the two countries were being considered and, once the settlement was concluded, no question remained. In view of this the Chinese statement that Ambassador Raghavan³⁸ agreed, in what is stated to be an informal talk, that the boundary question would not be discussed, is surprising.

21. In these circumstances the Government of India can only express their surprise at the contention of the Chinese Government that the question of the boundary between the two countries was not touched at all during the discussions leading to the 1954 Agreement. When Article 4, which specifies six passes in this area, was being discussed, the Chinese delegation brought forward a draft which stated that the Chinese Government "agrees to open" the passes. In other words, it was claimed that these passes belonged to China. This was contested by the Indian representative Mr. Kaul, who stated that they were Indian passes. It cannot, therefore, be asserted that the question of the ownership of these passes was not raised at all. The text as finally agreed upon was: "Traders and pilgrims of both countries may travel by the following passes and route". This could only be interpreted to mean that the use of these passes does not involve ownership because they are border passes.

22. The Chinese Government have also contended on *a priori* grounds that the boundary question could not have been discussed in 1954 because at that time "the question which the two countries were most concerned about and which called for urgent solution was the establishment of normal relations between India and the Tibet Region of China on a new basis". But surely normal relations between India and Tibet region of China could not have been established if the

37. T.N. Kaul.

38. N. Raghavan.

Chinese Government had in mind at that time claims to large areas of Indian territory contiguous to the Tibet Region. The Government of China were then fully aware of the alignment of the international boundary as shown on official Indian maps. They must also have been aware of the authoritative declaration made in 1950 by the Prime Minister of India on the subject of India's frontiers. Besides, the Government of China were aware that the Constitution of the Republic of India, adopted after lengthy discussions in open sessions of the Constituent Assembly, made specific mention in its Sixth Schedule of the Tribal areas of Assam and the North East Frontier Agency, which the Chinese Government now seek to claim as Chinese territory. In the 1954 Agreement the Chinese Government affirmed their respect for the territorial integrity of India. In the circumstances mentioned above they could not have done so if they intended to raise a demand subsequently for large areas of Indian territory. Further, in discussions with the Prime Minister of India in 1954 and 1956-57, the Prime Minister of China did not give any indication whatsoever that his Government had large territorial claims, but, on the contrary, gave the impression that the revision of the maps was essentially a procedural issue, which would be made in due course. The conclusion is obvious that the Chinese Government have changed their position since 1954.

23. The Government of India cannot accept the contention that the area south of the traditional boundary east of Bhutan has always belonged to China and was until recently under Chinese jurisdiction. The territory was under the Varman, the Salastambha and the Pala dynasties till the 8th century, when they came under the pressure of the Ahoms, a branch of the Shan tribe. Finally, in the 13th century, an Ahom ruler gained control over the whole kingdom and gave the name Ahom, now softened to Assam, to the country. The Ahom rulers held sway in this area for nearly six centuries till they were finally displaced by the British authority in India in 1826. During the last years of Ahom rule control over the tribal peoples in the north weakened, but authority was re-established by the then Government of India over a period of years. At no time, however, was the sovereignty over these areas lost by the rulers of Assam or acquired by the Tibetans. The tribal areas south of the traditional watershed boundary have always been part of India.

24. In the 19th century the Government of British India asserted their authority over the tribes who acknowledged the right of that Government to maintain law and order in their areas. References to the territory of the British in the agreements concluded by the British Indian Government with the tribes meant merely that such territory was then under the direct administration of the British Government in India, as distinct from the tribal areas where they only exercised loose control. But at no time did these tribesmen cease to be under the central authority of the British Indian rulers.

25. The only evidence that the Chinese Government have brought forward to support their claim to jurisdiction over this area is with reference to Tawang

and the Walong area. But Tawang and Walong form only a tiny fraction of the large area now claimed by the Chinese Government, and the evidence brought forward in regard to these two localities has no relevance to the rest of the area. Even with regard to Tawang and Walong the arguments of the Chinese Government are untenable. Tawang was never a part of Tibet. The local administration of Tawang was in the hands of a Raja, who was assisted by *Chhoryens*, or headmen of groups of villagers, and *Kachungs* or village headmen. The only functions which the Lama hierarchy exercised in this area was ecclesiastical. In Tawang there is a large Tibetan monastery, whose Abbot and monks collected religious dues from the local inhabitants, who are Lamaists. Collection of such dues could not and did not confer any territorial sovereignty on the Tibetan authorities in respect of Tawang. This view is also supported by the statement made by the Chinese plenipotentiary at the Simla Conference in 1914. Ivan Chen stated on the 7th March 1914 that "what is paid to the Tibetans is not in the shape of revenue, in the ordinary sense of the word, but merely contributions to the monasteries. It is rather charity than a tax." And on 13th June 1914 Sun Pao-Chi, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed the British Minister in Peking that "the Tibetans affected to think that they had rights over all places inhabited by Lamaists, but this was not so. The Lamas might have ecclesiastical authority but this did not necessarily mean that these places belonged to Tibet."

26. Again, certain Tibetan families owned private estates south of the traditional boundary and collected rents. These rents cannot be regarded as Government taxes. It is possible that these rents were paid even after 1914, for the agreement between the Indian and the Tibetan representatives on the boundary safeguarded the rights of private estates.

27. The Chinese Government have quoted the agreement signed in 1853 between the British Indian authorities and the Monbas, and claimed that the Indian Government by this agreement recognised the Monbas as belonging to Tibet. Had this been so, it would be expected that the British Indian Government would have signed the agreement direct with Tibet. The Tibetan Government were, during these years, negotiating on their own, as is shown by their treaty with Nepal signed in 1856. In fact, the agreement of 1853 concerned one specific instance in which a Tibetan was involved, and the local Rajas appeared to be acting on this particular occasion for the Tibetan Government. Indeed, nine years earlier, in 1844, these Rajas accepted British authority in India by a written agreement. The key sentence of the 1844 Agreement reads as follows: "We also pledge ourselves to act upto any orders we may get from the British authorities."

28. The Walong area in the lower Lohit valley, which the Chinese Government refer to as Lower Tsayul, consists of a few villages inhabited by Mishmis and refugee Tibetans. The presence of the latter does not prove that this area belonged to Tibet. These refugees resisted the attempts of the Tibetan authorities to collect taxes.

29. It is incorrect to state that the authoritative maps published in India and China showed the boundary in this sector according to the alignment now being shown on Chinese maps. As already stated, the *Postal Map of China* published in 1917 showed the boundary in consonance with the Indian alignment as shown in Indian maps. In November 1925 the University of Peking published a map showing the Frontiers of China at a time when China had expanded most, that is in the days of the Ching dynasty before 1911. Even then the frontier east of Bhutan was shown approximately along the present alignment. As for official Indian maps, the Government of India have already drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the Map of India published by the Survey of India in 1895, which showed the tribal area by a light orange colour wash. From 1938 to 1952 the Survey of India showed this boundary by an undemarcated symbol, because in fact the boundary had not been demarcated on the ground. As, however, the traditional boundary lay along a major watershed, the Government of India decided in 1954 that no demarcation on the ground was necessary. The undemarcated symbol was, therefore, omitted in subsequent maps.

30. The Government of China have mentioned in this connection the Map of India (1945) included in the third English edition of the book *The Discovery of India* by Mr. Nehru. The particular map was a sketch map inserted by the publisher, and the author could not be held responsible for its inaccuracy. Nor should any adverse conclusion be drawn from it, so far as the Government of India are concerned.

31. The Government of India regret that the Chinese Government should persist in questioning the validity of the Agreement reached in 1914 between India and Tibet confirming the traditional boundary east of Bhutan. This was not the first time that Tibet conducted negotiations and concluded treaties, in her own right, with foreign states. On several occasions before 1914 Tibet had conducted negotiations and concluded treaties with other states. For example, Tibet concluded a treaty with Nepal in 1856 and another with Great Britain in 1904. These treaties were never objected to by China and were fully operative. At the Simla Conference, the Tibetan and Chinese plenipotentiaries met on an equal footing. This position was explicitly and unequivocally accepted by the Chinese Government. The three Plenipotentiaries exchanged copies of their credentials at the first session of the Conference on October 13, 1913. The credentials of the Tibetan representative issued by the Dalai Lama made it clear that Tibet was an equal party at the Conference with the right "to decide all matters that may be beneficial to Tibet", and the Chinese representative accepted the credentials of the Tibetan representative as being in order. The credentials of the British Indian representative, which were also accepted by the Chinese representative, confirmed that all the three representatives were of equal status, and that the Conference was meeting "to regulate the relations between the several Governments."

32. It is not true to say that the Agreement of March 1914 between India and

Tibet about the Indo-Tibetan boundary was secret. It was an Agreement between the authorised representatives of the two parties, reached after full discussion, and approved by the Government of Tibet. There was, therefore, nothing clandestine about it. Moreover, the Indo-Tibetan boundary was delineated on the map appended to the Tripartite Convention, which was also signed by the Chinese representative on April 27, 1914. The 1914 boundary Agreement was published in the 1929 edition of Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, the previous edition having been published as early as 1909. The Chinese Government never protested against this Agreement. In fact, long before this Agreement the Government of British India had asserted their authority over these tribal areas, concluded Agreements with the tribes and created two Frontier Tracts comprising the entire territory. These facts were all well-known and neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese Government ever challenged the British Indian authority.

33. The Government of India cannot accept the contention of the Government of China that the Simla Conference only discussed the boundaries between Tibet and China and between Outer Tibet and Inner Tibet. It is also incorrect to say that the red line on the Convention Map which was signed by the Chinese representative represented only the boundary between Tibet and the rest of China, and that it was never stated that part of this red line was the boundary between China and India. The argument that the McMahon Line sector of the red line on the Convention Map represented the boundary between Tibet and China is fantastic. Article 9 of the Convention, initialled by British Indian, Chinese and Tibetan plenipotentiaries, dealt with the boundaries of Tibet and the map attached to the Convention clearly showed Tibet's boundary with India. It is this boundary line which is known as the McMahon Line. The *Postal Map of China* published by the Chinese Government in 1917 showed this line as the boundary between India and Tibet, and marked the territory south of the line as India. By no stretch of imagination can it be contended now that any Chinese territory then lay south of the McMahon Line. The contention that the red line represents the boundary between Tibet and China is contradicted by the Chinese Government's own statement that jurisdiction had been exercised in the area south of the line by the Tibetan authorities and not by the Chinese Government.

34. It is strange that the Chinese Government should now seek to rely on the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, and argue that the 1914 Agreement was invalid as Britain was precluded by the 1907 Convention from having direct negotiations with Tibet. As China was not a party to the Convention between Britain and Russia, she cannot invoke that Treaty in support of her contention. In fact, throughout the negotiations, the Russian Government were kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations. A copy of the Agreement including the map was given to the Russian Government, who raised no objection to the negotiations and the subsequent Agreement.

35. The Chinese note refers to four protests made in 1946-47 by the Chinese

Government. It may be stated that these protests related to acts of British Indian administration in a small area of the North-East Frontier Agency in 1943. The Government of India then replied that "the only activities in which the Government of India have been engaged in the area in question have been entirely restricted to the Indian side of the boundary between India and Tibet, which has been accepted for over 30 years." The protest of the Kuomintang Government of November 1949 merely stated that China had not signed the Simla Convention. No reply was sent to the protest as soon afterwards, in December 1949, the Government of India recognised the People's Government of China. A few months later, in August 1950, the Government of India mentioned in a note to the Government of China that the recognised frontier between Tibet and India should remain inviolate. The same year the Prime Minister of India declared publicly that India stood by the McMahon Line. There could, therefore, be no doubt about the Government of India's position in regard to the international boundary.

36. The Tibetans never protested against the Indo-Tibetan boundary as agreed upon in 1914. On more than one occasion, they acknowledged its existence and affirmed that they had no wish to dispute its validity. When the McMahon Line was verbally re-affirmed by the British Indian Representative in 1936 and 1938, the Tibetan Government replied that they were fully aware of the terms of the 1914 Agreement. It is the Government of India which protested in 1943 against illegal penetration by the Tibetans into Indian territory. Similar protests were made by the Indian Government whenever the Tibetans sought to take advantage of Indian preoccupations in order to levy illegal dues in Indian territory. When the Government of India protested, the Tibetans withdrew. As for the fantastic Tibetan claims put forward in 1947, Prime Minister Nehru's letter of September 26, 1959 has adequately dealt with them.

37. The Chinese Government are aware of the special treaty relations which the Government of India have with Bhutan and Sikkim. In view of this the Government of India welcome the explanations given in the Chinese note relating to the boundaries between Sikkim and Bhutan on the one hand and Tibet on the other. The note states that the boundary between Sikkim and the Tibet region of China has long been formally delimited, and that there is neither any discrepancy on the maps nor any dispute in practice. The Government of India would like to add that this boundary has also been demarcated on the ground. As for Bhutan, its northern boundary is traditional and well-known. Adjoining it on the east is the North-East Frontier Agency of India, whose boundary with Tibet is both traditional and delineated by agreement. It is not, therefore, possible for any Tibetan territory to lie south of the McMahon Line. The Government of India note with satisfaction that the Chinese Government have not repeated their map claims to any part of northern Bhutan. In view of the responsibility of the Government of India for the defence and maintenance of the integrity of Bhutan and Sikkim, the Government of India welcome the assurance of the Government of China that they will not

encroach on the territory of Sikkim and Bhutan.

38. The foregoing paragraphs have set out in brief the points of substance regarding the Sino-Indian boundary question. The Government of India can only express their regret that the Chinese Government should have repeated their earlier versions of the incidents at Longju and at Kongka Pass in the Chang Chenmo valley. The true facts regarding these incidents have already been communicated to the Chinese Government in the earlier Indian notes, and the various points raised in these notes still remain unanswered. It is only necessary to point out that if in fact the Chinese personnel entered Longju 5 days after the withdrawal of the Indian personnel, the Indian casualties cannot be explained. Similarly, the detailed account of Shri Karam Singh, which was handed to the Chinese Embassy in Delhi on November 24, 1959 disproves the Chinese Government's version of the incident at Kongka Pass.³⁹ The Government of India have to state once more that these unfortunate incidents, involving severe casualties among Indian personnel, would not have occurred, if the Chinese troops had not intruded into Indian territory and taken offensive action against Indian police personnel engaged on routine patrol duty on Indian soil.

39. The Government of India share the sentiments of friendship expressed by the Chinese Government. Even before they attained independence, the people of India demonstrated in ample measure their friendship for the Chinese people. Since the achievement of independence by India this feeling of friendship has found expression in many concrete ways. The surprise and disappointment of the Indian people have therefore been all the greater at the challenge to the historic frontier of India by the Government of China. Recent developments have deeply disturbed the minds of the Indian people and created a feeling of uneasiness over the long frontier which for centuries had remained tranquil. In the interest of the two countries and of peace of the world, active steps must therefore be taken to remove the causes of the present tension and to establish a firm foundation of friendship between the two countries.

40. An essential first step is for the two Governments to agree on an arrangement without delay, which would completely eliminate the risk of border clashes and facilitate a friendly settlement of the disputes. In their latest note, the Chinese Government have repeated their earlier proposal that the armed forces of the two Governments should withdraw twenty kilometres or some other agreed distance from the border, and that the armed personnel of both sides should stop patrolling along the entire border. These suggestions have been discussed in detail in the Prime Minister of India's letter of November 16, 1959 to Premier Chou En-lai.⁴⁰ The constructive proposals made by the Prime Minister of India in that letter

39. See SWJN/SS/55/pp. 445-459.

40. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 47-51. Also available in SWJN/SS/54/pp. 492-498.

are intended to secure the objective which both the Governments have in view. The Government of India would still hope that the Government of China would accept these proposals.

41. The Chinese Government have asked the Government of India to accept the position, as a preliminary to discussions, that "the entire boundary between the two countries has never been delimited and is therefore yet to be settled through negotiations." It is clearly impossible for the Government of India to accept this proposition which they consider unreasonable and against the facts of history, geography, custom, tradition and international agreements. The facts enumerated in the preceding paragraphs entirely disprove the Chinese Government's contention. The Government of India are anxious for a friendly settlement but they cannot possibly accept suggestions which gravely prejudice their basic position.

42. In his letter of November 16, 1959, to Premier Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of India expressed his readiness to meet the premier at a suitable time and place, but suggested that the immediate efforts of the two Governments should be concentrated on reaching an interim understanding, which would help in easing the present tension and prevent the situation worsening. Although no further border incidents have taken place in recent weeks, the urgent need for an interim understanding is paramount. The basic causes of tension and resentment remain. The Government of India are yet unable to understand why during the last year or so the long border which had remained tranquil through the centuries should have become a source of tension and anxiety. If there are any deeper reasons for this, they are unaware of them. Apart, therefore, from the boundary question, it is important, in the interest of both China and India and of world peace in general, that the two Governments should leave nothing undone, which could remove misunderstanding and restore the traditional friendship and cordiality between the two countries on a firm basis.

The Embassy takes this opportunity of renewing to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Peking, the 12th February, 1960.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Government of the People's Republic of China,
Peking.

26. Mayor's Civic Address in honour of Nikita Khrushchev⁴¹

[Refer to item 196]

On behalf of the Citizens of Delhi to
His Excellency Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Your Excellency,

We, the Mayor and the members of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, deem it a high privilege to extend a warm and cordial welcome to Your Excellency today in the name of our ancient city, which is also the symbol of the new hopes and aspirations of a resurgent nation.

We had had the pleasure of honouring Your Excellency at this very place more than four years ago. Unforgettable scenes of enthusiasm and of great goodwill towards Your Excellency and the friendly people of the Soviet Union were then witnessed. We welcome Your Excellency again today not only as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, but also as one who is profoundly influencing the course of contemporary world history. People from various parts of our country, who have joined in the welcome to Your Excellency today, bespeak our warm affection for your people and admiration and gratitude for Your Excellency's noble endeavour in the cause of lasting peace.

Your Excellency's recent visit to the U.S.A. and the exchange of views with President Eisenhower has given a new hope to millions of people all over the world. The establishment of cordial and friendly relations between these two great countries is the most decisive factor in the solution of the world's problems today. In common, therefore, with all peace-loving people we hope and pray that the coming high level meeting between Your Excellency and President Eisenhower and other leaders will bring success to man's long and often frustrating quest for peace.

The growing Indo-Soviet intercourse in the economic and cultural fields is an outstanding example of cooperation between two countries with different political and social systems. In our task of building a better life for our people, we have received invaluable help from your country. The Steel Plant at Bhilai will be a lasting symbol of Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation, strong and resilient as the steel itself that emerges from these works. We are also thankful to the Soviet Union for help in building up other plants and in our efforts to raise agricultural production through modern techniques.

May we take this opportunity to pay tribute to the historic achievements of Soviet Science which sent a powerful spaceship from the earth and blazed a path

41. Ramlila Ground, Delhi, 12 February 1960.

to the moon? The Ice breaker "Lenin" has not only, broken the ice of the oceans but also pointed a way to the peaceful uses of atomic and nuclear energy for the welfare of man.

The Municipal Corporation of Delhi is particularly beholden to the Moscow City Soviet for the opportunity afforded some months ago for a delegation of our members to visit your beautiful and well-laid out Capital and other important cities and places. We gained valuable knowledge and had also an opportunity of seeing the warmth of friendship entertained for our people in your country. It was a moving and memorable occasion.

We are beholden to Your Excellency for giving us an opportunity to welcome you in our midst today. We venture to offer you as a mark of our high regard a specimen of our handicrafts.

We are
Your sincere admirers
Mayor and Councillors
of the Corporation of Delhi,

27. Mayor's Civic Address in honour of Dr. Vieno Johannes Sukselainen⁴²

[Refer to item 214]

On behalf of the Citizens of Delhi of His Excellency
Dr. Vieno Johnnes Sukselainen, Prime Minister of Finland.

Your Excellency,
Soon after our independence, India entered into diplomatic relations with Finland. We welcomed these contacts between distant Finland, which is the world's most northern State, and our own country, because we had grown to admire the heroism of the Finnish people in defending their freedom under the most trying conditions. Nearly three years ago, our Prime Minister visited Finland and received a cordial welcome from Your Excellency and the Finnish people. Ever since then, we have been looking forward to the opportunity of greeting and honouring Your Excellency in India, and we are happy that now the occasion for doing so has come to us. We, the Mayor and the members of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, have great pleasure in extending a warm and cordial welcome to Your Excellency on behalf the citizens of this ancient and historic city, which is the capital of the new India.

42. Diwan-e-Aam, Red Fort, Delhi, 15 February 1960.

Outwardly, there is a great difference between Finland and India. You come from a country bordering on the Arctic areas, while our country spreads out from the high mountains of Central Asia to the tropical areas in the South. You come now from the depth of winter in Finland to a warm and, we hope, a pleasing climate in New Delhi, which perhaps is not so unlike the summer in Finland. Your country is a large one in size, though with a population which is about one-hundredth of that of India. Small as your population is, it has distinguished itself in many ways, in literature, in sport and athletics, and above all, in your love of freedom and your capacity to sacrifice for its maintenance. Whatever distances or climatic conditions may separate us, we have felt a close kinship with your people. This kinship has resulted in a remarkable similarity in their outlook in matter of foreign policy. We have both pursued a policy of non-alignment and of keeping out of military alliances. For a country in the geographical position of Finland, this path has been a difficult one to tread; yet you have pursued it with a courage and steadfastness that excites admiration. Because of this kinship, the Finnish-Indian Society in Helsinki has been active in the promotion of understanding and goodwill between India and Finland.

Under Your Excellency's leadership, Finland has taken great strides in economic and social progress. An advanced system of social welfare and security has been established. Despite the strain on your country's economy in the post-war period on account of the payment of indemnities and the resettlement of four to five hundred thousand uprooted people, Finland has been steadily marching on the road to prosperity.

There is another common feature in the circumstances that face our countries. We have a number of national languages which we recognise and encourage, even though our Constitution has chosen one of them for all-India purposes. In Finland, you have two languages both of which you recognise and encourage.

We are confident that Your Excellency's visit to our country will further strengthen the existing friendly relations between us and lead to larger mutual intercourse in cultural and economic fields. We also trust that our cooperation will strengthen the noble cause of peace which is so dear and essential to both our countries.

We are beholden to Your Excellency for your gracious acceptance of our invitation to receive this welcome address from us. As a token of the high regard which our people have for Your Excellency and your gifted people, we venture to present to you a small specimen of our handicrafts.

We are
Your sincere admirers
Mayor and Councillors
of the Corporation of Delhi.

28. Note⁴³ by N. C. Sen Gupta⁴⁴*[Refer to item 152]*

Visit of Mr. Paul Hoffman, Managing Director
of United Nations Special Fund—February 26 to March 1, 1960

The United Nations Special Fund was set up on the 1st January, 1959 to finance special projects which would contribute to the economic development of under-developed countries. The original idea of SUNFED—Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development—to assist capital development programmes, was supported very strongly at different United Nations Session by the Indian Delegation, but ultimately, mainly because of lack of American and British support and the disinclination of the Russians to promise anything definite, a compromise was reached and the Special Fund as now set up does not look after capital development at all. The Special Fund is intended “to provide systematic and sustained assistance in fields essential to the integrated technical, economic and social development of the less developed countries and to accelerate their economic development, *inter alia*, by facilitating new capital investment of all types by creating conditions which would make such investments either feasible or more effective.” As far as practicable, the fund will concentrate on relatively large projects and avoid allocations of its resources over a great number of small projects. Assistance will be provided mainly in the form of teams of experts with adequate provision for equipment and supplies.

2 The Special Fund is distinguished from the World Bank in that it is not a lending institution. Neither does it finance capital formation, except in connection with research or training institutes. However, the Special Fund will finance surveys which will lead to investments by financial agencies.

3. The Fund is made up of voluntary contributions from Member Nations. India contributed the equivalent of Rs. 500,000/- in non-convertible rupees for 1959. In response to the special request of the Managing Director for increasing contributions, it was agreed that India's contribution for 1960 will be the equivalent of \$ 2 million in non-convertible rupees, provided the total of the Special Fund reaches \$ 100 million; the Indian contribution will be reduced proportionately if the target of \$ 100 million is not reached.

It may be mentioned that India also contributes annually the equivalent of \$ 525,000/- in non-convertible rupees to the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme.

43. 15 February 1960. File No. 39(3)-UN I/60, pp. 2-5, MEA.

44. Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

4. The Fund is managed by the Managing Director (Mr. Paul Hoffman) who is assisted by a Deputy Managing Director (Prof. William Arthur Lewis reported likely to be replaced by Shri C.V. Narasimhan very soon) and who works under the guidance and control of a Governing Council. The Governing Council consists of 18 members. The present composition of the Governing Council is:

(1) U.S.A., (2) U.K., (3) France, (4) India, (5) Mexico, (6) Argentina, (7) Netherlands, (8) Denmark, (9) Italy, (10) Chile, (11) Ghana, (12) U.A.R., (13) Canada, (14) Japan, (15) U.S.S.R., (16) Pakistan, (17) Peru, and (18) Yugoslavia.

Members retire by rotation after three years. Of the members of the first Council, Nos. 1 to 6 is for three years, 7 to 12 for two years and 13 to 18 for one year. India's membership will thus last till the end of 1961.

5. In 1959, India sponsored the under mentioned five projects:-

- (1) Power Engineering Research Institute under the Central Water & Power Commission, Ministry of Irrigation & Power, with two wings, one at Bhopal and another at Bangalore.
- (2) Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, Durgapur under the Council of Scientific & Industrial Research, Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural affairs.
- (3) Central Labour Training Institute, Howrah under the Ministry of Labour & Employment.
- (4) Three Regional labour Institutes at Kanpur, Calcutta and Coimbatore under the Ministry of Labour & Employment.
- (5) The Higher Institute of Fisheries Training in India, Department of Agriculture, Ministry of Food & Agriculture.

6. The first four projects have been accepted by the Special Fund for the amounts shown against each:-

(1) Power Engineering Research Institute, Bhopal and Bangalore.	\$ 1,928,800
(2) Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute, Durgapur.	\$ 691,400
(3) Central Labour Training Institute, Howrah.	\$ 860,000
(4) Three Regional Labour Institute at Kanpur, Calcutta & Coimbatore.	\$ 330,000
	<u>Total \$ 3,810,200</u>

Thus the project for a Higher Institute of Fisheries Training is the only one pending from last year out of India's requests.

7. For the current year, the following projects have been submitted after consultation with the different administrative Ministries and with the approval of the Planning Commission:

Foreign exchange cost

1. An All-India Scheme for the investigation of potential Hydro-Electric sites. Rs. 100 lakhs
2. National Aeronautical Research Laboratory, Bangalore. Rs. 100 lakhs

3. Central Training Institute, Ludhiana.	Rs. 38 lakhs
4. Central Training Institute, Hyderabad.	Rs. 38 lakhs
5. Central Training Institute, Kanpur.	Rs. 38 lakhs
6. Central Training Institute, Madras.	Rs. 38 lakhs
7. Central Public Health Engineering Research Institute, Nagpur.	Rs. 25 lakhs
8. Central Scientific Instruments Organization, New Delhi.	Rs. 25 lakhs
9. Testing of mechanical equipment for mines	Rs. 25 lakhs
10. Rekha Copper Exploration and Khetri and Daribo Copper investigations.	Rs. 20 lakhs
11. Mould and tool making establishment for the Plastic Processing Industry, and Expert service which are being worked out.	Rs. 15 lakhs
12. Installation of a multi-test water tunnel at the Central Water & Power Research Station at Khadakvasla.	Rs. 12 lakhs
13. Ravine Reclamation in Madhya Pradesh.	Being worked out.
14. Establishment of a Soil Analysis Laboratory.	Being worked out.
15. Survey and Investigations of potable water supply resources and associated sewerage and drainage scheme of greater Calcutta.	Rs. 24 lakhs

8. The authorities of the Special Fund have already intimated that items 10 & 11 which involve capital investment will not be eligible. The Special Fund authorities have arranged that Dr. Otto Walch who is Senior Adviser at the Water Resources Development Training Centre, Roorkee under the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance would also study and check up the project at item 1. The other projects are under consideration.

9. The Special Fund provides only foreign exchange and the recipient Government have to certify that the entire local expenditure would be met by them. Usually the Special Fund insists on an Operation Agreement to be executed by the recipient Government with the concerned specialised agency of the United Nations. That is to say, for a research project, the Plan of Operation is executed with UNESCO and a labour project is similarly assigned to ILO. The recipient Government has also to execute an overall agreement with the Special Fund. India has already executed the overall umbrella agreement and has also executed Plans of Operation with UNESCO for the Power Engineering Research Institute and the Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute.

10. It has been represented to the Special Fund that countries like India which have specific executive directorates need not invariably depend on a specialised agency of the United Nations for administering a project as it involves ultimately a cut from the grant given by the Fund. Thus our CWPC looks after the execution of the Power Projects in India, the CSIR looks after Research Institutes, the DGRE looks after Labour Training Institutes. Though the resolution

passed at the 9th meeting of the Governing Council held on 28.5.1959 allows the Managing Director to entrust execution to an authority in the recipient country, he has not so far done so. The executing agency will be paid from 5 to 15 percent of the total costs by the Special Fund. If the work is entrusted to an organisation in the recipient country itself, this amount will be saved and may be available for additional foreign exchange assistance.

(N. C. Sen Gupta)
Joint Secretary(FA)
Ministry of Finance(DEA)

29. S. K. Dey to Nehru⁴⁵

[Refer to item 91]

February 15, 1960

My dear Panditji,

(1) Foodgrain production in Agriculture

Our current promotional activities in agriculture have been confined largely to use of available fertiliser, organic manure, utilisation of irrigation especially minor irrigation, improved seeds and improved practices to the extent technical know-how is available at the grassroot. While it is difficult to make an exact estimate of the acceptance of improved practices, it can be safely asserted that the big cultivators have taken advantage of most of the assistance offered. The small holders of land and the share-croppers are by and large still to adopt improved practices. I would not like personally to hazard an estimate of increase in production in Community Development areas vis-à-vis non-Community Development areas. I attach to this a statement indicating the trend of production in Community Development areas vis-à-vis non-Community Development areas over a period of four years as observed by the National Sample survey through crop cutting estimates. The report from this organisation giving further details and explanations would be available in about a month. I shall let you have it as soon as it is ready.

You will see that there is distinct improvement in agricultural activities in Community Development areas. The growth of "Panchayati Raj" and Cooperation should help the programme further, although the process of democratic growth in these institutions will be slow and undulated. Spectacular increase in the tempo of agricultural activity consistently with democracy and the current conditions in India will however, be dependent very largely on the rate at which we can develop availability of agricultural credit, investment for minor irrigation, fertilisers, seeds and supply of iron, steel and cement for farming operations. While efforts are

45. Letter (Extracts). File No. 17(263)/60-64-PMS.

being made to develop local manurial resources, I am beginning to realise more and more that these efforts will grow significantly only when local manure is combined with chemical fertiliser.

My claim is that the agriculturists in Community Development areas are now ready individually and organisationally to make use of supplies, credit and technical assistance as fast as these can be created and offered to them. The phenomenal growth in the demand for fertiliser and other supplies since the Community Development movement got in swing will offer ample testimony. From the Community Development Ministry we are going all out to place the highest emphasis we can, on agriculture in Community Development programme and on utilisation of resources available. But my hunch is that any increase in production beyond about 25 per cent above the normal level we had for instance in 1956-57, will depend on a progressively higher level of availability per acre of land of the facilities I have mentioned earlier. This has also to be supported by the creation of an incentive in the farmer in the shape of a guaranteed minimum price which I consider vital from the psychological point of view.

(2) Double cropping in irrigated land:-

Double cropping is being emphasised in Community Development areas wherever there is irrigation. Double cropping is growing slowly but steadily. It could grow more rapidly with availability of fertiliser, the reason being that the second crop without adequate fertiliser does not work out to be as profitable a proposition for the farmer howsoever desirable it may be from the national point of view.

(3) District Organisation

I may mention that the warrant of precedence in the district organisation has been more or less as follows :-

- (1) General Administration.
- (2) Police.
- (3) Engineering.
- (4) Health and Medicine.
- (5) Education.
- (6) Agriculture & Animal Husbandry
- (7) Cooperation,
- (8) Panchayats.

In some States there was hardly any district administration in agriculture before the advent of the Community Development programme. There has been improvement during the past eight years, but it is not yet significant enough. The most promising feature is the progressive growth of knowledge in the village level worker and the extension officer. More experienced officers for the district

are becoming increasingly available with the passage of time. The district organisation in agriculture and animal husbandry is, perhaps, the weakest spot in agricultural administration and will account partly for the inadequacy of the drive we have been aiming at.

(4) Growth of Cooperatives :-

Cooperative movement has been fairly good and sound in Bombay, Madras and Andhra, and perhaps also in Punjab. These States are going ahead both with inner content in the cooperatives and expansion in coverage and activities. Service Cooperatives are in the process of growth on sound lines. The movement is conspicuous by its weakness in the rest of the States. Expansion without sound growth can add only to our liability because cooperation involves organised change in community and individual outlook. The process in these States is bound to be slow if growth is to be real. The highest emphasis in this connection is being placed on training and education and the strengthening of the basic organisations in the State both official and non-official. My anxiety during the past six months has been to apply remedies throughout the country to put the movement on sound health while promoting expansion within safe limits alongside. The following table will give the figures, actuals from 1955-56 to 57-58 and the projection upto 1960-61 :-

	(1955-56) (Actuals)	(1956-57) (Actuals)	(1957-58) (Actuals)	(1958-59) (Estimated)	(1960-61) (Estimated)
1. No of Societies					
1,59,939		1, 61,510	1,66,543	1,83,000	2,00,000
2. No. of Members					
77.9 lakhs		91.16 lakhs	102.21 lakhs	118 lakhs	180 lakhs
3. Share Capital					
16.80 crores		20.41 crores	28.22 crores	35 crores	45 crores
state share (0.58")		(2.21")	(3")	(3")	(3" *)
* if share capital participation is not renewed					
4. Reserve & other funds					
12.45"		13.45"	14.15"	15"	17"
5. Deposits					
7.04"		8.05"	8.63"	9.2"	10"
6. Loans given					
49.6"		67.3"	96.00"	125.0"	190"

As regards distribution of foodgrains through cooperatives, this is being done only on a very limited scale in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. We are planning for expansion in consumers business during the Third Plan which will include foodgrains, sugar and kerosene and similar other materials in short supply. The

expansion programme now in progress in the cooperative marketing sector should also help this process.

I may now mention that I have had here, since middle of December, about 6 to 7 representative farmers from every Block in India visiting the World Agriculture Fair at our instance. I am spending about a couple of hours discoursing with every group of people every alternate day of my stay in Delhi. The questions that you posed are also the ones that I have broadly discussed with these peasant representatives. I also discussed the same with the Pradhans and the Pramukhs of four divisions out of five in Rajasthan during my visit to that State last week. I have discussed this subject threadbare with my officers here. I have checked up all these reactions from outside with the reactions from within.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Dey

RESULTS OF CROP ESTIMATION SURVEYS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AREA 1955-56 to 1958-59

Comparison between estimates of yield in C.D. and non-C.D. areas.

(Average yield in lbs. per acre)

<u>Crop</u>	<u>1955-56</u>	<u>1956-57</u>	<u>1957-58</u>	<u>1958-59</u>
<u>Rice</u> Yield rate for C.D areas	966	1,004	810	978
Yield rate for non-C.D. areas	785	798	702	852
Percentage difference	23	26	15	15
<u>Jowar</u> Yield rate of C.D. areas	450	567	607	496
Yield rate for non-C.D. areas	400	456	458	391
Percentage difference	13	24	33	27
<u>Wheat</u> Yield rate for C.D. areas	803	761	646	801
Yield rate for non-C.D. areas	645	643	585	655
Percentage difference	24	18	10	22
<u>Gram</u> Yield rate for C.D. areas	629	779	569	701
Yield rate for non-CD. areas	515	613	496	601
Percentage difference	22	27	15	17

Note :- Yield rates for rice both for C.D. and non-C.D. areas do not include the States of Kerala, Orissa and West Bengal.

.....

At the instance of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation the Directorate of N.S.S. has been carrying out a Survey since 1955-56, to estimate the yield rates of principal crops in the Community development areas. The object

of the Survey is to study the yield rates in community Development areas in relation to the other areas.

A comparison between the yield rates of the development and non-development areas shows that the yield rates in the development areas have been substantially higher than those for the non-development areas, the difference between the two varying from 15 to 25 per cent. This difference is about 15 per cent in the case of rice, about 20 per cent in the case of wheat and 25 per cent in the case of jowar.

A comparison of yields over the four year period shows that except for jowar the yields in 1957-58 for both C.D. and non-C.D. areas were very much depressed. This year was severely affected by floods and drought. On the whole, the yield rates of rice and wheat in the C.D. areas remained about the same during this period while there was a fairly noticeable increase in the yield rates of jowar and gram.

In this connection it has to be stated that the coverage by the sample survey, of the C.D. areas has been expanding from year to year. The survey in 1955-56 took into account the blocks allotted upto 1953 (accounting for 10 per cent of the geographical area), which, as is well known, were located in the most favourable areas with assured supply of water and other facilities. Since then the coverage of the survey increased in successive years, extending to 15 per cent of the geographical area in 1956-57, 20 per cent in 1957-58 and 30 per cent in 1958-59. With enlarged coverage of the C.D. programme, less agriculturally progressive tracts get included in the C.D. area, which naturally have an adverse effect on the yield rates. It is also likely that with the expanded programme the per block availability of resources like chemical fertiliser gets reduced. In spite of these adverse influences the high order of yield rates in C.D. areas has been maintained over the period in respect of rice and wheat and it has been bettered in respect of jowar and gram.

30. Tara Singh to Nehru⁴⁶

[Refer to item 15]

February 16, 1960

My dear Panditji,

After your reply of 7th October, it looked as if my communications were becoming a source of annoyance to you. So I thought it better to remain silent. There was no dearth of events in the Punjab, but how much good it would have done had I

46. Letter.

continued complaining to you. Nevertheless you must be aware, how much the Sikhs dislike the present policy of the Government particularly that of going back on promises, pacts and conventions solemnly made with them.

2. Take the instance of the Regional Formula. This was an important political settlement between the Congress Government and a minority community. It was the primary duty of the Congress Government that this pact was fully implemented. I had my doubts which I expressed there and then that the Chief Minister Shri Partap Singh would never implement it, but no attention was paid to my protests. The result has been that this formula in the hands of the State administration has proved worse than a spent squib. They blamed me for the breach, but my challenge to find out the actual truth regarding the breach through some independent means has never been accepted. Till he got as his Chairman a man of his own choice, Shri Partap Singh never allowed this Regional Committee to function even nominally. Shri Kairon then tried to use this Committee for the purpose of creating further trouble between the Punjab Government and the Sikhs and others. Although Punjab Government had no authority in this respect, with the sinister object of changing the language provisions (clauses 10 and 11) of the Regional Formula, he constituted a committee under the false name of "Good Relations Committee" whose sole object was to agitate the public mind and to create unrest in respect of the language clauses and provisions of the Regional Formula.

3. Another attempt to flout the authority of the Regional Committee was made at the time of the passing of the amendment of the Sikh Gurdwaras Act of January 1959. Thirty-six Gurdwaras were omitted from the schedule of Gurdwaras approved by the Regional Committee and this truncated schedule was put up before the legislature and thus a schedule never approved by the Regional Committee was made a part of the amended Sikh Gurdwara Act. Why this unauthorised change was made, the public does not know. Ugly rumours have been afloat and all sorts of insinuations have been made. But what the truth is, it is for you to find out. I only bring to your notice that all this was done without the consultation of the Regional Committee.

4. The political settlement of Regional Formula was agreed to by me for the purpose of resolving the differences between the Sikhs and Government and not for the purpose of strengthening the hands of S. Partap Singh. Shri Partap Singh has however utilised this settlement to weed out of the state and central legislatures several members belonging to the Akali Party, or those who were its sympathisers. The Centre, I am constrained to say, never even in a single instance tried to put an end to these high-handed acts of the Chief Minister. Therefore, to uphold the rights of my community, I have to think of means other than the Regional Formula.

5. Again, take the instance of the other Pact, that of 12-4-59. Not only you solemnly pledged your word that there will be no future interference, but you assured us that complaints of past interference in Gurdwara affairs would also be attended to and in proper cases wherever possible redress would be made. In

actual practice may I know what has been the fate of these solemn engagements? As far as the public can see, this time Governmental interference has been on an unprecedented scale. What is the good of these pacts when your own party men in the State are not prepared to honour them. So many opportunities for bringing about better relations have been lost simply because somehow or other the State Chief Minister seems to be of the mind, that he would be lost if all was quiet on the Punjab front.

6. There was practically no opposition to the Akali Dal till the three Sikh Ministers, a little before the elections, began organising parties for fighting them. For instructions and guidance and for resolving differences, every other day they came running to Delhi. On advice from Delhi, they amalgamated their three parties into one. The Pradesh Congress President and other leading Congress members took active part, and they made a political issue of the Gurdwara elections. All the resources of the Ministers and their departments were utilised to the full. Money was collected by them not only from the Punjab but also from outside through governmental influence, from everyone who had any contact with the Government. The judiciary, the police and other departments were utilised for this purpose.

7. To avoid any chance of defeat, alliance with the Communists was made. This coalition could never be effective unless the government, had come to its rescue. The bait of postponement of realisation of the Betterment Levy and even of its quantum was thrown in the way of the electors and particularly of the communists. As the amount involved was crores of rupees, this settlement with the communists could never have been made except with the knowledge of the authorities. This is a clear case of bribing the voters at the expense of the State Exchequer. The daily press carried reports from day to day. A couple of these cuttings marked A, B and C are enclosed herewith. You have been demanding specific instances. Will this instance of using public funds for influencing Gurdwara voters not do? The matter of postponing the realisation of Betterment Levy and reduction in its quantum was decided upon by the Punjab Cabinet in the end of December 1959 but its announcement was withheld till the psychological date that is a week before 17th January, the actual election date.

8. When such is the state of affairs, at government levels, what can two nominees of the Akali Dal on the Four Man Committee do? A nominee of the Government, a member of the Subordinate Services Selection Board and thus a government servant took leave, the better to be able to fight the Gurdwara elections. From all this the inference is clear that either the Sikh ministers are too strong and do what they like in the matter of flouting your Pact, or as they give out, and I am sure they misrepresent that you have no objection to their doing what they like in Gurdwara affairs.

9. As if Governmental forces were not enough, Shri Partap Singh and his nominee Sardar Darbara Singh, the President of the Pradesh Congress, used the

Congress organisation for the purpose of influencing Gurdwara elections. Sardar Darbara Singh wrote circular letters to all prominent Congressmen including members of state and central legislatures to hurry back to their own constituencies to help the candidates of the Sadh Sangat Board (Copy enclosed). The defeat of the government party has not only been signal but even ignominious. Do you blame the public if they make the government and the Congress itself a shareholder in this ignominy?

10. Not deterred by this defeat, however, Shri Partap Singh, to keep his flag flying, has been inviting deputations from his own party and has started meddling with the Gurdwara rules at their behest. All this is against the letter and spirit of your Pact.

11. Before I conclude, kindly allow me to relate one more instance of governmental interference which is being exercised through the disgraced, disowned and defeated SGPC. You know parliamentary practices better than anyone else. In between the inauguration of the new Committee and dissolution of the old one, there is an interregnum. During this period no serious work is done by the outgoing body, but not so in the case of the old SGPC. Not only is this body shunting the gurdwara employees about, but hundreds of nominations have been made by it to rural committees. To undo the verdict of the electorate the old SGPC has also submitted a panel of the names out of which selections to the judicial commission are made. You know this judicial body is the ultimate authority which has to see that the SGPC and the committees subordinate to it function in accordance with the provisions of the Gurdwara Act. By putting in this panel the old SGPC though itself extinct, is attempting to keep the governmental control on Gurdwara affairs through this judicial commission. Another thing the old SGPC doing is that it has called a general meeting for the 6th March next for the purpose of passing the budget of the ensuing financial year. I am positive Punjab Government will deliberately delay the constitution of the new SGPC to enable the old Committee to pass the budget. Thus you can see at every stage, at every step, we are met with ministerial intervention.

12. Really I do not understand what the government stands to gain by persistently irritating the Sikhs. It is not intelligible whom the Sikh ministers represent. If democracy had any real meaning, they would not be there. But Government insists on spiting the Sikhs. It couldn't have done better than by appointing Giani Kartar Singh as Minister. The Sikhs have shown their resentment of the Ministry. If Hindus get a similar chance I am sure they would do the same. All these things were passing through my mind, but I was hesitating whether I should write to you or not. Then I thought that as you are the Prime Minister of India I must put you in possession of all these facts. Shri Partap Singh and other Punjab Ministers who derive their authority from yourself, misuse the same and keep the gulf wide; not only between Sikhs and the Government, but even between the Sikhs and Hindus and indeed even between Sikhs and Sikhs and thus it is that

they subject even your name to public criticism.

Yours sincerely,
Tara Singh

31. A. M. Khwaja to Nehru⁴⁷

[Refer to item 235]

Etawah
February 17, 1960

My dear Jawaharlal,

Day before yesterday I tried to send you a message through Indira but she was not available on the telephone and I was informed that she would be available the next day at 10 A.M. I came here yesterday for the annual function of the college and also for the ceremony of formal opening of the Jawahar Museum for which I have invited Humayun Kabir. Having regard to the urgency of my message and the uncertainty of contacting you, through Indira, as advised by you, I am writing this letter from here (Etawah).

Apart from my personal feelings for Mahendra Pratap Singh who was my class-fellow for six years in the Aligarh School I cannot help feeling that he was almost the first man who after giving half of his property to Prem Maha Vidhyala Vrindaban (Mathura) left his young wife and two small children in 1914 in an attempt to free India through Afganistan and other countries. This attempt failed but there can be no doubt as to his love of our Mother land and his sacrificing all for it. He was an exile for 32 years. In his absence his Estate was at once taken over by the British Government, under the Bengal Estate Prisoners Regulation (III of 1818) and ultimately the confiscation was legalised by an Act of the Central Government known as Mahendra Pratap Singh Estates Act of 1923. Under legal advice and as provided for in the said Act the Vice-Roy granted a sanad to his minor son Prem Pratap Singh under certain conditions and this estate continued to be managed by the Court of Wards under certain conditions laid down in the sanad. One of the conditions was that neither the grantee nor his heirs shall render any assistance or support to the said Mahendra Pratap Singh either pecuniarily or otherwise in any manner whatsoever.

After our attaining independence this Act should have been repealed as early as possible but unfortunately this has not being done so far. Now one Sri Purushottam Dass Patel M.P. has introduced a Bill No. 62 of 1958 for the purpose. I wish that this Bill had been brought up by the Government rather than a private member.

47. Letter. File No. 207, NAI. Raja Mahendra Pratap Papers.

I am informed that this Bill will come up before the Parliament on 19th February. If I had not been engaged here I would have come personally to beg you, in the name of the love of Mother land to give your support to the Bill. I cannot conceive that there could be any opposition by our party. We may not agree with the views of Mahendra Pratap Singh which I consider more Philosophical than Political, but we cannot forget Mahendra Pratap's love and sacrifice for our country.

It would be an act of good grace fitting your generosity, if you put in few words yourself in support of the Bill.

Trusting that this would find you in excellent health and spirits.
With love

Yours affectionately,
A. M. Khwaja

32. Humayun Kabir to Nehru⁴⁸

[Refer to item 140]

February 17, 1960

My dear Panditji,

Thank you for your letter No.337-PMH/60 of February 15, 1960.

I am glad you have directed Thacker to look into the question of organisation of the Indian Science Congress. Immediately after the session, Professor Parija, General President this year, wrote to me a letter in this connection. I have also suggested some changes in the method of organisation and suggested to the Secretary that these may be considered by the Executive Committee.

I agree that we have not always taken full advantage of the visit of eminent scientists whom we invite on the occasion of the Science Congress. Even during the current year I had suggested that instead of arranging an extensive programme for Professor Niels Bohr, we should try to arrange that he could spend perhaps about five days to a week each in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras. I had also suggested that we might invite young scientists from different parts of India to come and attend seminars at these places in order to come into contact with Professor Bohr and benefit by discussions with him. If we follow a pattern like this in future, the visit of scientists from abroad would make a definite contribution to our scientific work.

Thank you also for sending me Prof. Haldane's article. You may remember that I had already written to you about this article on 12th February in connection with our proposal for an Institute of Theoretical Physics in the Third Plan.

48. Letter. File No. 5/1958-62, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

I will be grateful for an opportunity of discussing all these matters with you when the immediate pressure of the Budget Session is over.

Yours sincerely,
Humayun Kabir

33. V. K. Krishna Menon to Nehru⁴⁹

[Refer to item 154]

February 18, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received in the last two or three days a note from the Foreign Secretary and some other papers from the concerned Joint Secretary in regard to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

The communications say that an early meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee will take place. A copy of a letter from President Eisenhower is also sent to me.

You will recall that I have more than once expressed views on this matter in regard to the four Conventions. The United Nations also considered the Conventions in the Sixth Committee. Opinion in the United Nations was sharply divided, with neither side having a 2/3rd majority, nor likely to have one. In this division of opinion the line was broadly between the haves and the have-nots. Of course, the haves can and do always rally a number of others under their pressures.

The British, Americans and the Australians have taken care to call on me when they were here on campaign visits and to produce argument papers, etc.

The British are aware of the flaws in their position and, from their point of view rightly, seek to convince us that their proposals are the only practical ones as they cannot accept propositions which the majority of the Asian-Africans want. The pressures put on us are what one would expect from the great maritime powers who are naturally concerned to maintain as far as they can their positions of privilege. But can we overlook our interests or that of those who are similarly placed as ourselves?

I submit that this is not an academic matter, but one in which grave interests are in conflict. We may not, therefore, be unduly influenced by the arguments of interested parties and the high pressure propaganda while we should show every courtesy and consideration.

49. Letter. File No. 13, V. K. Krishna Menon Papers. NMML.

I would like to point out that there are countries even more concerned than ourselves, such as Indonesia, and also have strong views but are not in a position to send out delegations or exert pressures in regard to international conferences. I think, I should make one further point that the position we take should not as far as possible be a considerable departure in regard to our lining up with the power alignment with the powerful nations.

The views and interests of Indonesia and the Arab countries are strong and deep. Can we ignore them? Even apart from the territorial sea there are aspects of these Conventions which unless altered or considerable reservations made (which would be objected to by others) would commit us to positions in regard to maritime law creating situations leading to international friction and resulting in parties taking the law into their own hands.

There is a further point to be considered by us. The Canadians have a position of their own. That position does not go far enough for us, but it is different from that of the British and the Americans and reserves greater advantages for the territorial State although it does not help more from the point of view of security.

The maritime powers insist on the inclusion of the right that warships can treat the sea beyond the 6-miles as the High Sea. This does not suit us or any Asian-African countries. (It was not so long ago the United States Fleet showed the flag around the Lebanon).

I submit this note to you at this stage, feeling that you will agree that the matter requires full consideration. The debate on this matter and the attitude of the majority of countries at the U.N. which includes the great majority of the Asian-African countries, good many Latins and the Soviet Bloc, is a new factor which has to be taken into consideration. It may well be that no decision can be reached at present until the present backward countries are in a stronger position in the world. Even as things are, it is doubtful whether, even with our support, a 2/3rd majority can be obtained for any position. Should we place ourselves in a position where we are either unnecessarily being inimical to our own interests and those of our friends by throwing our weight on the side of the vested interests?

Indonesia may be crude and extreme in her demands, but her future is in jeopardy and her skin comes in for a close shave. For the great maritime powers to obtain for themselves advantages, in practice, it is not necessary for a "claim of right" to be established in public international law. If the position as it is, or would be if the views of the smaller nations were accepted, is not totally to their advantage they can always negotiate bilateral agreements, but this requires stopping to do so.

I would like once again to say that this note is not submitted from the point of view of creating unnecessary differences or ignoring the weight of the representations made to you or that we should exercise ourselves on something that is not very much our concern. On the other hand, I submit for your consideration the facts and the positions in regard to the approach are very much

our concern, especially in relation to (a) our national interests, and (b) their implications in the context of world alignments.

Affectionately
V. K. Krishna Menon

34. Ali Yavar Jung to Subimal Dutt⁵⁰

[Refer to item 206]

Belgrade
February 18, 1960

My dear Dutt,

Vilfan, when he was Ambassador in India, presented the view to his Government that, of all the political parties in India, the one which merited the greatest attention was the Indian National Congress both because, under the Prime Minister's leadership, it was increasingly developing socialistic trends and because it had both the capacity and opportunity to implement them. According to him, the other political parties suffered either from reaction (like the communal parties) or derived their inspiration and guidance doctrinaire (like the Socialist Party).

2. While relations with the Socialist Party have been maintained by the Socialist Alliance here, Mr. Milentije Popovic, who visited India recently and met the Prime Minister and other leaders, was disappointed at some of the trends among the Indian Socialists such as their line on Tibet and what he thought was rather a luke-warm or even just token support on their part of the initiatives taken in the direction of cooperatives and decentralization of local self-government when they could have risen above party and associated themselves more enthusiastically with these progressive developments. As far as the C.P.I. was concerned, he noted the jolt suffered by the Communist Party by the events on the frontier but felt that it still remained substantially inspired from outside. The Indian National Congress alone, he felt, was the party of practical progress which had both a record of considerable achievement and the capacity and power to do even more in the future while keeping India clear of military alliances. Part of these impressions was conveyed to me directly by him and Madame Vilfan who accompanied him; the rest I have gathered from sources in touch with him and even from conversations with Kardelj under whom he works.

3. Four days ago, I was informed that Mr. Vlahovic, a prominent Member of the Central Committee, ex-chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Assembly and, next to Kardelj, the leading party theoretician, wanted to

50. Letter from India's Ambassador in Yugoslavia to the FS. File No. 15(7) Eur(E)/60, pp. 12-13, MEA.

have a talk with me on behalf of the Socialist Alliance in which he holds important office. I went to see him the day before yesterday and had a long talk with him on many subjects of common interest. Mr. Vlahovic's immediate purpose was to convey to me the keen desire of the Socialist Alliance that the Indian National Congress should be represented at the session in April in Belgrade of the Congress of the Socialist Alliance. I told him that, so far as I knew but could not say authoritatively, the Congress did not send representatives to other organizations outside and that this was perhaps in part because it happened to be holding office. He said he was aware of this as previous contacts with Mr. Dhebar and others had elicited a somewhat similar reply. All the same, he said, the Socialist Alliance had sent (or was sending) an invitation and would appreciate my writing officially so that the matter might be brought to the notice of the Prime Minister. He added that the Socialist Alliance would welcome the presence of the Congress representative even if they came only as observers.

4. In conveying this request to you, I have thought it necessary to give you the background of the thinking here with regard to the Congress if only to explain the reason why so much importance is attached to its presence at the time when the Socialist Alliance hold its session. The Socialist Alliance is distinct from the League of Communists even though its office bearers all belong to the League. Non-communists who, however, are reconciled to the economic and social programmes of the Communist Party and are prepared to live and work for them, form the bulk of its membership and, except for its communist members, the rest may profess and practice religion. In effect, the Socialist Alliance is a sort of bridge (or public relations organ and even a compromise) between the Communist Party, which is in the minority, and the broad masses of the people.

5. Unless questions of principle or the implications of accepting one such invitation stand in the way, I would recommend consideration of this particular invitation, but this is a matter for consideration at the Party level and I cannot, therefore, say more beyond conveying the request, the background and such recommendation as you may read into my words. To supplement them I would add that some such contacts between our Congress Party and the Socialist Alliance would prove advantageous to both.

Yours sincerely,
Ali Yavar Jung

35. R. Venkataraman to Nehru⁵¹

[Refer to item 102]

Madras

February 19, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I wish to recall my letter dated 30th December, 1959 relating to the establishment of an Aluminium Plant at Salem. I understood that you indicated to the Planning Commission that the Madras State may be allowed to go ahead with the scheme and I naturally felt happy that there would be an end to all the objections.

The Planning Commission, however, raised a new point that the electricity rates proposed to be charged to the Aluminium Plant cannot be sustained as the Madras Electricity System was working at a loss. I explained again to the Planning Commission that they had been poorly informed about the Madras Electricity System and that the Madras Electricity System has been working between the period 1951 upto date on a net surplus ranging from 7 to 9 per cent. It is a pity that the project should be delayed on the basis of such incorrect data.

I now understand from my officials who visited Delhi that Planning Commission is reverting to the question of the propriety of the rates charged by the Madras Electricity System to the proposed Aluminium Plant. I have already explained to you the political implications of the delay or the deferment of this scheme. I am afraid I shall find the responsibilities of my office too heavy for me if the sanctions are not received at least during the Budget Session of the Legislature.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. Venkataraman

36. K. Ram to Nehru⁵²

[Refer to item 59]

As directed by PM, I wrote to the Special Police Establishment to enquire about the cases of corruption reported by Shri Shanker Lall through Shri C.D. Deshmukh. The S.P.E. has sent a note giving information regarding one of the cases which was reported to that organisation. In this case all the persons who were accused of corruption were discharged by the court after hearing the defence arguments. Departmental action against some of these officers is, however, still pending.

51. Letter. File No. 17(96)/56-61-PMS.

52. Note, 22 February 1960.

2. As regards the other cases reported by Shri Shanker Lall, the S.P.E. considers that there were obvious difficulties in making the necessary enquiries without disclosing the name of Shri Shanker Lall. As Shri Shanker Lall feels that his life is in danger, any action which is likely to bring his name into greater prominence might lead to further trouble. But as the charges of corruption reported by Shri Shanker Lall are of a very serious nature, I feel that every effort should be made to get at the truth.

3. If PM approves, I shall write to the S.P.E. again on these lines. In the meantime, PM might like to inform Shri C.D. Deshmukh of the present position.

37. M. C. Chagla to Nehru⁵³

[Refer to item 133]

Washington. D. C.

February 23, 1960

My dear Panditji,

You will remember I had written to you on the 23rd June, 1959 about a cheap oral contraceptive which Dr. G. Pincus was experimenting with and seeking to put on the market. In reply to that you pointed that you were opposed to a field trial being held in India on women, because you were informed that such trials were not held in the United States on white women and, to put it bluntly, Dr. Pincus wanted Indian women to be the guinea pigs. You also enclosed a note by Colonel Raina in which he seems to have taken the same view.

Dr. Pincus came and had lunch with me yesterday and I bluntly put to him the reason why we were not allowing field trials in our country. He was really shocked at hearing this. He told me that this was a complete travesty of facts. It seems that this pill was produced in Massachusetts State which does not permit contraceptives to be sold or used. The result was that the field trials had to be held outside Massachusetts and field trials on American white women have been held and very successfully held in California and Chicago.

The pill is a great success in Puerto Rico and Haiti where it had been tried on a large scale and it is even now being tried in the two States in this country which I have just mentioned. The results have proved that there are hardly any secondary effects and if a child is born in a subsequent pregnancy, there is no effect on the child. Far from there being any ill-effects, the pill results in a more regular menstruation.

What struck me as most important from the point of view of our country is that Dr. Pincus assured me that he had now come to learn that all the raw materials we would require are to be found in abundance in India itself. The cost will only

53. Letter. File No. 28(68)/60-71-PMS.

be the non-recurring one of setting up the factory and importing some machinery and even this could be done through American pharmaceutical companies which are now functioning in India in partnership with Indian companies. He told me that he estimated the cost at 12 cents per person for pills which would last a month.

In view of this, don't you think that the opposition of Government to try these pills on human beings should be removed? As you know, Dr. Khanolkar is prepared to have a field trial on women in Bombay. As far as I know, Mr. J.R.D. Tata is prepared to help the scheme financially to a certain extent.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.C. Chagla

38. K. R. Kripalani to Nehru⁵⁴

[Refer to item 244]

Reference President's query regarding the enclosed letter from Madame Tomiko Kora of Japan.

Madame Tomiko Kora whom I met in Tokyo during my visit there is one of the most distinguished public workers in that country. A pacifist, humanist and a member of the Japanese Parliament, she is actively associated with all good causes, particularly for the welfare of women and children. During Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Japan in 1916, she had acted as his secretary. Since then she has been a pacifist and a devoted admirer of Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru. She is taking active interest in the Tagore Centenary Committee that has been set up in Japan.

Madame Kora has suggested that the two most famous books of Tagore, *Gitanjali* and *Crescent Moon* (Child poems) should be retranslated into Japanese and published as gift books, profusely illustrated, for the benefit of the younger generation in Japan. These publications should be subsidised so as to keep their price low and within the reach of students. It seems that in the Japanese edition of the President's⁵⁵ book, *The Discovery of India*, the publishers have announced that the author has kindly donated the royalties from this edition to any cause that would help the youth of Japan. Madame Kora has suggested that the royalties from the President's books (Japanese edition) could be most fruitfully utilised in making possible the proposed editions of Tagore's *Gitanjali* and *Crescent Moon* as gift books for the young. She has further requested the President to write a

54. Note, 24 February 1960. File No. S.A. 82A/7. Part.I, Japan, Sahitya Akademi Records.

55. The Prime Minister as he was the President of the Sahitya Akademi.

short message to Japanese youth and children making this gift to them, which would be published in the two volumes.

Since the President has already earmarked the royalties as donation to a good cause, Madame Kora's suggestion is worth his gracious consideration. Madame Kora is well known to the Indian Embassy in Tokyo. The information Attaché, Sri Pouchpa Dass, may be asked to discuss this proposal with her and get all the particulars clarified and then report to the President.

39. Harishwar Dayal to Nehru⁵⁶

[Refer to item 188]

Koirala is leaving on 6th March for Peking where he arrives 11th after brief stops at Rangoon and Hong Kong. He asked me today for a talk on matters likely to come up for discussion there on which he seems a little nervous. Upadhyaya joined discussions towards the end.

31. Koirala said Chinese have been pressing Government of Nepal orally and by letters since last October to agree to opening of a Chinese Embassy in Kathmandu. Nepalese feel they cannot put this off indefinitely. They have told Chinese that matter will be discussed during Koirala's visit and apparently hope to use this as a bargaining counter in discussions about the frontier.

32. On frontier question Koirala said the least he would ask for was a statement that Chinese accepted the traditional boundary. He asked what he should do if Chinese proposed a boundary commission or a non-aggression pact. I expressed the personal view that a pact would be meaningless unless it was based on acceptance of the traditional frontier. Once there was such acceptance a boundary commission might if necessary be set up to determine whether a particular locality lay on one side or other of the agreed frontier but it would be disastrous to treat the whole frontier as an open question to be considered by a joint commission. I told them of the difference between delimitation and demarcation. I also reminded them of what you had said in Delhi and suggested that they should take advantage of any spirit of accommodation the Chinese might show but be firm against aggressiveness.

33. They said they would greatly value any advice you might feel to give on these questions either now or when we return for Trade Treaty discussion's in Delhi. They hope in particular that we might suggest some formula in regard to the frontier and boundary commission which could be worked into a formal statement.

56. Telegram No. 408, Kathmandu, 25 February 1960.

40. Chou En-lai to Nehru⁵⁷

[Refer to item 156]

Peking

February 26, 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I thank your Excellency for your letter of February 5, 1960, which was brought here on February 12 by Indian Ambassador to China, Mr. Parthasarathi. At the same time, the reply to the Note of December 26, 1959 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China⁵⁸ made by the Indian Embassy in China on the instructions of Indian Government was also delivered by Mr. Parthasarathi to our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁵⁹ The reply Note of the Indian Embassy will be answered by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs after studying it.

Your have in your letter agreed to the suggestion of the Chinese Government and myself for the holding of a meeting between the Premiers of China and India in the immediate future so as to explore avenues which may lead to a peaceful settlement of the boundary issue, and invited me to visit Delhi in the latter half of March. I express to you my deep gratitude for your friendly invitation. The Chinese Government has consistently held that the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples is eternal, that it is necessary and entirely possible to settle the boundary issue between the two countries in a friendly and peaceful manner, and that the two countries must not waver in their common desire for a peaceful settlement of the boundary issue on account of temporary differences of opinion and certain unfortunate and expected incidents. The Chinese Government, therefore, takes a positive attitude towards the forthcoming meeting and has confidence in it. As to myself, needless to say, I am very glad of the opportunity of once again visiting the capital of great India, meeting the great Indian people fighting for the prosperity, strength and progress of their motherland and for world peace, and seeing you as well as other friends whose acquaintance I had the honour of making during my last visits. I particularly hope to see the dark clouds hovering between our two countries dispersed through joint efforts, so that the long standing friendly relations between the two countries may be consolidated and developed.

Owing to reasons in connection with State affairs I shall come to your country in April. The specific date will be discussed and decided upon through diplomatic channels.

With kind regards,

Chou En-lai

Premier of the State Council of the
People's Republic of China.

57. *White Paper No. III*, p. 99.

58. See *White Paper No. III*, pp. 60-82. Also available in SWJN/SS/56/pp. 398-423.

59. See Appendix 35.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of persons and places)

Abyssinia	Ethiopia
AICC	All Indian Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
Bangalore	Bengaluru
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Bombay city	Mumbai
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CD	Community Development
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
Chou En-lai	Zhou En-lai
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party/Congress Party in Parliament
crore	ten million
CS	Cabinet Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
CWC	Congress Working Committee
CWPC	Central Water and Power Corporation
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FB	Forward Bloc
FLN	Front de liberation Nationale

FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GOC	General Officer Commanding
GOC-in-C	General Officer Commanding-in-Chief
GOI	Government of India
I&B	Information and Broadcasting
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IFAP	International Federation of Agricultural Producers
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
JN	Jawaharlal Nehru
JNMF	Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
KPCC	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
lakh	one hundred thousand
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
Madras (city)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Member of Parliament
musafirkhana	guest house
Mysore (State)	Karnataka
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency

NES	National Extension Service
NHTA	Naga Hills and Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NSS	National Service Scheme
O&M Division	Organisation and Methods Division
Ootacamund, Ooty	Udhagamandalam
panch	one of the elected representatives of panchayat
Peking	Beijing
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PS	Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
Samsad	Court of Visva-Bharati University
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee
SP	Socialist Party
SPE	Special Police Establishment
SR&CA	Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
SUNFED	Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development
SWJN (FS)	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru (First Series)</i>
SWJN (SS)	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru (Second Series)</i>
taluka	territorial subdivision of a district
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VIP	Very Important Person
WANA	West Asia and North Africa
WH&S	Works, Housing and Supply Ministry
White Paper I	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959</i> [New Delhi, 1959]
White Paper II	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, September-November 1959 and A Note on the Historical Background of the Himalayan Frontier of India</i> [New Delhi, 1959]
White Paper III	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between the Governments of India and China, November 1959-March 1960</i> [New Delhi, 1960]
WHO	World Health Organisation
Zila Parishad	District Council

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Some vignettes from this volume:

- Nehru found the time to advise S. R. Das, the Vice-Chancellor of Viswa-Bharati, on how to run the University's kitchens; and the Vice-Chancellor seemed to need prime ministerial advice on the matter.
- Nehru was subjected to a grilling in the Lok Sabha on 17 February on the question of the difference between Indian "administered territory" and just India.
- During an exchange in the Rajya Sabha on 29 February 1960, Bhupesh Gupta asked whether Acharya Kripalani proposed to lead troops against the Chinese.
- Nehru wrote to A. M. Khwaja that Raja Mahendra Pratap was "rather mad" and "bereft of sense" and that when he rises in Parliament, "there is a burst of laughter."
- When Jaswant Singh, Independent MP from Rajasthan, accused Nehru in the Rajya Sabha on 12 February 1960 of "cringing" before Pakistan, Nehru replied "I am not so gallant and brave as Jaswant Singh."
- Nehru told the Southern Languages Book Trust "if you want a person to hate books, confine him to textbooks."
- Nehru thought the Salarjung Museum "contained a lot of junk" in addition to "some fine pieces."
- "Delhi is the worst place for any kind of intellectual work" Nehru wrote to B. V. Keskar.
- Khrushchev told Nehru on 12 February 1960: "Eisenhower is very much different from Macmillan, because, as you know, Eisenhower is not Macmillan"; "When I met Nixon he told me that he was in trade with his father. His tragedy is that in politics he has the same attitude as in trade"; and the Shah of Iran "comes from a dynasty of robbers."

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